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BAND II.

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND
THE OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA
BY WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

FOURTH EDITION.
(ANASTATIC REPRINT.)

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SANSKRIT GRAMMAR,

INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND THE
OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA.

BY

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY,

LATE PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN
YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

It was in June, 1875, as I chanced to be for a day or two in Leipzig, that I was unexpectedly invited to prepare the Sanskrit grammar for the Indo-European series projected by Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel. After some consideration, and consultation with friends, I accepted the task, and have since devoted to it what time could be spared from regular duties, after the satisfaction of engagements earlier formed. If the delay seems a long one, it was nevertheless unavoidable; and I would gladly, in the interest of the work itself, have made it still longer. In every such case, it is necessary to make a compromise between measurably satisfying a present pressing need, ~~and doing~~ ^{and doing} the subject fuller justice at the cost of more time; and it seemed as if the call for a Sanskrit grammar on a somewhat different plan from those already in use — excellent as some of these in many respects are — was urgent enough to recommend a speedy completion of the work begun.

The objects had especially in view in the preparation of this grammar have been the following:

1. To make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians. The earliest European grammars were by the necessity of the case chiefly founded on their native prede-

cessors; and a traditional method was thus established which has been perhaps somewhat too closely adhered to, at the expense of clearness and of proportion, as well as of scientific truth. Accordingly, my attention has not been directed toward a profounder study of the grammatical science of the Hindu schools: their teachings I have been contented to take as already reported to Western learners in the existing Western grammars.

2. To include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and the Brāhmaṇa. Grassmann's excellent Index-Vocabulary to the Rig-Veda, and my own manuscript one to the Atharva-Veda (which I hope soon to be able to make public*), gave me in full detail the great mass of Vedic material; and this, with some assistance from pupils and friends, I have sought to complete, as far as the circumstances permitted, from the other Vedic texts and from the various works of the Brāhmaṇa period, both printed and manuscript.

3. To treat the language throughout as an accented one, omitting nothing of what is known respecting the nature of the Sanskrit accent, its changes in combination and inflection, and the tone of individual words — being, in all this, necessarily dependent especially upon the material presented by the older accented texts.

4. To cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into a form consistent with the teachings of linguistic science. In doing this, it has been necessary to discard a few of the long-used and familiar divisions and terms of Sanskrit grammar — for example, the classification and nomenclature of "special tenses" and "general tenses" (which is so indefensible that one can only wonder at its having maintained itself so long), the order and terminology of the conjugation-classes, the separation in treatment of the facts of internal and ex-

* It was published, as vol. XII. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, in 1881.

ternal euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.

Regard has been constantly had to the practical needs of the learner of the language, and it has been attempted, by due arrangement and by the use of different sizes of type, to make the work as usable by one whose object it is to acquire a knowledge of the classical Sanskrit alone as those are in which the earlier forms are not included. The custom of transliterating all Sanskrit words into European characters, which has become usual in European Sanskrit grammars, is, as a matter of course, retained throughout; and, because of the difficulty of setting even a small Sanskrit type with anything but a large European, it is practiced alone in the smaller sizes.

While the treatment of the facts of the language has thus been made a historical one, within the limits of the language itself, I have not ventured to make it comparative, by bringing in the analogous forms and processes of other related languages. To do this, in addition to all that was attempted beside, would have extended the work, both in content and in time of preparation, far beyond the limits assigned to it. And, having decided to leave out this element, I have done so consistently throughout. Explanations of the origin of forms have also been avoided, for the same reason and for others, which hardly call for statement.

A grammar is necessarily in great part founded on its predecessors, and it would be in vain to attempt an acknowledgment in detail of all the aid received from other scholars. I have had at hand always especially the very scholarly and reliable brief summary of Kielhorn, the full and

excellent work of Monier Williams, the smaller grammar of Bopp (a wonder of learning and method for the time when it was prepared), and the volumes of Benfey and Müller. As regards the material of the language, no other aid, of course, has been at all comparable with the great Petersburg lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth, the existence of which gives by itself a new character to all investigations of the Sanskrit language. What I have not found there or in the special collections made by myself or by others for me, I have called below "not quotable" — a provisional designation, necessarily liable to correction in detail by the results of further researches. For what concerns the verb, its forms and their classification and uses, I have had, as every one must have, by far the most aid from Delbrück, in his *Altindisches Verbum* and his various syntactical contributions. Former pupils of my own, Professors Avery and Edgren, have also helped me, in connection with this subject and with others, in a way and measure that calls for public acknowledgment. In respect to the important matter of the declension in the earliest language, I have made great use of the elaborate paper in the *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* (printed contemporaneously with this work, and used by me almost, but not quite, to the end of the subject) by my former pupil Prof. Lanman; my treatment of it is founded on his. My manifold obligations to my own teacher, Prof. Weber of Berlin, also require to be mentioned: among other things, I owe to him the use of his copies of certain unpublished texts of the *Brāhmaṇa* period, not otherwise accessible to me; and he was kind enough to look through with me my work in its inchoate condition, favoring me with valuable suggestions. For this last favor I have likewise to thank Prof. Delbrück — who, moreover, has taken the trouble to glance over for a like purpose the greater part of the proof-sheets of the grammar, as they came from the press. To Dr. L. von Schröder is due whatever use I have been

able to make (unfortunately a very imperfect one) of the important *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā*. *

Of the deficiencies of my work I am, I think, not less fully aware than any critic of it, even the severest, is likely to be. Should it be found to answer its intended purpose well enough to come to another edition, my endeavor will be to improve and complete it; and I shall be grateful for any corrections or suggestions which may aid me in making it a more efficient help to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature.

GOTHA, July 1879.

W. D. W.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing a new edition of this grammar, I have made use of the new material gathered by myself during the intervening years,** and also of that gathered by others, so far as it was accessible to me and fitted into my plan;*** and I have had the benefit of kind suggestions from various quarters — for all of which I desire to return a grateful acknowledgment. By such help, I have been able not only to correct and repair certain errors and omissions of the first edition, but also to speak with more definiteness upon

* Since published in full by him, 1881—6.

** A part of this new material was published by myself in 1885, as a Supplement to the grammar, under the title "Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language".

*** Especially deserving of mention is Holtzmann's collection of material from the *Mahābhārata*, also published (1884) in the form of a Supplement to this work; also Böhtlingk's similar collection from the larger half of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

very many points relating to the material and usages of the language.

In order not to impair the applicability of the references already made to the work by various authors, its paragraphing has been retained unchanged throughout; for increased convenience of further reference, the subdivisions of paragraphs have been more thoroughly marked, by letters (now and then changing a former lettering); and the paragraph-numbers have been set at the outer instead of the inner edge of the upper margin.

My remoteness from the place of publication has forbidden me the reading of more than one proof; but the kindness of Professor Lanman in adding his revision (accompanied by other timely suggestions) to mine, and the care of the printers, will be found, I trust, to have aided in securing a text disfigured by few errors of the press.

Circumstances beyond my control have delayed for a year or two the completion of this revision, and have made it in some parts less complete than I should have desired.

NEW-HAVEN, Sept. 1888.

W. D. W.

INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN LITERATURE.

It seems desirable to give here such a sketch of the history of Indian literature as shall show the relation to one another of the different periods and forms of the language treated in the following grammar, and the position of the works there quoted.

The name "Sanskrit" (*saṁskṛta*, 1087 ḍ, *adorned, elaborated, perfected*), which is popularly applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India, belongs more properly only to that dialect which, regulated and established by the labors of the native grammarians, has led for the last two thousand years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe, as the written and spoken means of communication of the learned and priestly caste; and which even at the present day fills that office. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the later and derived dialects — as the *Prākṛit*, *forms of language* which have datable monuments from as early as *the third century before Christ*, and which are represented by *inscriptions and coins*, by the speech of the uneducated characters in the Sanskrit dramas (see below), and by a limited literature; *the Pāli*, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in Ceylon and Farther India, and is

still in service there as such; and yet later and more altered tongues forming the transition to the languages of modern India. And, on the other hand, it is distinguished, but very much less sharply and widely, from the older dialects or forms of speech presented in the canonical literature, the Veda and Brāhmaṇa.

This fact, of the fixation by learned treatment of an authorized mode of expression, which should thenceforth be used according to rule in the intercourse of the educated, is the cardinal one in Indian linguistic history; and as the native grammatical literature has determined the form of the language, so it has also to a large extent determined the grammatical treatment of the language by European scholars.

Much in the history of the learned movement is still obscure, and opinions are at variance even as to points of prime consequence. Only the concluding works in the development of the grammatical science have been preserved to us; and though they are evidently the perfected fruits of a long series of learned labors, the records of the latter are lost beyond recovery. The time and the place of the creation of Sanskrit are unknown; and as to its occasion, we have only our inferences and conjectures to rely upon. It seems, however, altogether likely that the grammatical sense of the ancient Hindus was awakened in great measure by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its different language with that of contemporary use. It is certain that the grammatical study of those texts (*ṣākhās*, lit'ly *branches*), phonetic and other, was zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools; this is attested by our possession of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises, *prātiṣākhya*s (*prati ṣākhām belonging to each several text*), each having for subject one principal Vedic text, and noting all its peculiarities of form; these, both by the depth and exactness of their own researches and by the number of authorities which they quote, speak plainly of a lively scientific activity continued during a long time. What part, on the other hand, the notice of differ-

cences between the correct speech of the learned and the altered dialects of the vulgar may have borne in the same movement is not easy to determine; but it is not customary that a language has its proper usages fixed by rule until the danger is distinctly felt of its undergoing corruption.

The labors of the general school of Sanskrit grammar reached a climax in the grammarian Pāṇini, whose text-book, containing the facts of the language cast into the highly artful and difficult form of about four thousand algebraic-formula-like rules (in the statement and arrangement of which brevity alone is had in view, at the cost of distinctness and unambiguity), became for all after time the authoritative, almost sacred, norm of correct speech. Respecting his period, nothing really definite and trustworthy is known; but he is with much probability held to have lived some time (two to four centuries) before the Christian era. He has had commentators in abundance, and has undergone at their hands some measure of amendment and completion; but he has not been overthrown or superseded. The chief and most authoritative commentary on his work is that called the *Mahābhāṣya* *great comment*, by Patanjali.

A language, even if not a vernacular one which is in tolerably wide and constant use for writing and speaking, is, of course, kept in life principally by direct tradition, by communication from teacher to scholar and the study and imitation of existing texts, and not by the learning of grammatical rules; yet the existence of grammatical authority, and especially of a single one, deemed infallible and of prescriptive value, could not fail to exert a strong regulative influence, leading to the avoidance more and more of what was, even if lingering in use, inconsistent with his teachings, and also, in the constant reproduction of texts, to the gradual effacement of whatever they might contain that was unapproved. Thus the whole more modern literature of India has been Paninized, so to speak, pressed into the mould prepared by him and his school. What are the limits of the artificiality of this process is not yet known.

The attention of special students of the Hindu grammar (and the subject is so intricate and difficult that the number is exceedingly small of those who have mastered it sufficiently to have a competent opinion on such general matters) has been hitherto mainly directed toward determining what the Sanskrit according to Pāṇini really is, toward explaining the language from the grammar. And, naturally enough, in India, or wherever else the leading object is to learn to speak and write the language correctly — that is, as authorized by the grammarians — that is the proper course to pursue. This, however, is not the way really to understand the language. The time must soon come, or it has come already, when the endeavor shall be instead to explain the grammar from the language: to test in all details, so far as shall be found possible, the reason of Pāṇini's rules (which contain not a little that seems problematical, or even sometimes perverse); to determine what and how much genuine usage he had everywhere as foundation, and what traces may be left in the literature of usages possessing an inherently authorized character, though unratiſied by him.

By the term "classical" or "later" language, then, as constantly used below in the grammar, is meant the language of those literary monuments which are written in conformity with the rules of the native grammar: virtually, the whole proper Sanskrit literature. For although parts of this are doubtless earlier than Pāṇini, it is impossible to tell just what parts, or how far they have escaped in their style the leveling influence of the grammar. The whole, too, may be called so far an artificial literature as it is written in a phonetic form (see grammar, 101 a) which never can have been a truly vernacular and living one. Nearly all of it is metrical: not poetic works only, but narratives, histories (so far as anything deserving that name can be said to exist), and scientific treatises of every variety, are done into verse; a prose and a prose literature hardly has an existence (the principal exceptions, aside from the voluminous commentaries, are a few stories, as the *Daçakumāracarita* and the *Vāsavadattā*). Of linguistic history there is next to nothing

in it all; but only a history of style, and this for the most part showing a gradual depravation, an increase of artificiality and an intensification of certain more undesirable features of the language — such as the use of passive constructions and of participles instead of verbs, and the substitution of compounds for sentences.

This being the condition of the later literature, it is of so much the higher consequence that there is an earlier literature, to which the suspicion of artificiality does not attach, or attaches at least only in a minimal degree, which has a truly vernacular character, and abounds in prose as well as verse.

The results of the very earliest literary productiveness of the Indian people are the hymns with which, when they had only crossed the threshold of the country, and when their geographical horizon was still limited to the river-basin of the Indus with its tributaries, they praised their gods, the deified powers of nature, and accompanied the rites of their comparatively simple worship. At what period these were made and sung cannot be determined with any approach to accuracy: it may have been as early as 2000 B. C. They were long handed down by oral tradition, preserved by the care, and increased by the additions and imitations, of succeeding generations; the mass was ever growing, and, with the change of habits and beliefs and religious practices, was becoming variously applied — sung in chosen extracts, mixed with other material into liturgies, adapted with more or less of distortion to help the needs of a ceremonial which was coming to be of immense elaboration and intricacy. And, at some time in the course of this history, there was made for preservation a great collection of the hymn-material, mainly its oldest and most genuine part, to the extent of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship and to subject and length and metre of hymn: this collection is the *Rig-Veda Veda of verses* (ꣳc) or of *hymns*. Other collections were made also out of the same general mass of traditional material: doubtless later, although the inter-

relations of this period are as yet too unclear to allow of our speaking with entire confidence as to anything concerning them. Thus, the *Sāma-Veda Veda of chants* (*sāman*), containing only about a sixth as much, its verses nearly all found in the *Rig-Veda* also, but appearing here with numerous differences of reading: these were passages put together for chanting at the soma-sacrifices. Again, collections called by the comprehensive name of *Yajur-Veda Veda of sacrificial formulas* (*yajus*): these contained not verses alone, but also numerous prose utterances, mingled with the former, in the order in which they were practically employed in the ceremonies; they were strictly liturgical collections. Of these, there are in existence several texts, which have their mutual differences: the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* (in two slightly discordant versions, *Mādhyandina* and *Kāpya*), sometimes also called the *White Yajur-Veda*; and the various and considerably differing texts of the *Black Yajur-Veda*, namely the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, the *Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, the *Kapisaṭhala-Saṁhitā*, and the *Kāṭhaka* (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the *Rig-Veda*, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the *Atharva-Veda Veda of the Atharvans* (a legendary priestly family); it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the *Rig-Veda*, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the Name of *Veda*; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the *Rig-Veda*, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or *mantra*, as it is called, in distinction from the prose *brāhmaṇa*), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them in only a single known manuscript.

A not insignificant body of like material, and of various period (although doubtless in the main belonging to the latest time of Vedic productiveness, and in part perhaps

the imitative work of a yet more modern time), is scattered through the texts to be later described, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. To assemble and sift and compare it is now one of the pressing needs of Vedic study.

The fundamental divisions of the Vedic literature here mentioned have all had their various schools of sectaries, each of these with a text of its own, showing some differences from those of the other schools; but those mentioned above are all that are now known to be in existence; and the chance of the discovery of others grows every year smaller.

The labor of the schools in the conservation of their sacred texts was extraordinary, and has been crowned with such success that the text of each school, whatever may be its differences from those of other schools, is virtually without various readings, preserved with all its peculiarities of dialect, and its smallest and most exceptional traits of phonetic form, pure and unobscured. It is not the place here to describe the means by which, in addition to the religious care of the sectaries, this accuracy was secured: forms of texts, lists of peculiarities and treatises upon them, and so on. When this kind of care began in the case of each text, and what of original character may have been effaced before it, or lost in spite of it, cannot be told. But it is certain that the Vedic records furnish, on the whole, a wonderfully accurate and trustworthy picture of a form of ancient Indian language (as well as ancient Indian beliefs and institutions) which was a natural and undistorted one, and which goes back a good way behind the classical Sanskrit. Its differences from the latter the following treatise endeavors to show in detail.

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the text of the Black Yajur-Veda are given long prose sections, in which the ceremonies are described, their meaning and the reason of the details and the accompanying utterances are discussed and explained, illustrative legends are reported or fabricated, and various speculations, etymological and other, are indulged in. Such matter comes

to be called *brāhmaṇa* (apparently *relating to the brahman or worship*). In the White Yajur-Veda, it is separated into a work by itself, beside the *saṃhitā* or text of verses and formulas, and is called the *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Brāhmaṇa of a hundred ways*. Other similar collections are found, belonging to various other schools of Vedic study, and they bear the common name of *Brāhmaṇa*, with the name of the school, or some other distinctive title, prefixed. Thus, the *Āitareya* and *Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇas*, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the *Pañcaviṅṣa* and *Saḍviṅṣa-Brāhmaṇas* and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Atharva-Veda; and a *Jāminiya-* or *Talavakāra-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Sāma-Veda, has recently (Burnell) been discovered in India; the *Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa* is a collection of mingled mantra and *brāhmaṇa*, like the *saṃhitā* of the same name, but supplementary and later. These works are likewise regarded as canonical by the schools, and are learned by their sectaries with the same extreme care which is devoted to the *saṃhitās*, and their condition of textual preservation is of a kindred excellence. To a certain extent, there is among them the possession of common material: a fact the bearings of which are not yet fully understood.

Notwithstanding the inanity of no small part of their contents, the *Brāhmaṇas* are of a high order of interest in their bearings on the history of Indian institutions; and philologically they are not less important, since they represent a form of language in most respects intermediate between the classical and that of the Vedas, and offer specimens on a large scale of a prose style, and of one which is in the main a natural and freely developed one — the oldest and most primitive Indo-European prose.

Beside the *Brāhmaṇas* are sometimes found later appendices, of a similar character, called *Āraṇyakas* (*forest-sections*): as the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*, *Tāittiriya-Āraṇyaka*, *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka*, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the *Brāhmaṇas*, are extracted the earliest *Upaniṣads* (*sittings, lectures on sacred subjects*) — which,

however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upanishads are one of the lines by which the Brāhmaṇa literature passes over into the later theological literature.

Another line of transition is shown in the Sūtras (*lines, rules*). The works thus named are analogous with the Brāhmaṇas in that they belong to the schools of Vedic study and are named from them, and that they deal with the religious ceremonies: treating them, however, in the way of prescription, not of dogmatic explanation. They, too, contain some mantra or hymn-material, not found to occur elsewhere. In part (ṛgveda or kalpa-sūtras), they take up the great sacrificial ceremonies, with which the Brāhmaṇas have to do; in part (gṛhya-sūtras), they teach the minor duties of a pious householder; in some cases (sāmāyācārika-sūtras) they lay down the general obligations of one whose life is in accordance with prescribed duty. And out of the last two, or especially the last, come by natural development the law-books (dharma-śāstras), which make a conspicuous figure in the later literature: the oldest and most noted of them being that called by the name of **Manu** (an outgrowth, it is believed by many, of the Mānava Vedic school); to which are added that of Yājñavalkya, and many others.

Respecting the chronology of this development, or the date of any class of writings, still more of any individual work, the less that is said the better. All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again. Every important work has undergone so many more or less transforming changes before reaching the form in which it comes to us, that the question of original construction is complicated with that of final redaction. It is so with the law-book of Manu, just mentioned, which has well-founded claims to being regarded as one of the very oldest works of the proper Sanskrit literature, if not the oldest (it has been variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to four after Christ). It is so, again, in a still more striking degree, with the great legendary

epic of the *Mahābhārata*. The ground-work of this is doubtless of very early date; but it has served as a text into which materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of cyclopedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its constituent parts. The story of *Nala*, and the philosophical poem *Bhagavad-Gītā*, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the other most famous epic, is a work of another kind: though also worked over and more or less altered in its transmission to our time, it is the production, in the main, of a single author (*Vālmiki*); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, representing the introduction of Aryan culture and dominion into Southern India. By its side stand a number of minor epics, of various authorship and period, as the *Raghuvamśa* (ascribed to the dramatist *Kālidāsa*), the *Māghakāvya*, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, though taught by the grammarians, find no place in the literature).

The *Purāṇas*, a large class of works mostly of immense extent, are best mentioned in connection with the epics. They are pseudo-historical and prophetic in character, of modern date, and of inferior value. Real history finds no place in Sanskrit literature, nor is there any conscious historical element in any of the works composing it.

Lyric poetry is represented by many works, some of which, as the *Meghadūta* and *Gītogovinda*, are of no mean order of merit.

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the *Veda*, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of *Saramā* and the *Paṇis*, that of *Yama* and his sister *Yamī*, that of *Vasishtha* and the rivers, that of *Agni* and the other gods — but there are no extant intermediaries between these

and the standard drama. The beginnings of the latter date from a period when in actual life the higher and educated characters used Sanskrit, and the lower and uneducated used the popular dialects derived from it, the Prākritis; and their dialogue reflects this condition of things. Then, however learning (not to call it pedantry) intervened, and stereotyped the new element; a Prākrit grammar grew up beside the Sanskrit grammar, according to the rules of which Prākrit could be made indefinitely on a substrate of Sanskrit; and none of the existing dramas need to date from the time of vernacular use of Prākrit, while most or all of them are undoubtedly much later. Among the dramatic authors, Kālidāsa is incomparably the chief, and his *Çakuntalā* is distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kālidāsa's is the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* of Çūdraka, also of questionable period, but believed to be the oldest of the extant dramas.

A partly dramatic character belongs also to the fable, in which animals are represented as acting and speaking. The most noted works in this department are the *Pañcatantra*, which through Persian and Semitic versions has made its way all over the world, and contributes a considerable quota to the fable-literature of every European language, and, partly founded on it, the comparatively recent and popular *Hitopadeça* (*salutary instruction*).

Two of the leading departments of Sanskrit scientific literature, the legal and the grammatical, have been already sufficiently noticed; of those remaining, the most important by far is the philosophical. The beginnings of philosophical speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the Brāhmapas and Āraṇyakas, and then especially in the Upanishads. The evolution and historic relation of the systems of philosophy, and the age of their text-books, are matters on which much obscurity still rests. There are six systems of primary rank, and reckoned as orthodox, although really standing in no

accordance with approved religious doctrines. All of them seek the same end, the emancipation of the soul from the necessity of continuing its existence in a succession of bodies, and its unification with the All-soul; but they differ in regard to the means by which they seek to attain this end.

The astronomical science of the Hindus is a reflection of that of Greece, and its literature is of recent date; but as mathematicians, in arithmetic and geometry, they have shown more independence. Their medical science, although its beginnings go back even to the Veda, in the use of medicinal plants with accompanying incantations, is of little account, and its proper literature by no means ancient.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>AA. Āitareya-Āraṇyaka.
 AB. Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
 AÇS. Āçvalāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.
 AGS. Āçvalāyana-Gr̥hya-Sūtra.
 Āpast. Āpastamba-Sūtra.
 APr. Atharva-Prātiçākhyā.
 AV. Atharva-Veda.
 B. or Br. Brāhmaṇas.
 BAU. Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.
 BbG. Bhagavad-Gītā.
 BbP. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.
 BR. Būhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon).
 C. Classical Sanskrit.
 Ç. Çakuntalā.
 Çatr. Çatruṃjaya-Mahātmyam.
 ÇB. Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
 ÇÇS. Çāṅkhāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.
 ÇGS. Çāṅkhāyana-Gr̥hya-Sūtra.
 ChU. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.
 ÇvU. Çvetāçvatara-Upaniṣad.
 DKC. Daça-Kumāra-Çarita.
 E. Epos (MBh. and R.).
 GB. Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.
 GGS. Gobhīlīya-Gr̥hya-Sūtra.
 H. Hitopadeça.
 Har. Harivaṅça.
 JB. Jāiminiya (or Talavakāra) Brāhmaṇa.
 JUB. Jāiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa.
 K. Kāthaka.
 Kap. Kapiṣṭhala-Saṃhitā.
 KB. Kāuṣītaki- (or Çāṅkhāyana-) Brāhmaṇa.
 KBU. Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad.
 KÇS. Kātyāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.
 KS. Kāuçika-Sūtra.
 KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.
 KṭhU. Kaṭha Upaniṣad.</p> | <p>KU. Kena-Upaniṣad.
 LÇS. Lātyāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.
 M. Manu.
 MāU. Māitri-Upaniṣad.
 MBh. Mahābhārata.
 MdU. Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.
 Megh. Meghadūta.
 MS. Māitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā.
 Nāiç. Nāiṣadhiya.
 Nir. Nirukta.
 Pañc. Pañcatantra.
 PB. Pañcaviṅça- (or Tāṇḍya-) Brāhmaṇa.
 PGS. Pāraskara-Gr̥hya-Sūtra.
 PU. Praçna Upaniṣad.
 R. Rāmāyaṇa.
 Ragh. Raghuvāṅça.
 RPr. Rigveda-Prātiçākhyā.
 R'T. Rāja-Taraṅginī.
 RV. Rig-Veda.
 S. Sūtras.
 ŞB. Şadviṅça-Brāhmaṇa.
 Spr. Indische Sprüche (Būhtlingk).
 SV. Sāma-Veda.
 TA. Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.
 TB. Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa.
 TPr. Taittirīya-Prātiçākhyā.
 Tribh. Tribhāṣyaratna (comp. to TPr.).
 TS. Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
 U. Upaniṣads.
 V. Vedas (RV., AV., SV.).
 Vas. Vasiṣṭha.
 VBS. Varāha-Bṛhat-Saṃhitā.
 Vet. Vetālapañcaviṅçaṭī.
 Vikr. Vikramorvaçī.
 VPr. Vājasaṇeyi-Prātiçākhyā.
 VS. Vājasaṇeyi-Saṃhitā.
 VS. Kāṇ. do. Kāṇva-text.
 Y. Yājñavalkya.</p> |
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CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

1. THE natives of India write their ancient and sacred language in a variety of alphabets — generally, in each part of the country, in the same alphabet which they use for their own vernacular. The mode of writing, however, which is employed throughout the heart of Aryan India, or in Hindustan proper, is alone adopted by European scholars: it is called the *devanāgarī*.

a. This name is of doubtful origin and value. A more comprehensive name is *nāgarī* (perhaps, *of the city*); and *deva-nāgarī* is *nāgarī of the gods, or of the Brahmans*.

2. Much that relates to the history of the Indian alphabets is still obscure. The earliest written monuments of known date in the country are the inscriptions containing the edicts of Aśoka or Piyaḍasi, of about the middle of the third century B. C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin. From the latter, the Lath, or Southern Aśoka character (of Gīrnār), come the later Indian alphabets, both those of the northern Aryan languages and those of the southern Dravidian languages. The *nāgarī*, *devanāgarī*, Bengālī, Guzerātī, and others, are varieties of its northern derivatives; and with them are related some of the alphabets of peoples outside of India — as in Tibet and Farther India — who have adopted Hindu culture or religion.

a. There is reason to believe that writing was first employed in India for practical purposes — for correspondence and business and the like — and only by degrees came to be applied also to literary use. The literature, to a great extent, and the more fully in proportion to its claimed sanctity and authority, ignores all written record, and assumes to be kept in existence by oral tradition alone.

3. Of the *devanāgarī* itself there are minor varieties, depending on differences of locality or of period, as also of individual hand (see examples in Weber's catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., in Rājendralāla Mitra's notices of MSS. in Indian libraries, in the published fac-similes of inscriptions, and so on); and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing, both in India and in Europe. But a student who makes himself familiar with one style of printed characters will have little difficulty with the others, and will soon learn, by practice, to read the manuscripts. A few specimens of types other than those used in this work are given in Appendix A.

a. On account of the difficulty of combining them with the smaller sizes of our Roman and Italic type, the *devanāgarī* characters are used below only in connection with the first or largest size. And, in accordance with the laudable usage of recent grammars, they are, wherever given, also transliterated, in Clarendon letters; while the latter alone are used in the other sizes.

4. The student may be advised to try to familiarize himself from the start with the *devanāgarī* mode of writing. At the same time, it is not indispensable that he should do so until, having learned the principal paradigms, he comes to begin reading and analysing and parsing; and many will find the latter the more practical, and in the end equally or more effective, way.

5. The characters of the *devanāgarī* alphabet, and the European letters which will be used in transliterating them, are as follows:

		short	long
Vowels: simple	{	palatal	॥ अ a ॥ आ ā
		labial	॥ इ i ॥ ई ī
		lingual	॥ उ u ॥ ऊ ū
		dental	॥ ए e ॥ ऐ ē
diphthongs	{	palatal	॥ लृ l ॥ [लृ l̥]
		labial	॥ ए e ॥ ऐ ē
		॥ ओ o ॥ औ au	
Visarga	॥ ḥ		
Anusvāra	॥ ṁ, ṅ or ṇ (see 73 c).		

		vowel	vowel sep.	sonant	son. asp.	nasal
Mutes	{	guttural	॥ क k ॥ ख kh ॥ ग g ॥ घ gh ॥ ङ ṅ			
		palatal	॥ च c ॥ छ ch ॥ ज j ॥ झ jh ॥ ञ ṇ			
		lingual	॥ ट ṭ ॥ ठ ṭh ॥ ड ḍ ॥ ढ ḍh ॥ ण ṇ			
		dental	॥ त t ॥ थ th ॥ द d ॥ ध dh ॥ न n			
		labial	॥ प p ॥ फ ph ॥ ब b ॥ भ bh ॥ म m			

Semi-vowels	{	palatal	" ढ ळ
		lingual	" र र
		dental	" ल ल
		labial	" व व
Sibilants	{	palatal	" श श
		lingual	" ष ष
		dental	" स स
Aspiration			" ह ह

a. To these may be added a lingual ळ ळ, which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of र र when occurring between two vowels (54).

6. A few other sounds, recognized by the theories of the Hindu grammarians, but either having no separate characters to represent them or only very rarely and exceptionally written, will be noticed below (71 b, c, 230). Such are the guttural and labial breathings, the nasal semivowels, and others.

7. The order of arrangement given above is that in which the sounds are catalogued and described by the native grammarians; and it has been adopted by European scholars as the alphabetic order, for indexes, dictionaries, etc.; to the Hindus, the idea of an alphabetic arrangement for such practical uses is wanting.

a. In some works (as the Petersburg lexicon), a visarga which is regarded as equivalent to and exchangeable with a sibilant (172) is, though written as visarga, given the alphabetic place of the sibilant.

8. The theory of the *devanāgarī*, as of the other Indian modes of writing, is syllabic and consonantal. That is to say, it regards as the written unit, not the simple sound, but the syllable (*akṣara*); and further, as the substantial part of the syllable, the consonant or the consonants which precede the vowel — this latter being merely implied, or, if written, being written by a subordinate sign attached to the consonant.

9. Hence follow these two principles:

A. The forms of the vowel-characters given in the alphabetical scheme above are used only when the vowel

forms a syllable by itself, or is not combined with a preceding consonant: that is, when it is either initial or preceded by another vowel. In combination with a consonant, other modes of representation are used.

B. If more consonants than one precede the vowel, forming with it a single syllable, their characters must be combined into a single compound character.

a. Native Hindu usage, in manuscripts and inscriptions, treats the whole material of a sentence alike, not separating its words from one another, any more than the syllables of the same word: a final consonant is combined into one written syllable with the initial vowel or consonant or consonants of the following word. It never occurred to the Hindus to space their words in any way, even where the mode of writing admitted such treatment; nor to begin a paragraph on a new line; nor to write one line of verse under another: everything, without exception, is written solid by them, filling the whole page.

b. Thus, the sentence and verse-line aham rudrebhir vasubhiḥ carāmy aham ādityāir uta viṣvadevāḥ (Rig-Veda X. 125. 1: see Appendix B) *I wander with the Vasus, the Rudras, I with the Ādityas and the All-Gods* is thus syllabized: a haṁ ru dre bhi rva su bhi ṣca rā mya ha mā di tyāi ru ta vi ṣva de vāḥ, each syllable ending with a vowel (or a vowel modified by the nasal-sign anusvāra, or having the sign of a final breathing, visarga, added: these being the only elements that can follow a vowel in the same syllable); and it is (together with the next line) written in the manuscripts after this fashion:

अहं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यकुमादित्यै
रुतविश्वदेवैः । अहं मित्रावरुणोभा
विभर्म्यकुमिन्द्राग्नीध्रकुमश्निनेभा ॥

Each syllable is written separately, and by many scribes the successive syllables are parted a little from one another: thus,

अहं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यकुमादित्यै

and so on.

c. In Western practice, however, it is almost universally customary to divide paragraphs, to make the lines of verse follow one another, and also to separate the words so far as this can be done without changing the mode of writing them. See Appendix B, where the verse here given is so treated.

d. Further, in works prepared for beginners in the language, it is not uncommon to make a more complete separation of words by a

free use of the virāma-sign (11) under final consonants: thus, for example,

घर्हं रुहेभिर् वसुभिर् चराम्य् घर्हम् अदित्यैर् उत विश्वेदेवैः ।

or even by indicating also the combinations of initial and final vowels (126, 127): for example,

घर्हं मित्रावरुणो भा बिभर्म्य् घर्हम् इन्द्राग्री घर्हम् घञिनो भा ॥

e. In transliterating, Western methods of separation of words are of course to be followed; to do otherwise would be simple pedantry.

10. Under A, it is to be noticed that the modes of indicating a vowel combined with a preceding consonant are as follows:

a. The short अ a has no written sign at all; the consonant-sign itself implies a following अ a, unless some other vowel-sign is attached to it (or else the virāma: 11). Thus, the consonant-signs as given above in the alphabetic scheme are really the signs of the syllables ka, kha, etc. etc. (to ha).

b. The long आ ā is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, का kā, धा dhā, हा hā.

c. Short इ i and long ई ī are written by a similar stroke, which for short i is placed before the consonant and for long ī is placed after it, and in either case is connected with the consonant by a hook above the upper line: thus, कि ki, की kī; भि bhi, भी bhī; नि nī, नी nī.

The hook above, turning to the left or to the right, is historically the essential part of the character, having been originally the whole of it; the hooks were only later prolonged, so as to reach all the way down beside the consonant. In the MSS., they almost never have the horizontal stroke drawn across them above, though this is added in the printed characters: thus, originally के ki, की kī; in the MSS., कि, की; in print, कि, की.

d. The u-sounds, short and long, are written by hooks attached to the lower end of the consonant-sign: thus, कु ku, कू kū; दु du, दू dū. On account of the necessities of combination, du and dū are somewhat disguised: thus, दु, हू; and the forms with र r and ह h are still more irregular: thus, रु ru, रू rū; हु hu, हू hū.

e. The *r*-vowels, short and long, are written by a subjoined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, कृ *kr*, कृ *kṛ*; दृ *dr*, दृ *dṛ*. In the *h*-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, हृ *hr*, हृ *hṛ*.

As to the combination of *r* with preceding *r*, see below, 14 d.

f. The *l*-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, क्ल *kl*; the corresponding long has no real occurrence (23 a), but would be written with a similar reduced sign.

g. The diphthongs are written by strokes, single or double, above the upper line, combined, for औ *o* and औ *āu*, with the *ā*-sign after the consonant: thus, के *ke*, कै *kāi*; को *ko*, कौ *kāu*.

h. In some devanāgarī manuscripts (as in the Bengālī alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the *ā*-sign before the consonant: thus, के *ke*, कै *kāi*; को *ko*, कौ *kāu*.

11. A consonant-sign, however, is capable of being made to signify the consonant-sound alone, without an added vowel, by having written beneath it a stroke called the *virāma* (*rest, stop*): thus, क् *k*, द् *d*, ह् *h*.

a. Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously like one word (9 a, b), the *virāma* is in general called for only when a final consonant occurs before a pause. But it is also occasionally resorted to by scribes, & in print, in order to avoid an awkward or difficult combination of consonant-signs: thus,

लिङ्भिः *liṅbhiḥ*, लिङ्मु *liṅmu*, मङ्क्व *māṅkva*;

and it is used to make a separation of words in texts prepared for beginners (9 d).

12. Under B, it is to be noticed that the consonant combinations are for the most part not at all difficult to make or to recognise for one who is familiar with the simple signs. The characteristic part of a consonant-sign that is to be added to another is taken (to the exclusion of the horizontal or of the perpendicular framing-line, or of both), and they are put together according to convenience,

either side by side, or one above the other; in a few combinations either arrangement is allowed. The consonant that is to be pronounced first is set before the other in the one order, and above it in the other order.

a. Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: ग्ग gga, ज्ञ jja, प्य pya, न्म nma, त्थ ttha, भ्य bhya, स्क् ska, ण्ण ṣṣa, त्क tka.

b. Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्क kka, क्क kva, च्च cca, ज्ञ्ज्ञ ñja, द्द dda, प्त pta, त्त tta, त्त् tva.

13. In some cases, however, there is more or less abbreviation or disguise of the independent form of a consonant-sign in combination. Thus,

a. Of क k in क्त kta, क्त kta; and in कण kṇa etc.

b. Of त t in त्त tta;

c. Of द d in द्ग dga, द्द dna, etc.;

d. Of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क्य kya, क्क kma, ख्ख kṃma, ज्ञ्ज्ञ ñya, न्म dma, द्द dya, ह्म hma, ह्म hya, च्च chya, ध्ध dḥya.

e. Of श ṣ, which generally becomes ष ṣ when followed by a consonant: thus, च्च ṣca, ष् षna, च्च ṣva, य्य ṣya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below; thus, ष् षu, ष् षr.

f. Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are ष ṣṣa, ल् लla, द्द ddha, द्द dbha, ष् षṣa, ष् षṣha; and the compounds of ह h: as ह् हḥa, ह् हḥa.

g. In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognizable: thus, क्त kṣa, ज्ञ्ज्ञ jḥa.

14. The semivowel र r, in making combinations with other consonants, is treated in a wholly peculiar manner, analogous with that in which the vowels are treated.

a. If pronounced before another consonant or combination of consonants, it is written above the latter, with a hook

opening to the right (much like the sign of the vowel *r*, as written under a consonant: 10e): thus, र्क rka, र्ष rṣa, र्त्त riva, र्म rmya, र्त रtsa.

b. Then, if a consonant-group, thus containing *r* as first member is followed by a vowel that has its sign, or a part of its sign, or its sign of nasality (anusvāra: 70, 71), written above the line, the *r*-sign is placed furthest to the right: thus, र्के rke, र्क र्कां, र्कि rki, र्की rki, र्को rko, र्की rkiñ, र्की rkoñ.

c. If *r* is pronounced after another consonant, whether before a vowel or before yet another consonant, it is written with a straight stroke below, slanting to the left: thus, प्र pra, ध्र dhra, ग्र gra, स्त्र sra, द्ध dhra, न्त्र ntra, ग्र्या grya, स्त्र्या strya; and, with modifications of a preceding consonant-sign like those noted above (13), त्र tra, द्र dra, ञ्र ञra, ह्र hra.

d. When र् is to be combined with a following र, it is the vowel which is written in full, with its initial character, and the consonant in subordination to it: thus, र् र r.

15. Further combinations, of three, or four, or even five consonant-signs, are made according to the same rules. Examples are:

of three consonants, त्त्वा ttva, द्ध्या ddhya, द्या dyva, द्या drya, ध्र्या dhrya, प्त्वा psva, ञ्या ṇya, श्या śhya, ह्या hvyā;

of four consonants, क्त्र्या ktrya, ण्क्ष्या ṅkṣya, श्र्या śtrya, त्स्या tस्या;

of five consonants, र्त्या र्त्या.

e. The manuscripts, and the type-fonts as well, differ from one another more in their management of consonant combinations than in any other respect, often having peculiarities which one needs a little practice to understand. It is quite useless to give in a grammar the whole series of possible combinations (some of them excessively rare) which are provided for in any given type-font, or even in all. There is nothing which due familiarity with the simple

signs and with the above rules of combination will not enable the student readily to analyse and explain.

18. a. A sign called the *avagraha* (*separator*) — namely ऽ — is occasionally used in the manuscripts, sometimes in the manner of a hyphen, sometimes as a mark of hiatus, sometimes to mark the elision of initial अ after final ए or ओ (135). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily applied to the use last mentioned, and to that alone: thus, ते ऽब्रुवन् ते 'bruvan, सो ऽब्रवीत् so 'bravit, for to abruvan, so abravīt.

b. If the elided initial-vowel is nasal, and has the *anuvāra*-sign (70, 71) written above, this is usually and more properly transferred to the eliding vowel; but sometimes it is written instead over the *avagraha*-sign: thus, for so 'ñumān, from so añḍumān, either सो ऽनुमान् or सो ऽनुमान्.

c. The sign ° is used in place of something that is omitted, and to be understood from the connection: thus, वीरसेनसुतम् °तम् °तेन vīrasenasutas -tam -tens.

d. Signs of punctuation are । and ॥.

At the end of a verse, a paragraph, or the like, the latter of them is ordinarily written twice, with the figure of enumeration between: thus, ॥ २० ॥.

17. The numeral figures are

१ 1, २ 2, ३ 3, ४ 4, ५ 5, ६ 6, ७ 7, ८ 8, ९ 9, ० 0.

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way as European digits: thus, २५ 25, ६३० 630, ७००० 7000, १८९६ 1896.

18. The Hindu grammarians call the different sounds, and the characters representing them, by a *kāra* (*maker*) added to the sound of the letter, if a vowel, or to the letter followed by a, if a consonant. Thus, the sound or character a is called *akāra*; k is *kakāra*; and so on. But the *kāra* is also omitted, and a, ka, etc. are used alone. The r, however, is not called *rakāra*, but only ra, or *repha* *snarl*; the sole example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of its class. The *anuvāra* and *visarga* are also known by these names alone.

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION.

I. Vowels.

19. THE a, i, and u-vowels. The Sanskrit has these three earliest and most universal vowels of Indo-European language, in both short and long form — अ a and आ ā, इ i and ई ī, उ u and ऊ ū. They are to be pronounced in the "Continental" or "Italian" manner — as in *far* or *farther*, *pin* and *pique*, *pull* and *rule*.

20. The a is the openest vowel, an utterance from the expanded throat, stands in no relation of kindred with any of the classes of consonantal sounds, and has no corresponding semivowel. Of the close vowels i and u, on the other hand, i is palatal, and shades through its semivowel y into the palatal and guttural consonant-classes; u is similarly related, through its semivowel v, to the labial class, as involving in its utterance a narrowing and rounding of the lips.

a. The Paninian scheme (commentary to Pāṇini's grammar i. 1. 9) classes a as guttural, but apparently only in order to give that series as well as the rest a vowel; no one of the Prātiśākhya puts a into one class with k etc. All these authorities concur in calling the i- and u-vowels respectively palatal and labial.

21. The short a is not pronounced in India with the full openness of ā, as its corresponding short, but usually as the "neutral vowel" (English so-called "short u", of *but*, *son*, *blood*, etc.). This peculiarity appears very early, being acknowledged by Pāṇini and by two of the Prātiśākhya (APr. i. 36; VPr. i. 72), which call the utterance *samvṛta*, *covered up*, *dimmed*. It is wont to be ignored by Western scholars, except those who have studied in India.

22. The a-vowels are the prevailing vowel-sounds of the language, being about twice as frequent as all the others (including diphthongs) taken together. The i-vowels, again, are about twice as numerous as the u-vowels. And, in each pair, the short vowel is more than twice ($2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times) as common as the long.

a. For more precise estimates of frequency, of these and of the other alphabetic elements, and for the way in which they were obtained, see below, 75.

23. The *r*- and *l*-vowels. To the three simple vowels already mentioned the Sanskrit adds two others, the *r*-vowel and the *l*-vowel, plainly generated by the abbreviation of syllables containing respectively a *r* or *l* along with another vowel: the *ṛ* coming almost always (see 237, 241-3) from *अर* *ar* or *र* *ra*, the *ḷ* from *अल्* *al*.

a. Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long *l*; but this is only for the sake of an artificial symmetry, since the sound does not occur in a single genuine word in the language.

24. The vowel *ṛ* is simply a smooth or untrilled *r*-sound, assuming a vocalic office in syllable-making — as, by a like abbreviation, it has done also in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel *ḷ* is an *l*-sound similarly uttered — like the English *l*-vowel in such words as *able*, *angle*, *addle*.

a. The modern Hindus pronounce these vowels as *ri*, *rī*, *li* (or even *lī*), having long lost the habit and the facility of giving a vowel value to the pure *r*- and *l*-sounds. Their example is widely followed by European scholars; and hence also the (distorting and altogether objectionable) transliterations *ṛi*, *rī*, *li*. There is no real difficulty in the way of acquiring and practising the true utterance.

b. Some of the grammarians (see APr. i. 37, note) attempt to define more nearly the way in which, in these vowels, a real *r*- or *l*-element is combined with something else.

25. Like their corresponding semivowels, *r* and *l*, these vowels belong respectively to the general lingual and dental classes; the euphonic influence of *ṛ* and *ḷ* (189) shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninean scheme; but the Prācīkhyas in general strangely class them with the *jihvāmūliya* sounds, our "gutturals" (39).

26. The short *ṛ* is found in every variety of word and of position, and is not rare, being just about as frequent as long *ā*. Long *ṛ* is very much more unusual, occurring only in certain plural cases of noun-stems in *ṛ* (371b, d, 375). The *ḷ* is met with only in some of the forms and derivatives of a single not very common verbal root (*kṛp*).

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the *ṛe* and *ṃo*, are in great part original Indo-European

sounds. In the Sanskrit, they wear the aspect of being products of the increment or strengthening of इ i and उ u respectively; and they are called the corresponding *guṇa*-vowels to the latter (see below, 235 ff.). The other two, ऐ ai and औ au, are held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth; they are also in general results of another and higher increment of इ i and उ u, to which they are called the corresponding *vr̥ddhi*-vowels (below, 235 ff.). But all are likewise sometimes generated by euphonic combination (127); and ओ o, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final षम् as (175).

28. The ए e and ओ o are, both in India and in Europe, usually pronounced as they are transliterated — that is, as long e- (English "long a", or e in *they*) and o-sounds, without diphthongal character.

a. Such they apparently already were to the authors of the *Prātīkākhyas*, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (*saṁdhyakṣara*), give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them to be virtually unitary sounds. But their euphonic treatment (131-4) clearly shows them to have been still at the period when the euphonic laws established themselves, as they of course were at their origin, real diphthongs, *ai* (a + i) and *au* (a + u). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or *vr̥ddhi* diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their a-element, as *āi* (ā + i) and *āu* (ā + u).

b. The recognizable distinctness of the two elements in the *vr̥ddhi*-diphthongs is noticed by the *Prātīkākhyas* (see APr. I. 40, note); but the relation of those elements is either defined as equal, or the a is made of less quantity than the i and u.

29. The lighter or *guṇa*-diphthongs are much more frequent (6 or 7 times) than the heavier or *vr̥ddhi*-diphthongs, and the e and ai than the o and au (a half more). Both pairs are somewhat more than half as common as the simple i- and u-vowels.

30. The general name given by the Hindu grammarians to the vowels is *svara tone*; the simple vowels are called *saṁānākṣara homogeneous syllable*, and the diphthongs are called *saṁdhyakṣara combination-syllable*. The position of the organs in their utterance is defined to be one of openness, or of non-closure.

a. As to quantity and accent, see below, 76 ff., 80 ff.

II. Consonants.

31. The Hindu name for 'consonant' is *vyañjana manifest*. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into *sparṣa contact* or mute, *antahsthā, intermediate* or semivowel, and *ūṣman spirant*. They will here be taken up and described in this order.

32. Mutes. The mutes, *sparṣa*, are so called as involving a complete closure or contact (*sparṣa*), and not an approximation only, of the mouth-organs by which they are produced. They are divided into five classes or series (*varga*), according to the organs and parts of organs by which the contact is made; and each series is composed of five members, differing according to the accompaniments of the contact.

33. The five mute-series are called respectively guttural, palatal, lingual (or cerebral), dental, and labial; and they are arranged in the order as just mentioned, beginning with the contact made furthest back in the mouth, coming forward from point to point, and ending with the frontmost contact.

34. In each series there are two surd members, two sonant, and one nasal (which is also sonant): for example, in the labial series, *प p* and *फ ph*, *ब b* and *भ bh*, and *म m*.

a. The members are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively *first*, *second*, *third*, *fourth*, and *last* or *fifth*.

b. The surd consonants are known as *aghosa toneless*, and the sonants as *ghoṣavant having tone*; and the descriptions of the grammarians are in accordance with these terms. All alike recognise a difference of tone, and not in any manner a difference of force, whether of contact or of expulsion, as separating the two great classes in question. That the difference depends on *vivāra opening*, or *saṁvāra closure* (of the glottis), is also recognized by them.

35. The first and third members of each series are the ordinary corresponding surd and sonant mutes of European languages: thus, *क k* and *ग g*, *त t* and *द d*, *प p* and *ब b*.

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What *म m* is to *प p*, and *व v*, or *न n* to *त t* and *द d*, that is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouth-organs are in the mute-contact.

a. The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal (*anunāsika passing through the nose*) sounds are declared to be formed by mouth and nose together; or their nasality (*ānunāsikya*) to be given them by unclosure of the nose.

37. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates: thus, beside the surd mute क् *k* we have the corresponding surd aspirate क्ख *kh*, and beside the sonant ग् *g*, the corresponding sonant aspirate ग्ग *gh*. Of these, the precise character is more obscure and difficult to determine.

a. That the aspirates, all of them, are real mutes or contact sounds, and not fricatives (like European *th* and *ph* and *ch*, etc.), is beyond question.

b. It is also not doubtful in what way the surd *th*, for example, differs from the unaspirated *t*: such aspirates are found in many Asiatic languages, and even in some European; they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of *flatus* or aspiration between the breach of mute-closure and the following sound, whatever it may be. They are accurately enough represented by the *th* etc., with which, in imitation of the Latin treatment of the similar ancient Greek aspirates, we are accustomed to write them.

c. The sonant aspirates are generally understood and described as made in a similar way, with a perceptible *h*-sound after the breach of sonant mute-closure. But there are great theoretical difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation; and some of the best phonetic observers deny that the modern Hindu pronunciation is of such a character, and define the element following the mute as a "glottal buzz", rather, or as an emphasized utterance of the beginning of the succeeding sound. The question is one of great difficulty, and upon it the opinions of the highest authorities are much at variance. Sonant aspirates are still in use in India, in the pronunciation of the vernacular as well as of the learned languages.

d. By the Prātiśākhya, the aspirates of both classes are called *soḡman*: which might mean either *accompanied by a rush of breath* (taking *śūman* in its more etymological sense), or *accompanied by a spirant* (below, 59). And some native authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spirant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the *h*-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make *th* the same as *ts*, *th* as *ʈs*, *ch* as *oq* — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i. 1. 9) attributes to them *mahāprāṇa great expiration*, and to the non-aspirates *alpaprāṇa small expiration*.

e. It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates

with a following *h*: for example, *क्* *th* nearly as in English *boathook*, *फ़* *ph* as in *haphazard*, *ध* *dh* as in *madhouse*, *भ* *bh* as in *abhor*, and so on. This is (as we have seen above) strictly accurate only as regards the surd aspirates.

38. The sonant aspirates are (in the opinion of most), or at least represent, original Indo-European sounds, while the surd aspirates are a special Indian development. The former are more than twice as common as the latter. The unaspirated (non-nasal) mutes are very much more frequent (5 times) than the aspirates (for the special frequency of *bh* and original *gh*, see 50 and 68); and among them the surds are more numerous (2½ times) than the sonants. The nasals (chiefly *n* and *m*) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

39. Guttural series: *क्* *k*, *ख* *kh*, *ग* *g*, *घ* *gh*, *ङ* *ṅ*. These are the ordinary European *k* and *g*-sounds, with their corresponding aspirates and nasal (the last, like English *ng* in *singing*).

a. The gutturals are defined by the *Prātiśākhya*s as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw, and they are called, from the former organ, *jihvāmūliya* 'tongue-root sounds'. The Paninian scheme describes them simply as made in the throat (*kanṭha*). From the euphonic influence of a *k* on a following *s* (below, 180), we may perhaps infer that in their utterance the tongue was well drawn back in the mouth.

40. The *k* is by far the commonest of the guttural series occurring considerably more often than all the other four taken together. The nasal, except as standing before one of the others of the same series, is found only as final (after the loss of a following *k*: 386, 407) in a very small number of words, and as product of the assimilation of final *k* to a following nasal (161).

41. The Sanskrit guttural series represents only a minority of Indo-European gutturals; these last have suffered more and more general corruption than any other class of consonants. By processes of alteration which began in the Indo-European period, the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant *ç*, and the aspiration *h*, have come from gutturals. See these various sounds below.

42. Palatal series: *च्* *c*, *छ* *ch*, *ज* *j*, *झ* *jh*, *ञ* *ṇ*.

The whole palatal series is derivative, being generated by the corruption of original gutturals. The *c* comes from an original *k* — as does also, by another degree of alteration, the palatal sibilant *ç* (see below, 64). The *j*, in like manner, comes from a *g*; but the

Sanskrit *j* includes in itself two degrees of alteration, one corresponding to the alteration of *k* to *c*, the other to that of *k* to *ç* (see below, 218). The *c* is somewhat more common than the *j* (about as four to three). The aspirate *ch* is very much less frequent (a tenth of *c*), and comes from the original group *sk*. The sonant aspirate *jh* is excessively rare (occurring but once in RV., not once in AV., and hardly half-a-dozen times in the whole older language); where found, it is either onomatopoeic or of anomalous or not Indo-European origin. The nasal, *ñ*, never occurs except immediately before — or, in a small number of words, also after (201) — one of the others of the same series.

43. Hence, in the euphonic processes of the language, the treatment of the palatals is in many respects peculiar. In some situations, the original unaltered guttural shows itself — or, as it appears from the point of view of the Sanskrit, the palatal reverts to its original guttural. No palatal ever occurs as a final. The *j* is differently treated, according as it represents the one or the other degree of alteration. And *c* and *j* (except artificially, in the algebraic rules of the grammarians) do not interchange, as corresponding surd and sonant.

44. The palatal mutes are by European scholars, as by the modern Hindus also, pronounced with the compound sounds of English *ch* and *j* (in *church* and *judge*).

a. Their description by the old Hindu grammarians, however, gives them a not less absolutely simple character than belongs to the other mutes. They are called *tālavya palatal*, and declared to be formed against the palate by the middle of the tongue. They seem to have been, then, brought forward in the mouth from the guttural point, and made against the hard palate at a point not far from the lingual one (below, 45), but with the upper flat surface of the tongue instead of its point. Such sounds, in all languages, pass easily into the (English) *ch*- and *j*-sounds. The value of the *ch* as making the preceding vowel "long by position" (227), and its frequent origination from *t* + *ç* (203), lead to the suspicion that it, at least, may have had this character from the beginning: compare 37 *ç*, above.

45. Lingual series: *ṛ*, *ṛh*, *ṛ*, *ṛh*, *ṛ*, *ṛh*, *ṛ*, *ṛh*. The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate (somewhat as the usual English smooth *r* is pronounced). They are called by the grammarians *mūrdhanye*, literally *head-sounds*, *capitals*, *cephalics*; which term is in many European grammars

rendered by 'cerebrals'. In practice, among European Sanskritists, no attempt is made to distinguish them from the dentals: ṛ t is pronounced like ṛ t , ṛ d like ṛ d , and so with the rest.

46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: 1. ṣ comes from s , much more rarely from ç , j , kṣ , in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218 ff.); 2. a dental mute following ṣ is assimilated to it, becoming lingual (ṭ , ṭh , ṇ : 197); 3. n is often changed to ṇ after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (189 ff.); 4. ḍh , which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after ṣ (198 a) or h (222); 5. ṭ and ḍ come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final (142, 145-7). When originated in these ways, the lingual letters may be regarded as normal; in any other cases of their occurrence, they are either products of abnormal corruption, or signs of the non-Indo-European character of the words in which they appear.

a. In a certain number of passages numerically examined (below, 75), the abnormal occurrences of lingual mutes were less than half of the whole number (74 out of 159), and most of them (43) were of n : all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal ṭ ; only 6, such a ṭh ; only 1, such a ḍh ; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal ḍ , besides 9 that have ṇḍ ; and 30 (including 1 root) show a ṇ .

b. Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the alphabet) — hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.

47. Dental series: ṛ t , ṛ th , ṛ d , ṛ dh , ṛ n . These are called by the Hindus also *dantya dental*, and are described as formed at the teeth (or at the roots of the teeth), by the tip of the tongue. They are practically the equivalents of our European t , d , n .

a. But the modern Hindus are said to pronounce their dentals with the tip of the tongue thrust well forward against the upper teeth, so that these sounds get a slight tinge of the quality belonging to the English and Modern Greek *th*-sounds. The absence of that quality in the European (especially the English) dentals is doubtless the reason why to the ear of a Hindu the latter appear more analogous with his linguals, and he is apt to use the linguals in writing European words.

48. The dentals are one of the Indo-European original mute-classes. In their occurrence in Sanskrit they are just about as frequent as all the other four classes taken together.

49. Labial series: प् *p*, फ् *ph*, ब् *b*, भ् *bh*, म् *m*. These sounds are called *oṣṭhya labial* by the Hindu grammarians also. They are, of course, the equivalents of our *p*, *b*, *m*.

50. The numerical relations of the labials are a little peculiar. Owing to the absence (or almost entire absence) of *b* in Indo-European, the Sanskrit *b* also is greatly exceeded in frequency by *bh*, which is the most common of all the sonant aspirates, as *ph* is the least common of the surd. The nasal *m* (notwithstanding its frequent euphonic mutations when final: 212 ff.) occurs just about as often as all the other four members of the series together.

a. From an early period in the history of the language, but increasingly later, *b* and *v* exchange with one another, or fail to be distinguished in the manuscripts. Thus, the double root-forms *bṛh* and *vṛh*, *bādh* and *vādh*, and so on. In the Bengal manuscripts, *v* is widely written instead of more original *b*.

51. Semivowels: य् *y*, र् *r*, ल् *l*, व् *v*.

a. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is *antaṣṭhā* *standing between* — either from their character as utterances intermediate between vowel and consonant, or (more probably) from the circumstance of their being placed between the mutes and spirants in the arrangement of the consonants.

b. The semivowels are clearly akin with the several mute series in their physical character, and they are classified along with these series — though not without some discordances of view — by the Hindu grammarians. They are said to be produced with the organs slightly in contact (*ṣaṭspraṭa*), or in imperfect contact (*duṣspraṭa*).

52. The र् *r* is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the tip of the tongue turned up into the dome of the palate. It thus resembles the English smooth *r*, and, like this, seems to have been untrilled.

a. The Paninean scheme reckons *r* as a lingual. None of the *Prāticākhya*s, however, does so; nor are they entirely consistent with one another in its description. For the most part, they define it as made at "the roots of the teeth". This would give it a position like that of the vibrated *r*; but no authority hints at a vibration as belonging to it.

b. In point of frequency, *r* stands very high on the list of consonants; it is nearly equal with *v*, *n*, *m*, and *y*, and only exceeded by *t*.

53. The *ṛ* 1 is a sound of dental position, and is so defined and classed by all the native authorities.

a. The peculiar character of an *l*-sound, as involving expulsion at the side of the tongue along with contact at its tip, is not noticed by any Hindu phonetist.

b. The semivowels *r* and *l* are very widely interchangeable in Sanskrit, both in roots and in suffixes, and even in prefixes: there are few roots containing a *l* which do not show also forms with *r*; words written with the one letter are found in other texts, or in other parts of the same text, written with the other. In the later periods of the language they are more separated, and the *l* becomes decidedly more frequent, though always much rarer than the *r* (only as 1 to 7 or 8 or 10).

54. Some of the Vedic texts have another *l*-sound, written with a slightly different character (it is given at the end of the alphabet, 5 a), which is substituted for a lingual *ḷ* (as also the same followed by *h* for a *ḷh*) when occurring between two vowels. It is, then, doubtless a lingual *l*, one made by breach (at the side of the tongue) of the lingual instead of the dental mute closure.

a. Examples are: *इळि* *ḷe*, for *इडे* *iḍe*, but *इडा* *iḍa*; *मीळुषे* *mīḷuṣe*, for *मीढुषे* *mīḍuṣe*, but *मीढ्वान्* *mīḍhvān*. It is especially in the *Rig-Veda* and its auxiliary literature that this substitution is usual.

55. The *y* in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel *ṛ* *i* (short or long); the two exchange with one another in cases innumerable.

a. And in the *Veda* (as the metre shows) an *i* is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit euphony, a *y* is written. Thus, the final *i*-vowel of a word remains *i* before an initial vowel; that of a stem maintains itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of derivation — as *ya*, *tya* — has *i* instead of *y*. Such cases will be noticed in more detail later. The constancy of the phenomenon in certain words and classes of words shows that this was no merely optional interchange. Very probably, the Sanskrit *y* had everywhere more of an *i*-character than belongs to the corresponding European sound.

56. The *y* is by its physical character a palatal utterance; and it is classed as a palatal semivowel by the Hindu phonetists. It is one of the most common of Sanskrit sounds.

57. The *ṛ* is pronounced as English or French *e* (German *æ*) by the modern Hindus — except when preceded by a consonant in the same syllable, in which case it has rather the sound of English *æ*; and European scholars follow the same practice (with or without the same exception).

a. By its whole treatment in the euphony of the language, however, the *ṛ* stands related to an *u*-vowel precisely as *y* to an *i*-vowel. It is, then, a *ṛ* only according to the original Roman value of that letter — that is to say, a *æ*-sound in the English sense; though (as was stated above for the *y*) it may well have been less markedly separated from *u* than English *æ*, or more like French *eu* in *oui* etc. But, as the original *æ* has in most European languages been changed to *e* (English), so also in India, and that from a very early time: the Pāṇinian scheme and two of the Prātiśākhya (VPr. and TPr.) distinctly define the sound as made between the upper teeth and the lower lip — which, of course, identifies it with the ordinary modern *e*-sound. As a matter of practice, the usual pronunciation need not be seriously objected to; yet the student should not fail to note that the rules of Sanskrit euphony and the name of “semivowel” have no application except to a *ṛ*-sound in the English sense: a *e*-sound (German *æ*) is no semivowel, but a spirant, standing on the same articulate stage with the English *th*-sounds and the *f*.

58. The *v* is classed as a labial semivowel by the Hindu phonetical authorities. It has a somewhat greater frequency than the *y*.

a. In the Veda, under the same circumstances as the *y* (above, 55 a), *v* is to be read as a vowel, *u*.

b. As to the interchange of *v* and *b*, see above, 50 a.

59. Spirants. Under the name *ūṣman* (literally *heat*, *steam*, *flatus*), which is usually and well represented by *spirant*, some of the Hindu authorities include all the remaining sounds of the alphabet; others apply the term only to the three sibilants and the aspiration — to which it will here also be restricted.

a. The term is not found in the Pāṇinian scheme; by different treatises the guttural and labial breathings, these and the *visarga*, or all these and *anuvāra*, are also (in addition to the sibilants and *h*) called *ūṣman* (see

APr. 1. 31 note). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the mute-series to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unclosed, or unclosed in the middle.

60. The ह्रस . Of the three sibilants, or surd spirants, this is the one of plainest and least questioned character: it is the ordinary European *s* — a hiss expelled between the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly behind the upper front teeth.

a. It is, then, dental, as it is classed by all the Hindu authorities. Notwithstanding the great losses which it suffers in Sanskrit euphony; by conversion to the other sibilants, to *r*, to *visarga*, etc., it is still very high among the consonants in the order of frequency, or considerably more common than both the other two sibilants together.

61. The ह्रस . As to the character of this sibilant, also, there is no ground for real question: it is the one produced in the lingual position, or with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of *sh*-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced as an ordinary *sh* (French *ch*, German *sch*), no attempt being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual sounds: 45) to give it its proper lingual quality.

a. Its lingual character is shown by its whole euphonic influence, and it is described and classed as lingual by all the Hindu authorities (the APr. adds, i. 23, that the tongue in its utterance is trough-shaped). In its audible quality, it is a *sh*-sound rather than a *s*-sound; and, in the considerable variety of sibilant-utterance, even in the same community, it may coincide with the *sh* of some among ourselves. Yet the general and normal *sh* is palatal (see below, 63); and therefore the sign ह्रस , marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.

b. In modern pronunciation in India, ह्रस is much confounded with *kh*; and the manuscripts are apt to exchange the characters. Some later grammatical treatises, too, take note of the relationship.

62. This sibilant (as was noticed above, 46, and will be more particularly explained below, 180 ff.) is no original sound, but a product of the lingualization of a under certain euphonic conditions. The exceptions are extremely few (9 out of 145 noted occurrences: 75), and of a purely sporadic character. The Rîg-Veda has (apart

from *ṛ sah*, 182 b) only twelve words which show a *ṣ* under other conditions.

a. The final *ṣ* of a root has in some cases attained a more independent value, and does not revert to *s* when the euphonic conditions are removed, but shows anomalous forms (225-8).

63. The *ṣ* *ṣ*. This sibilant is by all the native authorities classed and described as palatal, nor is there anything in its history or its euphonic treatment to cast doubt on its character as such. It is, then, made with the flat of the tongue against the forward part of the palatal arch — that is to say, it is the usual and normal *śh*-sound. By European scholars it is variously pronounced — more often, perhaps, as *s* than as *śh*.

a. The two *śh*-sounds, *ṣ* and *ṣ*, are made in the same part of the mouth (the *ṣ* probably rather further back), but with a different part of the tongue; and they are doubtless not more unlike than, for example, the two *ś*-sounds, written *ṣ* and *ṣ*; and it would be not less proper to pronounce them both as one *śh* than to pronounce the linguals and dentals alike. To neglect the difference of *ṣ* and *ṣ* is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of *ṣ* and *ṣ* is attested by their euphonic treatment, which is to a considerable extent the same, and by their not infrequent confusion by the writers of manuscripts.

64. As was mentioned above (41), the *ṣ*, like *o*, comes from the corruption of an original *k*-sound, by loss of mute-contact as well as forward shift of the point of production. In virtue of this derivation, it sometimes (though less often than *c*) "reverts" to *k* — that is, the original *k* appears instead of it (43); while, on the other hand, as a *śh*-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to *ṣ*. In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, *ḥ*, is ordinarily pronounced like the usual European surd aspiration *h*.

a. This is not, however, its real character. It is defined by all the native authorities as not a surd element, but a sonant (or else an utterance intermediate between the two); and its whole value in the euphony of the language is that of a sonant: but what is its precise value is very hard to say. The Pāṇinian scheme ranks it as guttural, as it does also *a*: this means nothing. The *Prātiśākhya*s bring it into no relation with the guttural class; one of them quotes the opinion of some authorities that "it has the same position with the beginning of the following vowel" (TP. II. 47) — which so far identifies it with our *h*. There is nothing in its euphonic influence to mark it as retaining any trace of gutturally articulated character. By some of

the native phonetists it is identified with the aspiration of the sonant aspirates — with the element by which, for example, *gh* differs from *g*. This view is supported by the derivation of *h* from the aspirates (next paragraph), by that of *l* + *h* from *q̄h* (54), and by the treatment of initial *h* after a final mute (163).

66. The *h*, as already noticed, is not an original sound, but comes in nearly all cases from an older *gh* (for the few instances of its derivation from *dh* and *bh*, see below, 223 g). It is a vastly more frequent sound than the unchanged *gh* (namely, as 7 to 1); more frequent, indeed, than any of the guttural mutes except *k*. It appears, like *j* (219), to include in itself two stages of corruption of *gh*: one corresponding with that of *k* to *o*, the other with that of *k* to *q̄*; see below, 223, for the roots belonging to the two classes respectively. Like the other sounds of guttural derivation, it sometimes exhibits "reversion" (43) to its original.

67. The : *ḥ*, or visarga (*visarjanīya*, as it is uniformly called by the *Prātiçākhyas* and by *Pāṇini*, probably as *belonging to the end* of a syllable), appears to be merely a surd breathing, a final *h*-sound (in the European sense of *h*), uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel.

a. One *Prātiçākhyā* (TPr. II. 48) gives just this last description of it. It is by various authorities classed with *h*, or with *h* and *a*: all of them are alike sounds in whose utterance the mouth-organs have no definite shaping action.

68. The visarga is not original, but always only a substitute for final *s* or *r*, neither of which is allowed to maintain itself unchanged (170 ff.). It is a comparatively recent member of the alphabetic system; the other euphonic changes of final *s* and *r* have not passed through visarga as an intermediate stage. And the Hindu authorities are considerably discordant with one another as to how far *ḥ* is a necessary substitute, and how far a permitted one, alternative with a sibilant, before a following initial surd.

69. Before a surd guttural or labial, respectively, some of the native authorities permit, while others require, conversion of final *s* or *r* into the so-called *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya* spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long *ī*-vowel: 23 a) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, both manuscripts and printed texts in general make no account of them. Whatever individual character they may have must be, it would seem, in the direction of the (German) *ch*- and *f*-sounds. When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by *x* and *φ*.

70. The : *anusvāra*, *ñ* or *m̐*, is a nasal sound lacking that closure of the organs which is required to make a nasal mute or contact-sound (38); in its utterance there is nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the mouth.

71. There is discordance of opinion among both the Hindu phonetists and their modern European successors respecting the real character of this element; hence a little detail is necessary here with regard to its occurrence and their views of it.

a. Certain nasals in Sanskrit are of servile character, always to be assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever character that may be. Such are final *m* in sentence-combination (213), the penultimate nasal of a root, and a nasal of increment (255) in general. If one of these nasals stands before a contact-letter or mute, it becomes a nasal mute corresponding to the latter—that is, a nasal utterance in the same position of the mouth-organs which gives the succeeding mute. If, on the other hand, the following consonant does not involve a contact (being a semivowel or spirant), the nasal element is also without contact: it is a nasal utterance with unclosed mouth-organs. The question is, now, whether this nasal utterance becomes merely a nasal infection of the preceding vowel, turning it into a nasal vowel (as in French *on*, *en*, *un*, etc., by reason of a similar loss of a nasal mute); or whether it is an element of more individual character, having place between the vowel and the consonant; or, once more, whether it is sometimes the one thing and sometimes the other. The opinions of the *Prātiśākhya*s and *Pāṇini* are briefly as follows:

b. The *Atharva-Prātiśākhya* holds that the result is everywhere a nasalized vowel, except when *n* or *m* is assimilated to a following *l*; in that case, the *n* or *m* becomes a nasal *l*; that is, the nasal utterance is made in the *l*-position, and has a perceptible *l*-character.

c. The other *Prātiśākhya*s teach a similar conversion into a nasal counterpart to the semivowel, or a nasal semivowel, before *y* and *l* and *v* (not before *r* also). In most of the other cases where the *Atharva-Prātiśākhya* acknowledges a nasal vowel—namely, before *r* and the spirants—the others teach the intervention after the vowel of a distinct nasal element, called the *anusvāra after-tone*.

d. Of the nature of this nasal afterpiece to the vowel no intelligibly clear account is given. It is said (RPr.) to be either vowel or consonant; it is declared (RPr., VPr.) to be made with the *naso* alone, or (TPr.) to be nasal like the nasal mutes; it is held by some (RPr.) to be the sonant tone of the nasal mutes; in its formation, as in that of vowel and spirant, there is (RPr.) no contact. As to its quantity, see further on.

e. There are, however, certain cases and classes of cases where these other authorities also acknowledge a nasal vowel. So, especially, wherever

a final *n* is treated (208-9) as if it were *na* (its historically older form); and also in a small number of specified words. They also mention the doctrine of nasal vowel instead of *anusvāra* as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

f. In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of *anusvāra* everywhere; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiśākhya prescribe only a nasal mute. But a nasal semivowel is also allowed instead before a semivowel, and a nasal vowel is allowed in the cases (mentioned above) where some of the Prātiśākhya require it by exception.

g. It is evidently a fair question whether this discordance and uncertainty of the Hindu phonetists is owing to a real difference of utterance in different classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scholastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If *anusvāra* is a nasal element following the vowel, it cannot well be any thing but either a prolongation of the same vowel-sound with nasality added, or a nasalized bit of neutral-vowel sound (in the latter case, however, the altering influence of an *i* or *u*-vowel on a following *s* ought to be prevented, which is not the case: see 183).

72. The assimilated nasal element, whether viewed as nasalized vowel, nasal semivowel, or independent *anusvāra*, has the value of something added, in making a heavy syllable, or length by position (79).

a. The Prātiśākhya (VPr., RPr.) give determinations of the quantity of the *anusvāra* combining with a short and with a long vowel respectively to make a long syllable.

73. a. Two different signs, *ṁ* and *ṅ*, are found in the manuscripts, indicating the nasal sound here treated of. Usually they are written above the syllable, and there they seem most naturally to imply a nasal affection of the vowel of the syllable, a nasal (*anunāsika*) vowel. Hence some texts (Śāma- and Yajur-Vedas), when they mean a real *anusvāra*, bring one of the signs down into the ordinary consonant-place; but the usage is not general. As between the two signs, some manuscripts employ, or tend to employ, the *ṅ* where a nasalized (*anunāsika*) vowel is to be recognized, and elsewhere the *ṁ*; and this distinction is consistently observed in many European printed texts; and the former is called the *anunāsika* sign: but the two are doubtless originally and properly equivalent.

b. It is a very common custom of the manuscripts to write the *anusvāra*-sign for any nasal following the vowel of a syllable, either before another consonant or as final (not before a vowel), without any reference to whether it is to be pronounced as nasal mute, nasal semivowel, or *anusvāra*. Some printed texts follow this slovenly and undesirable habit; but most write a nasal mute whenever it is to be pronounced — excepting where it is an assimilated *m* (213).

c. It is convenient also in transliteration to distinguish the assimilated *m* by a special sign, *m̐*, from the *anuvāra* of more independent origin, *ā*; and this method will be followed in the present work.

74. This is the whole system of sounds recognized by the written character; for certain other transitional sounds, more or less widely recognized in the theories of the Hindu phonetists, see below, 230.

75. The whole spoken alphabet, then, may be arranged in the following manner, in order to show, so far as is possible in a single scheme, the relations and important classifications of its various members:

		a, ā 25-75 2-18						
		ai, e 10 1-34		o, au 1-44 1-18			Vowels	
Son.	{	i, ī 4-45 1-19	ī, ī -17 -11	ī, u, ū -11 2-41 -13				
		y 4-28	r 2-25	l -49	v 4-38	Semivowels		
		ñ -12	ṇ -12	ṇ 1-52	n 4-51	m 4-24	Nasals	
		ṁ -12					Anuvāra	
		h 1-37					Aspiration	
Surd	{	h 1-31					Visarga	
		ś 1-37		ṣ 1-43	ṣ 2-56	Sibilants		
Son.	{	gh -15	jh -41	dh -49	dh -42	bh 1-37	asp.	
		g -32	j -14	ḍ -13	d 2-56	b -14	unasp.	
Surd	{	kh -13	ch -17	ṭh -46	th -58	ph -42	asp.	
		k 1-39	c 1-26	ṭ -26	t 4-45	p 2-45	unasp.	
		Gutt.	Pal.	Ling.	Dent.	Lab.		

a. The figures set under the characters give the average percentage of frequency of each sound, found by counting the number of times which it occurred in an aggregate of 10,000 sounds of continuous text, in ten different passages, of 1,000 sounds each, selected from different epochs of the literature: namely, two from the *Rig-Veda*, one from the *Atharva-Veda*, two from different *Brāhmaṇas*, and one each from *Manu*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Çakuntalā*, *Hitopadeça*, and *Vāsa-vadattā* (*J.A.O.S.*, vol. X., p. cl).

III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

76. The Hindu grammarians take the pains to define the quantity of a consonant (without distinction among consonants of different classes) as half that of a short vowel.

77. They also define the quantity of a long (dīrgha) vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short (hrasva) vowel—making no distinction in this respect between the guṇa- and the vṛddhi-diphthongs.

78. Besides these two vowel-quantities, the Hindus acknowledge a third, called pluta (literally *swimming*), or protracted, and having three *moras* or three times the quantity of a short vowel. A protracted vowel is marked by a following figure 3: thus, ऋ३ ऋ.

a. The protracted vowels are practically of rare occurrence (in RV., three cases; in AV., fifteen; in the Brāhmaṇa literature, decidedly more frequent). They are used in cases of questioning, especially of a balancing between two alternatives, and also of calling to a distance or urgently. The protraction is of the last syllable in a word, or in a whole phrase; and the protracted syllable has usually the acute tone, in addition to any other accent the word may have; sometimes it takes also *anusvāra*, or is made nasal.

b. Examples are: *adhāḥ svid āsīd upāri svid āsīt* (RV.) *was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above?* *idāṃ bhūyās idāṃ iti* (AV.) *saying, is this more, or is that?* *āgnāḥ pātnīvāḥ sōmam piba* (TS.) *O Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma.*

c. A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or *a*-element: thus, *e* to *ā3i*, *o* to *ā3u*.

d. The sign of protraction is also sometimes written as the result of accentual combination, when so-called *kampa* occurs: see below, §7 d.

79. For metrical purposes, syllables (not vowels) are distinguished by the grammarians as heavy (*guru*) or light (*laghu*). A syllable is heavy if its vowel is long, or short and followed by more than one consonant ("long by position"). *Anusvāra* and *visarga* count as full consonants in

making a heavy syllable. The last syllable of a *pāda* (primary division of a verse) is reckoned as either heavy or light.

a. The distinction in terms between the difference of long and short in vowel-sound and that of heavy and light in syllable-construction is valuable, and should be observed.

IV. Accent.

80. The phenomena of accent are, by the Hindu grammarians of all ages alike, described and treated as depending on a variation of tone or pitch; of any difference of stress involved, they make no account.

81. The primary tones (*avara*) or accent-pitches are two: a higher (*udātta raised*), or acute; and a lower (*anudātta not raised*), or grave. A third (called *avarita*: a term of doubtful meaning) is always of secondary origin, being (when not enclitic: see below, 85) the result of actual combination of an acute vowel and a following grave vowel into one syllable. It is also uniformly defined as compound in pitch, a union of higher and lower tone within the limits of a single syllable. It is thus identical in physical character with the Greek and Latin circumflex, and fully entitled to be called by the same name.

82. Strictly, therefore, there is but one distinction of tone in the Sanskrit accentual system, as described by the native grammarians and marked in the written texts: the accented syllable is raised in tone above the unaccented; while then further, in certain cases of the fusion of an accented and an unaccented element into one syllable, that syllable retains the compounded tone of both elements.

83. The *avarita* or circumflex is only rarely found on a pure long vowel or diphthong, but almost always on a syllable in which a vowel, short or long, is preceded by a *y* or *v* representing an originally acute *i*- or *u*-vowel.

a. In transliteration, in this work, the *udātta* or acute will be marked with the ordinary sign of acute, and the *avarita* or circumflex (as being a downward slide of the voice forward) with what is usually called the grave accent: thus, *á*, acute, *yà* or *và*, circumflex.

84. The Prātiśākhya distinguishes and names separately the circumflexed tones arising by different processes of combination: thus, the circumflex is called

a. *Kṣāipra* (*quick*), when an acute i- or u-vowel (short or long) is converted into y or v before a dissimilar vowel of grave tone: thus, *vyāpta* from *vī-āpta*, *apsvāntār* from *apsū antār*.

b. *Jātya* (*native*) or *nitya* (*own*), when the same combination lies further back, in the make-up of a stem or form, and so is constant, or belongs to the word in all circumstances of its occurrence: thus, *kvā* (from *kūa*), *svār* (*sūar*), *nyāk* (*nīak*), *budhnyā* (*budhniā*), *kanyā* (*kanīā*), *nadyās* (*nadi-as*), *tanvā* (*tanū-ā*).

c. The words of both the above classes are in the Veda, in the great majority of cases, to be read with restoration of the acute vowel as a separate syllable: thus, *apsū antār*, *sūar*, *nadias*, etc. In some texts, part of them are written correspondingly: thus, *sūvar*, *tanūvā*, *budhniya*.

d. *Praçliṣṭa*, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128 c): thus, *divī 'va* (RV. AV. etc.), from *divī i va*; *sūdgātā* (TS.), from *sū-udgātā*; *nāi 'vā 'ñiyāt* (QB.), from *nā evā añiyāt*.

e. *Abhinihita*, when an initial grave a is absorbed by a final acute é or ó (135 a): thus, *tē 'bruvan*, from *tē abruvan*; *sō 'bravit*, from *sō abravīt*.

85. But further, the Hindu grammarians agree in declaring the (naturally grave) syllable following an acute, whether in the same or in another word, to be svarita or circumflex — unless, indeed, it be itself followed by an acute or circumflex; in which case it retains its grave tone. This is called by European scholars the enclitic or dependent circumflex.

a. Thus, in *tēna* and *tē ca*, the syllable *na* and word *ca* are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in *tēna tē* and *tē ca svār* they are grave.

b. This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are identified with one another, in treatment and designation. The enclitic circumflex is likewise divided into a number of sub-varieties, with different names: they are of too little consequence to be worth reporting.

86. The essential difference of the two kinds of circumflex is shown clearly enough by these facts: 1. the independent circumflex takes the place of the acute as the proper accent of a word, while the enclitic is the mere shadow following an acute, and following it in another word precisely as in the same word; 2. the independent circumflex maintains its character in all situations, while the enclitic before a following circumflex or acute loses its circumflex character, and becomes grave; moreover, 3. in many of the systems of marking accent (below, 88), the two are quite differently indicated.

87. The accentuation is marked in manuscripts only of the older literature: namely, in the primary Vedic texts, or *samhitās*, in two of the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Taittiriya* and *Ātapatha*), in the *Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka*, in certain passages of the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*, and in the *Suparṇadhyāya*. There are a number of methods of writing accent, more or less different from one another: the one found in manuscripts of the *Rig-Veda*, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications, is as follows.

a. The acute syllable is left unmarked; the circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, has a short perpendicular stroke above; and the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a short horizontal stroke below. Thus,

यगिम् *agnim*; जुहोति *juhóti*; तन्वा *tanvā*; क्व *kvā*.

b. But the introductory grave stroke below cannot be given if an acute syllable is initial; hence an unmarked syllable at the beginning of a word is to be understood as acute; and hence also, if several grave syllables precede an acute at the beginning of a sentence, they must all alike have the grave sign. Thus,

इन्द्रः *indrah*; ते *té*; कर्ष्यसि *kariṣyási*; त्विजिता *tuviṣṭatā*.

c. All the grave syllables, however, which follow a marked circumflex are left unmarked, until the occurrence of another accented syllable causes the one which precedes it to take the preparatory stroke below. Thus,

सुदृशीकसंदक् *sudṛṣīkasandṛk*;

but

सुदृशीकसंदग्गवाम् *sudṛṣīkasandṛg gāvām*.

d. If an independent circumflex be followed by an acute (or by another independent circumflex), a figure 1 is set after the former circumflexed vowel if it be short, or a figure 3 if it be long, and the signs of accent are applied as in the following examples:

अप्स्वन्तः *apsv āntāḥ* (from *apsū antāḥ*);

रयोश्चानिः *rāyòs vāniḥ* (from *rāyò avāniḥ*).

The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the *Prātiśākhya*s give no account of it. In the scholastic utterance of the syllable so designated is made a peculiar quaver or *roulade* of the voice, called *kampa* or *vikampana*.

e. The accent-marks are written with red ink in the manuscripts, being added after the text is written, and perhaps often by another hand.

88 a. Nearly accordant with this, the Rīg-Veda method of designating accent, are the methods employed in the manuscripts of the Atharva-Veda, of the Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā, and of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Āraṇyaka. Their differences from it are of trifling importance, consisting mainly in peculiar ways of marking the circumflex that precedes an acute (87 d). In some manuscripts of the Atharva-Veda, the accent-marks are dots instead of strokes, and that for the circumflex is made within the syllable instead of above it.

b. In most manuscripts of the Maitrīyaṇī-Saṁhitā, the acute syllable itself, besides its surroundings, is marked—namely, by a perpendicular stroke above the syllable (like that of the ordinary circumflex in the RV. method). The independent circumflex has a hook beneath the syllable, and the circumflex before an acute (87 d) is denoted simply by a figure 3, standing before instead of after the circumflexed syllable.

c. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa uses only a single accent-sign, the horizontal stroke beneath the syllable (like the mark for grave in RV.). This is put under an acute, or, if two or more acutes immediately follow one another, only under the preceding syllable. To mark an independent circumflex, it is put under the preceding syllable. The method is an imperfect one, allowing many ambiguities.

d. The Sāma-Veda method is the most intricate of all. It has a dozen different signs, consisting of figures, or of figures and letters combined, all placed above the syllables, and varying according both to the accentual character of the syllable and to its surroundings. Its origin is obscure; if anything more is indicated by it than by the other simpler systems, the fact has not been demonstrated.

89. In this work, as everything given in the devanāgarī characters is also given in transliteration, it will in general be unnecessary to mark the accent except in the transliterated form; where, however, the case is otherwise, there will be adopted the method of marking only the really accented syllables, the acute and the independent circumflex: the latter by the usual *avarita*-sign, the former by a small *u* (for *udatta*) above the syllable: thus,

इन्द्र indra, अग्ने āgne, स्वर̥ svar̥. नद्यम्̐ nadyam̐.

a. These being given, everything else which the Hindu theory recognizes as dependent on and accompanying them can readily be understood as implied.

90. The theory of the Sanskrit accent, as here given (a consistent and intelligible body of phenomena), has been overlaid by the Hindu theorists, especially of the *Prātiśākhya*s, with a number of added features, of a much more questionable character. Thus:

a. The unmarked grave syllables following a circumflex (either at the end of a sentence, or till the near approach of another acute) are declared to have the same high tone with the (also unmarked) acute. They are called *pracaya* or *pracita* (*accumulated*: because liable to occur in an indefinite series of successive syllables).

b. The circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, is declared to begin on a higher pitch than acute, and to descend to acute pitch in ordinary cases: the concluding instant of it being brought down to grave pitch, however, in the case of an independent circumflex which is immediately followed by another ascent of the voice to higher pitch, in acute or independent circumflex (a *kampa* syllable: 87 d).

c. Pāṇini gives the ambiguous name of *ekagruti*-(*monotone*) to the *pracita* syllables, and says nothing of the uplifting of the circumflex to a higher plane; he teaches, however, a depression below the grave pitch for the marked grave syllable before acute or circumflex, calling it *sannatara* (otherwise *anudāttatara*).

91. The system of accentuation as marked in the Vedic texts appears to have assumed in the traditional recitation of the Brahmanic schools a peculiar and artificial form, in which the designated syllables, grave and circumflex (equally the enclitic and the independent circumflex), have acquired a conspicuous value, while the undesignated, the acute, has sunk into insignificance.

92. The Sanskrit accent taught in the native grammars and represented by the accentuated texts is essentially a system of word-accent only. No general attempt is made (any more than in the Greek system) to define or mark a sentence-accent, the effect of the emphasis and modulation of the sentence in modifying the independent accent of individual words. The only approach to it is seen in the treatment of vocatives and personal verb-forms.

a. A vocative is usually without accent except at the beginning of a sentence: for further details, see 314.

b. A personal verb-form is usually accentless in an independent clause, except when standing at the beginning of the clause: for further details, see 591 ff.

93. Certain other words also are, usually or always, without accent.

a. The particles *ca*, *vā*, *u*, *sma*, *iva*, *cid*, *avid*, *ha*, and the Vedic *kam* (or *kām*), *gha*, *bhala*, *samahā*, *im*, *sīm*, are always without accent; also *yathā* in RV. (sometimes also elsewhere) in the sense of *iva*, at the end of a *pāda* or verse-division.

b. The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: *mā*, *me*, *nāu*, *nas*, *tvā*, *te*, *vām*, *vas* (491 b), *ena* (500), *tva* (503 b), *sama* (513 c).

c. The cases of the pronominal stem *a* are sometimes accented and sometimes accentless (502).

d. An accentless word is not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence; also not of a *pāda* or primary division of a verse; a *pāda* is, in all matters relating to accentuation, treated like an independent sentence.

94. Some words have more than a single accented syllable. Such are:

a. Certain dual copulative compounds in the Veda (see 1255), as *mitrāvárurā*, *dyāvāprthivī*. Also, a few other Vedic compounds (see 1267 d), as *bḥaspāti*, *tānūnāpāt*.

b. In a few cases, the further compounds and derivatives of such compounds, as *dyāvāprthivīvant*, *bḥaspātipraṇutta*.

c. Infinitive datives in *tavāi* (see 972 a), as *étavāi*, *āpabhar-tavāi*.

d. A word naturally barytone, but having its final syllable protracted (see 78 a).

e. The particle *vāvá* (in the Brāhmaṇas).

95. On the place of the accented syllable in a Sanskrit word there is no restriction whatever depending upon either the number or the quantity of the preceding or following syllables. The accent rests where the rules of inflection or derivation or composition place it, without regard to any thing else.

a. Thus, *indra*, *agnāū*, *indreṇa*, *agnīnā*, *agnīnām*, *bāhūcyuta*, *ānapacyuta*, *parjanyaajinvita*, *abhimātiṣāhā*, *ānabhimlātavarṇa*, *abhiṣastīcātana*, *hīraṇyavācīmattama*, *cātuṣcatvāriṇṣṇadakeṣara*.

96. Since the accent is marked only in the older literature, and the statements of the grammarians, with the deduced rules of accentuation, are far from being sufficient to settle all cases, the place of the stress of voice for a considerable part of the vocabulary is undetermined. Hence it is a general habit with European scholars to pronounce Sanskrit words according to the rules of the Latin accent.

97. In this work, the accent of each word and form will in general be marked, so far as there is authority determining its place and character. Where specific words and forms are quoted, they will only be so far accentuated as they are found with accent in accentuated texts.

CHAPTER III.

RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

Introductory.

98. The words in Sanskrit, as in the other languages related with it, are in great part analysable into roots, suffixes of derivation, and endings of inflection, these last being added mostly to stems containing suffixes, but also sometimes directly to roots.

a. There are, of course, a certain number of uninflected words—indeclinables, particles; and also not a few that are incapable of analysis.

99. The Sanskrit, indeed, possesses an exceptionally analysable character; its formative processes are more regular and transparent than those of any other Indo-European tongue. Hence the prevailing method of the Hindu native science of grammar, which sets up a certain body of roots, and prescribes the processes by which these may be made stems and words, giving the various added elements, and laying down the rules by which their combination is effected. And the same genera' method is, for like reason, followed also by European grammarians.

100. The euphonic laws, accordingly, which govern the combination of suffix or of ending with root or stem, possess a high practical importance, and require to be laid down in preparation for the topics of declension and conjugation.

101. Moreover, the formation of compounds, by joining two or more simple stems, is extremely frequent in Sanskrit; and this kind of combination has its own peculiar euphonic rules. And once more, in the form of the language as handed down to us by its literature, the words composing a sentence or paragraph are adapted to and combined with one another by nearly the same rules which govern the making of compounds; so that it is impossible to take apart and understand a Sanskrit sentence without knowing those rules. Hence

an increased degree of practical importance belonging to the subject of euphonic combination.

a. This euphonic interdependence of the words of a sentence is unknown to any other language in anything like the same degree; and it cannot but be suspected of being at least in part artificial, implying an erection into necessary and invariable rules of what in the living language were only optional practices. This is strongly indicated, indeed, by the evidence of the older dialect of the Vedas and of the derived Prakritic dialects, in both of which some of the rules (especially that as to the hiatus: see 113) are often violated.

102. The roots which are authenticated by their occurrence in the literary monuments of the language, earlier and later, number between eight and nine hundred. About half of these belong fully to the language throughout its whole history; some (about a hundred and fifty) are limited to the earlier or pre-classical period; some, again (over a hundred and twenty), make their first appearance in the later language.

a. There are in this number roots of very diverse character. Those occurring only later are, at least in great part, presumably of secondary origin; and a certain number are even doubtless artificial, used once or twice because found in the root-lists of the Hindu grammarians (103). But also of the rest, some are plainly secondary, while others are questionable; and not a few are variations or differentiated forms of one another. Thus, there are roots showing respectively *r* and *l*, as *rabh* and *labh*, *mruc* and *mluc*, *kṣar* and *kṣal*; roots with and without a strengthening nasal, as *vand* and *vad*, *mand* and *mad*; roots in *ā* and in *a* nasal, as *khā* and *khan*, *gā* and *gam*, *jā* and *jan*; roots made by an added *ā*, as *trā* from *tr*, *mnā* from *man*, *psā* from *bhas*, *yā* from *i*; roots the product of reduplication, as *jakṣ* from *ghas*, *dudh* from *dhū*; roots with a final sibilant of formative origin, as *bhakṣ* and *bhikṣ* from *bhaj*, *nakṣ* from *naç*, *çruṣ* from *çru*, *hās* from *hā*; root-forms held apart by a well-established discordance of inflection and meaning, which yet are probably different sides of one root, as *kṛṣ drag* and *kṛṣ plough*, *vid know* and *vid find*, *vṛ enclose* and *vṛ choose*; and so on. In many such cases it is doubtful whether we ought to acknowledge two roots or only one; and no absolute rule of distinction can be laid down and maintained.

103. The list of roots given by the Hindu grammarians contains about two thousand roots, without including all those which students of the language are compelled to recognize. Considerably more than half of this number, then, are unauthenticated by use; and although some of these may yet come to light, or may have existed without finding their way into any of the preserved literary documents, it is certain that most are fictitious: made in part for the explanation of words falsely described as their derivatives, but in the main for unknown and perhaps undiscoverable reasons.

a. The roots unauthenticated by traceable use will be made no account of in this grammar — or, if noticed, will be specified as of that character.

104. The forms of the roots as here used will be found to differ in certain respects from those given by the native grammarians and adopted by some European works. Thus:

a. Those roots of which the initial *n* and *ṣ* are regularly converted to *ṇ* and *ṣ* after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with *ṇ* and *ṣ*; no western authority follows this example.

b. The Hindus classify as simple roots a number of derived stems: reduplicated ones, as *didhī*, *jāgr*, *daridrā*; present-stems, as *ūṛṇu*; and denominative stems, as *avadhir*, *kumār*, *sabhāg*, *mantr*, *sāntv*, *arth*, and the like. These are in European works generally reduced to their true value.

c. A number of roots ending in an *ā* which is irregularly treated in the present-system are written in the Hindu lists with diphthongs — *e* or *ai* or *o*; here they will be regarded as *ā*-roots (see 251). The *o* of such root-forms, especially, is purely arbitrary; no forms or derivatives made from the roots justify it.

d. The roots showing interchangeably *ṛ* and *ir* and *ir* or *ur* and *ūr* (242) are written by the Hindus with *ṛ* or with *ī*, or with both. The *ī* here also is only formal, intended to mark the roots as liable to certain modifications, since it nowhere shows itself in any form or derivative. Such roots will in this work be written with *ṛ*.

e. The roots, on the other hand, showing a variation between *ṛ* and *ar* (rarely *ra*) as weak and strong forms will be here written with *ṛ*, as by the native grammarians, although many European authorities prefer the other or strong form. So long as we write the unstrengthened vowel in *vid* and *qī*, in *mud* and *bhū*, and their like, consistency seems to require that we write it in *arj* and *kṛ* also — in all cases alike, without reference to what may have been the more original Indo-European form.

105. In many cases of roots showing more than one form, the selection of a representative form is a matter of comparative indifference. To deal with such cases according to their historical character is the part rather of an Indo-European comparative grammar than of a Sanskrit grammar. We must be content to accept as roots what elements seem to have on the whole that value in the existing condition of the language.

106. Stems as well as roots have their variations of form (311). The Hindu grammarians usually give the weaker form as the normal one, and derive the other from it by a strengthening change; some European authorities do the same, while others prefer the contrary method; the choice is of unessential consequence, and may be determined in any case by motives of convenience.

107. We shall accordingly consider first of all, in the present chapter, the euphonic principles and laws which govern the combination

of the elements of words and of words as elements of the sentence; then will be taken up the subject of inflection, under the two heads of declension and conjugation; and an account of the classes of uninflected words will follow.

a. The formation of conjugational stems (tense and mode-stems; also participles and infinitive) will be taught, as is usual, in connection with the processes of conjugational inflection; that of uninflected words, in connection with the various classes of those words. But the general subject of derivation, or the formation of declinable stems, will be taken up by itself later (chap. XVII.); and it will be followed by an account of the formation of compound stems (chap. XVIII.).

108. It is by no means to be expected of beginners in the language that they will attempt to master the rules of euphonic combination in a body, before going on to learn the paradigms of inflection. On the contrary, the leading paradigms of declension may best be learned outright, without attention, or with only a minimum of attention, to euphonic rule. In taking up conjugation, however, it is practically, as well as theoretically, better to learn the forms as combinations of stem and ending, with attention to such laws of combination as apply in the particular cases concerned. The rules of external combination, governing the make-up of the sentence out of words, should be grappled with only when the student is prepared to begin the reading or the formation of sentences.

Principles of Euphonic Combination.

109. The rules of combination (*saṁdhi putting together*) are in some respects different, according as they apply —

a. to the internal make-up of a word, by the addition of derivative and inflectional endings to roots and stems;

b. to the more external putting together of stems to make compound stems, and the yet looser and more accidental collocation of words in the sentence;

c. Hence they are usually divided into rules of internal combination, and rules of external combination.

110. In both classes of cases, however, the general principles of combination are the same—and likewise, to a great extent, the specific rules. The differences depend in part on the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain combinations in the one class or the other; in part, on the difference of treatment of the same sound as final of a root or of an ending, the former being more persistent than the latter; in part, on the occurrence in external combination of certain changes which are apparently phonetic but really historical; and, most frequent and conspicuous of all, on the fact that (157) vowels and semivowels and nasals exercise a sonantizing influence in external combination, but not in internal. Hence, to avoid unnecessary repetition as well as the separation of what really belongs together, the rules for both kinds of combination are given below in connection with one another.

111. a. Moreover, before case-endings beginning with *bh* and *a* (namely, *bhyām*, *bhis*, *bhyaḥ*, *au*), the treatment of the finals of stems is in general the same as in the combinations of words (*pada*) with one another—whence those endings are sometimes called *pada*-endings, and the cases they form are known as *pada*-cases.

b. The importance of this distinction is somewhat exaggerated by the ordinary statement of it. In fact, *dh* is the only sonant mute initial of an ending occurring in conjugation, as *bh* in declension; and the difference of their treatment is in part owing to the one coming into collision usually with the final of a root and the other of an ending, and in part to the fact that *dh*, as a dental, is more assimilable to palatals and linguals than *bh*. A more marked and problematic distinction is made between *su* and the verbal endings *ai*, *ava*, etc., especially after palatal sounds and *g*.

c. Further, before certain of the suffixes of derivation the final of a stem is sometimes treated in the same manner as that of a word in composition.

d. This is especially the case before secondary suffixes having a markedly distinct office, like the possessive *mant* and *vant*, the abstract-making *tva*, the suffix of material *maya*, and so on; and it is much more frequent in the later language than in the earlier. The examples are sporadic in character, and no rule can be given to cover them: for details, see the various suffixes, in chap. XVII. In the RV. (as may be mentioned here) the only examples are *vidyūnmant* (beside *garūtmant*, *kakūd-mant*, etc.), *pṛṣadvant* (beside *datvant*, *marūtvant*, etc.), *dhṛṣadvīn* (beside *namasvīn*, etc.), *ṣagmā* (beside *ajmā*, *idhmā*, etc.), *mṛṇmāya* (beside *manasmāya*, etc.), and *ahamīyū*, *kiṇyū*, *ṣamīyū*, and *añhoyū*, *duvoyū*, *śakṛdhoyū* (beside *namasyū*, *vacasyū*, etc.); and the AV. adds only *sāhovan* (RV. *sahāvan*).

112. The leading rules of internal combination (as already stated: 108) are those which are of most immediate importance to a beginner in the language, since his first task is to master the principal paradigms of

inflection; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then, however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

a. The general principles of combination underlying the euphonic rules, and determining their classification, may be stated as follows:

113. Hiatus. In general, hiatus is forbidden; every syllable except the initial one of a sentence, or of a word or phrase not forming part of a sentence, must begin with a consonant (or with more than one).

a. For details, and for exceptions, see 125 ff.

b. In the earlier language, however, hiatus in every position was abundantly admitted. This appears plainly from the *mantras*, or metrical parts of the Veda, where in innumerable instances *y* and *v* are to be read as *i* and *u*, and, less often, a long vowel is to be resolved into two vowels, in order to make good the metre: e. g., *vāryāṇām* has to be read as *vāri-ā-ṇa-ām*, *svaṣṭyam* as *su-aṣ-vi-am*, and so on. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, also, we find *tvac*, *avar*, *dyāus* described as dissyllables, *vyāna* and *satyam* as trisyllables, *rājanya* as of four syllables, and the like. See further 129 a.

114. Deaspiration. An aspirate mute is liable to lose its aspiration, being allowed to stand unchanged only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.

115. Assimilation. The great body of euphonic changes in Sanskrit, as elsewhere, falls under the general head of assimilation — which takes place both between sounds which are so nearly alike that the difference between them is too insignificant to be worth preserving, and between those which are so diverse as to be practically incompatible.

116. In part, assimilation involves the conversion of one sound to another of the same series, without change of articulating position; in part, it involves a change of position, or transfer to another series.

117. Of changes within the series, the most frequent and important occur in the adaptation of sord and sonant sounds to one

another; but the nasals and *l* have also in certain cases their special assimilative influence. Thus:

a. In the two classes of non-nasal mutes and spirants, surd and sonant are wholly incompatible; no surd of either class can either precede or follow a sonant of either.

b. A mute, surd or sonant, is assimilated by being changed to its correspondent of the other kind; of the spirants, the surd *s* is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely *r*, to which it is convertible in external combination (184 ff.).

c. The nasals are more freely combinable: a nasal may either precede or follow a mute of either kind, or the sonant spirant *h*; it may also follow a surd spirant (sibilant); no nasal, however, ever precedes a sibilant in the interior of a word (it is changed instead to *anusvāra*); and in external combination their concurrence is usually avoided by insertion of a surd mute.

d. A semivowel has still less sonantizing influence; and a vowel least of all: both are freely preceded and followed by sounds of every other class, in the interior of a word.

e. Before a sibilant, however, is found, of the semivowels, only *r* and very rarely *l*. Moreover, in external combination, *r* is often changed to its surd correspondent *s*.

But

f. In composition and sentence-collocation, initial vowels and semivowels and nasals also require the preceding final to be sonant. And

g. Before a nasal and *l*, the assimilative process is sometimes carried further, by the conversion of a final mute to a nasal or *l* respectively.

118. Of conversions involving a change of articulate position, the most important are those of dental sounds to lingual, and, less often, to palatal. Thus:

a. The dental *s* and *n* are very frequently converted to *ṣ* and *ṇ* by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds: the *s*, even by sounds—namely, *i*- and *u*-vowels and *k*—which have themselves no lingual character.

b. A non-nasal dental mute is (with a few exceptions in external combination) made lingual when it comes into collision with a lingual sound.

c. The dental mutes and sibilant are made palatal by a contiguous palatal.

But also:

d. A *m* (not radical) is assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever kind.

e. For certain anomalous cases, see 151.

119. The euphonic combinations of the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant, and the aspiration, as being sounds derived by phonetic alteration from more original gutturals (42 ff.), are made peculiar

and complicated by two circumstances: their reversion to a guttural form (or the appearance of the unaltered guttural instead of them: 43); and the different treatment of *j* and *h* according as they represent one or another degree of alteration—the one tending, like *c*, more to the guttural reversion, the other showing, like *ç*, a more sibilant and lingual character.

120. The lingual sibilant *ç*, also of derivative character (from dental *s*), shows as radical final peculiar and problematic phenomena of combination.

121. Extension and abbreviation of consonant-groups. The native grammarians allow or require certain extensions, by duplication or insertion, of groups of consonants. And, on the other hand, abbreviation of certain other groups is allowed, and found often practised in the manuscripts.

122. Permitted Finals. The permitted occurrence of consonants at the end of a word is quite narrowly restricted. In general, only one consonant is allowed after the last vowel; and that must be neither the aspiration, nor a sibilant, nor a semivowel (save rarely *ṛ* 1), nor an aspirate mute, nor a sonant mute if not nasal, nor a palatal.

123. Increment and Decrement. Besides these more or less regular changes accompanying the combination of the parts that make up words, there is another class of a different character, not consisting in the mutual adaptations of the parts, but in strengthening or weakening changes of the parts themselves.

124. It is impossible to carry through a perfectly systematic arrangement of the detailed rules of euphonic combination, because the different varieties of euphonic change more or less overlap and intersect one another. The order observed below will be as follows:

1. Rules of vowel combination, for the avoidance of hiatus.
2. Rules as to permitted finals (since these underlie the further treatment of final consonants in external combination).
3. Rules for loss of aspiration of an aspirate mute.
4. Rules of surd and sonant assimilation, including those for final *s* and *r*.

5. Rules for the conversion of dental sounds to lingual and palatal.

6. Rules for the changes of final nasals, including those in which a former final following the nasal re-appears in combination.

7. Rules regarding the special changes of the derivative sounds — the palatal mutes and sibilant, the aspiration, and the lingual sibilant.

8. Rules as to extension and abbreviation of consonant groups.

9. Rules for strengthening and weakening processes.

Everywhere, rules for more sporadic and less classifiable cases will be given in the most practically convenient connection; and the Index will render what help is needed toward finding them.

Rules of Vowel Combination.

125. The concurrence of two vowels, or of vowel and diphthong, without intervening consonant, is forbidden by the euphony of the later or classical language. It is avoided, according to the circumstances of the case, either by fusion of the two concurrent sounds into one, by the reduction of one of them to a semivowel, or by development of a semivowel between them.

a. For the not infrequent cases of composition and sentence-combination in which the recent loss of a *s* or *y* or *v* between vowels leaves a permanent hiatus, see below, 132 ff., 175-7; for certain final vowels which are maintained unchanged in sentence-combination before an initial vowel, see 138.

b. A very few words in their admitted written form show interior hiatus; such are *tītaü stīve* (perhaps for *tītasu*, BR.), *prāṅga wāgon-pole* (for *prayuga*?); and, in RV., *suñtī*.

c. The texts of the older dialect are written according to the euphonic rules of the later language, although in them (see 113 b) the hiatus is really of frequent occurrence. Hence they are not to be read as written, but with constantly recurring reversal of the processes of vowel-combination which they have been made artificially to undergo. See further 129 e.

d. Also in the later language, hiatus between the two *pādas* or primary divisions of a metrical line is tolerably frequent, and it is not unknown in sporadic cases even in the interior of a *pāda*.

e. The rules of vowel combination, as regards both the resulting sound and its accent, are nearly the same in internal and in external *saṁdhi*,

126. Two similar simple vowels, short or long, coalesce, and form the corresponding long vowel: thus, two a-vowels (either or both of them short or long) form *आ ā*; two i-vowels, *ई ī*; two u-vowels, *ऊ ū*; and, theoretically, two r-vowels form *ऋ ṛ*, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

स चाप्रजः sa cā 'prajāḥ (ca + aprajāḥ);

अतिव atī 'va (atī + iva);

सूक्तम् sūktam (su-uktam);

राजानीत् rājā 'sīt (rājā + āsīt);

अधीश्वरः adhiṣvarḥ (adhi-īṣvarḥ);

जुहुषमत् जुहुषभृत् (juhū — upabhṛt).

a. As the above examples indicate, it will be the practice everywhere in this work, in transliteration (not in the *devanāgarī* text), to separate independent words; and if an initial vowel of a following word has coalesced with a final of the preceding, this will be indicated by an apostrophe — single if the initial vowel be the shorter, double if it be the longer, of the two different initials which in every case of combination yield the same result.

127. An a-vowel combines with a following i-vowel to *ए e*; with an u-vowel, to *ओ o*; with *ऋ ṛ*, to *ऋ ar*; with *लृ ḷ* (theoretically), to *ऋ ḷ*; with *ए e* or *ऐ ai*, to *ऐ ai*; with *ओ o* or *औ au*, to *औ au*. Examples are:

राजेन्द्र rājendra (rāja-indra);

हितोपदेशः hitopadeṣaḥ (hita-upadeṣaḥ);

महर्षिः maharṣiḥ (mahā-ṛṣiḥ);

सैव sāi 'va (sā + eva);

राजैश्वर्यम् rājaiṣvaryaṁ (rāja-aiṣvaryaṁ);

दिवौकसः divāukasāḥ (divā-okasāḥ);

ज्वरोषधम् jvarauṣadham (jvara-āuṣadham).

a. In the Vedic texts, the vowel *ṛ* is ordinarily written unchanged after the a-vowel, which, if long, is shortened: thus, *maharṣiḥ* instead of *maharṣiḥ*. The two vowels, however, are usually pronounced as one syllable.

b. When successive words like *indra ā hi* are to be combined, the first combination, to *indrā*, is made first, and the result is *indre* "hi (not *indrāi* "hi, from *indra e* "hi).

128. As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, 1. as a matter of course, the union of acute with acute yields acute, and that of grave with grave yields grave; that of circumflex with circumflex cannot occur; 2. a circumflex with following acute yields acute, the final grave element of the former being raised to acute pitch; a grave with following acute does the same, as no upward slide of the voice on a syllable is acknowledged in the language; but, 3. when the former of the fused elements is acute and the latter grave, we might expect the resulting syllable to be in general circumflex, to represent both the original tones. Pāṇini in fact allows this accent in every such case; and in a single accented Brāhmaṇa text (QB.), the circumflex is regularly written. But the language shows, on the whole, an indisposition to allow the circumflex to rest on either long vowel or diphthong as its sole basis, and the acute element is suffered to raise the other to its own level of pitch, making the whole syllable acute. The only exception to this, in most of the texts, is the combination of *ī* and *i*, which becomes *ī*: thus, *divī 'va*, from *divī iva*; in the Tāittiriya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while *ū* and *u*, instead, make *ū*: thus, *sūdgātā* from *sū-udgātā*.

129. The *i*-vowels, the *u*-vowels, and ऋ *r*, before a dissimilar vowel or a diphthong, are regularly converted each into its own corresponding semivowel, य् *y* or व् *v* or र् *r*. Examples are:

इत्याद् *ity āha* (*iti + āha*);

मध्व *madhv iva* (*madhu + iva*);

दुहितर्ये *duhitrarthe* (*duhitṛ-arthe*);

स्र्यस्य *stry asya* (*strī + asya*);

वध्वै *vadhvāi* (*vadhū-ai*).

a. But in internal combination the *i* and *u*-vowels are not seldom changed instead to *iy* and *uv* — and this especially in monosyllables, or after two consonants, where otherwise a group of consonants difficult of pronunciation would be the result. The cases will be noticed below, in explaining inflected forms.

b. A radical *i*-vowel is converted into *y* even before *i* in perfect tense-inflection: so *ninyima* (*ninī + ima*).

c. In a few sporadic cases, *i* and *u* become *iy* and *uv* even in word-composition: e. g., *triyavi* (*tri + avi*), *viyāga* (*vi + āga*), *auvita* (*su + ita*): compare 1204 b, c.

d. Not very seldom, the same word (especially as found in different texts of the older language) has more than one form, showing various treatment

of an *i*- or *u*-vowel; e. g. *avār* or *sūvar*, *tanvè* or *tanūve*, *budhnyā* or *budhniya*, *rātryāi* or *rātriyāi*. For the most part, doubtless, these are only two ways of writing the same pronunciation, *sū-ar*, *budhniā*, and so on; and the discordance has no other importance, historical or phonetic. There is more or less of this difference of treatment of an *i*- or *u*-element after a consonant in all periods of the language.

e. In the older language, there is a marked difference, in respect to the frequency of vowel-combination for avoiding hiatus as compared with that of non-combination and consequent hiatus, between the class of cases where two vowel-sounds, similar or dissimilar, would coalesce into one (126, 127) and that where an *i*- or *u*-vowel would be converted into a semivowel. Thus, in word-composition, the ratio of the cases of coalesced vowels to those of hiatus are in RV. as five to one, in AV. as nineteen to one, while the cases of semivowel-conversion are in RV. only one in twelve, in AV. only one in five; in sentence-combination, the cases of coalescence are in both RV. and AV. about as seven to one, while those of semivowel-conversion are in RV. only one in fifty, in AV. one in five.

f. For certain cases of the loss or assimilation of *i* and *u* before *y* and *v* respectively, see 233 a

130. As regards the accent—here, as in the preceding case (128), the only combination requiring notice is that of an acute *i*- or *u*-vowel with a following grave: the result is circumflex; and such cases of circumflex are many times more frequent than any and all others. Examples are:

व्युष्टि व्युष्टि (vi-uṣṭi); अभ्यर्चति abhyārcati;

नद्यौ nadyāu (nadi-āu);

स्विष्ट sviṣṭa (sū-iṣṭa); तन्वन् tanvās (tanū-as).

a. Of a similar combination of acute *i* with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, *vijñātr̥ étāt* (i. e. *vijñātṝ étāt*: §B. xiv. 6. 8¹¹); the accentuation is in accordance with the rules for *i* and *u*.

131. Of a diphthong, the final *i*- or *u*-element is changed to its corresponding semivowel, *y* or *v*, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, *ए* *e* (really *ai*: 28 a) becomes *अय्* *ay*, and *ओ* *o* (that is, *au*: 28 a) becomes *अव्* *av*; *ऐ* *āi* becomes *आय्* *āy*, and *औ* *āu* becomes *आव्* *āv*.

a. No change of accent, of course, occurs here; each original syllable retains its syllabic identity, and hence also its own tone.

b. Examples can be given only for internal combination, since in external combination there are further changes: see the next paragraph. Thus,

नय naya (no-a); नाय nāya (nāi-a);

भव bhava (bho-a); भाव bhāva (bhāu-a).

132. In external combination, we have the important additional rule that the semivowel resulting from the conversion of the final element of a diphthong is in general dropped; and the resulting hiatus is left without further change.

133. That is to say, a final *ṛ* e (the most frequent case) becomes simply *ṣ* a before an initial vowel (except *ṣ* a: see 135, below), and both then remain unchanged; and a final *ṛ* ai, in like manner, becomes (everywhere) *ṣ* ā. Thus,

त आगताः ta āgatāḥ (to + āgatāḥ);

नगर इह nagara iha (nagara + iha);

तस्मा अददात् tasmā adadāt (tasmāi + adadāt);

स्त्रिया उक्तम् striyā uktam (striyāi + uktam).

a. The later grammarians allow the *y* in such combinations to be either retained or dropped; but the uniform practice of the manuscripts, of every age, in accordance with the strict requirement of the Vedic grammars (Prātiśākhya), is to omit the semivowel and leave the hiatus.

b. The persistence of the hiatus caused by this omission is a plain indication of the comparatively recent loss of the intervening consonantal sound.

c. Instances, however, of the avoidance of hiatus by combination of the remaining final vowel with the following initial according to the usual rules are met with in every period of the language, from the RV. down; but they are rare and of sporadic character. Compare the similar treatment of the hiatus after a lost final *a*, 176-7.

d. For the peculiar treatment of this combination in certain cases by the MS., see below, 176 d.

134. a. The diphthong *o* (except as phonetic alteration of final *a*: see 175 a) is an unusual final, appearing only in the stem *go* (361 c), in the voc. sing. of u-stems (341), in words of which the final *a* is combined with the particle *u*, as *atho*, and in a few interjections. In the last two classes it is uncombinable (below, 138 c, f); the vocatives sometimes retain the *v* and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated); *go* (in composition only) does not ordinarily lose its final element, but remains *gav* or *go*. A final *a* becomes *a*, with following hiatus, before any vowel save *a* (for which, see the next paragraph).

b. The व् v of घाव् āv from यौ āu is usually retained: thus,

तावेव tāv eva (tāu + eva);

उभाविन्द्राग्नी ubhāv indrāgnī (ubhāu + indrāgnī).

c. In the older language, however, it is in some texts dropped before an u-vowel: thus, tā ubhāu; in other texts it is treated like āi, or loses its u-element before every initial vowel: thus, tā evā, ubhā indrāgnī.

135. After final ए e or ओ o, an initial अ a disappears.

a. The resulting accent is as if the a were not dropped, but rather absorbed into the preceding diphthong, having its tone duly represented in the combination. If, namely, the e or o is grave or circumflex and the a acute, the former becomes acute; if the e or o is acute and the a grave, the former becomes circumflex, as usually in the fusion of an acute and a grave element. If both are acute or both grave, no change, of course, is seen in the result. Examples are:

ते ब्रुवन् tè 'bruvan (té abruvan);

सो ब्रवीत् sò 'bravīt (sāḥ abravīt);

हिंसितव्यो अग्निः hiṁsitavyò 'gniḥ (hiṁsitavyāḥ agniḥ);

यदिन्द्रो ब्रवीत् yád indró 'bravīt (yád indrah ābravīt);

यद्राज्यो ब्रवीत् yád rājanyò 'bravīt (yád rājanyāḥ ābravīt).

b. As to the use of the avagraha sign in the case of such an elision, see above, 16. In transliteration, the reversed apostrophe, or rough breathing, will be used in this work to represent it.

c. This elision or absorption of initial a after final e or o, which in the later language is the invariable rule, is in the Veda only an occasional occurrence. Thus, in the RV., out of nearly 4500 instances of such an initial a, it is, as the metre shows, to be really omitted only about seventy times; in the AV., less than 300 times out of about 1600. In neither work is there any accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and spoken form of the text: in RV., the a is (as written) elided in more than three quarters of the cases; in AV., in about two thirds; and in both texts it is written in a number of instances where the metre requires its omission.

d. In a few cases, an initial ā is thus elided, especially that of ātman.

e. To the rules of vowel combination, as above stated, there are certain exceptions. Some of the more isolated of these will be

noticed where they come up in the processes of inflection etc.; a few require mention here.

136. In internal combination:

a. The augment *a* makes with the initial vowel of a root the combinations *āi*, *āu*, *ār* (vyddhi-vowels: 235), instead of *e*, *o*, *ar* (gupa-vowels), as required by 127: thus, *āita* (*a* + *ita*) *āubhnāt* [*a* + *ubhnāt*], *ārdhnōt* (*a* + *rdhnōt*).

b. The final *o* of a stem (1203 a) becomes *av* before the suffix *ya* (originally *ia*: 1210 a).

c. The final vowel of a stem is often dropped when a secondary suffix is added (1203 a).

d. For the weakening and loss of radical vowels, and for certain insertions, see below, 249 ff., 257-8.

137. In external combination:

a. The final *a* or *ā* of a preposition, with initial *ṛ* of a root, makes *ār* instead of *ar*: Thus, *ārchatī* (*ā* + *ṛchatī*), *avārchatī* (*ava* + *ṛchatī*), *upārṣatī* (CB.: *upa* + *ṛṣatī*; but AV. *uparṣanti*).

b. Instances are occasionally met with of a final *a* or *ā* being lost entirely before initial *e* or *o*: thus, in verb-forms, *av' eṣyāmas* AB., *up' eṣatu* etc. AV.; in derivatives, as *upetavya*, *upetr*; in compounds, as *daṇi*, *yathetam*, and (permissibly) compounds with *oṣṭha* (not rare), *otu* (not quotable), *odana*, as *adharoṣṭha* or *adharāuṣṭha*, *tilodana* or *tilāudana*; and even in sentence-combination, as *iv' etayas*, *aṇvin' eva*, *yath' ocīṣe* (all RV.), *tv' eman* and *tv' odman* B.; and always with the exclamation *om* or *omkāra*.

c. The form *ūh* from *y'vāh* sometimes makes the heavier or vyddhi (235) diphthongal combination with a preceding *a*-vowel: thus, *prāuḍhī*, *akṣāuḥiṇī* (from *pra* + *ūḍhī* etc.).

138. Certain final vowels, moreover, are uncombinable (*pragrhya*), or maintain themselves unchanged before any following vowel. Thus,

a. The vowels *ī*, *ū* and *e* as dual endings, both of declensional and of conjugational forms. Thus, *bandhū āsāte imāu*; *giri ārohatam*.

b. The pronoun *amī* (nom. pl.: 501); and the Vedic pronominal forms *asmé*, *yuṣmé*, *tvé* (492 a).

c. A final *o* made by combination of a final *a*-vowel with the particle *u* (1122 b): thus, *atho*, *mo*, *no*.

d. A final *ī* of a Vedic locative case from an *i*-stem (336 f).

e. A protracted final vowel (78).

f. The final, or only, vowel of an interjection, as *aho*, *he*, *ā*, *i*, *u*.

g. The older language shows occasional exceptions to these rules: thus, a dual *ī* combined with a following *ī*, as *nṛpātī 'va*; an *a* elided after *o*, as *ātho 'si*; a locative *ī* turned into a semivowel, as *vēdy asyām*.

Permitted Finals.

139. The sounds allowed to occur as finals in Sanskrit words standing by themselves (not in euphonic combination with something following) are closely limited, and those which would etymologically come to occupy such a position are often variously altered, in general accordance with their treatment in other circumstances, or are sometimes omitted altogether.

a. The variety of consonants that would ever come at the end of either an inflected form or a derivative stem in the language is very small: namely, in forms, only *t* (or *d*), *n*, *m*, *s*; in derivative stems, only *t*, *d*, *n*, *r*, *s* (and, in a few rare words, *j*). But almost all consonants occur as finals of roots; and every root is liable to be found, alone or as last member of a compound, in the character of a declined stem.

140. All the vowel sounds, both simple and diphthongal, may be sounded at the end of a word.

a. But neither *ṛ* nor *ḷ* ever actually occurs; and *ṛ* is rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in *ṛ* or *ar*, or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus, *indra*, *çiváyā*, *ákāri*, *nadī*, *dātu*, *caviñ*, *janayitṛ*, *ágne*, *çiváyāi*, *vāyo*, *agnāñ*.

141. Of the non-nasal mutes, only the first in each series, the non-aspirate surd, is allowed; the others — surd aspirate, and both sonants — whenever they would etymologically occur, are converted into this.

Thus, *agnimát* for *agnimáth*, *suhṛt* for *suhṛd*, *vīrūt* for *vīrúdh*, *triṣṭúp* for *triṣṭúbh*.

a. In a few roots, when their final (sonant aspirate) thus loses its aspiration, the original sonant aspiration of the initial reappears: compare *ह*, below, 147.

Thus, *dagh* becomes *dhak*, *budh* becomes *bhut*, and so on.

The roots exhibiting this change are stated below, 155.

b. There was some question among the Hindu grammarians as to whether the final mute is to be estimated as of surd or of sonant quality; but the great weight of authority, and the invariable practice of the manuscripts, favor the surd.

142. The palatals, however, form here (as often elsewhere) an exception to the rules for the other mutes. No palatal is allowed as final. The च् c reverts (43) to its original क् k: thus, वाक् vāk, अहोमुक् aḥomūk. The छ् ch (only quotable in the root प्रह् prach) becomes ट् t: thus, प्राट् prāṭ. The ज् j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes ट् t, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (219): thus, भिषक् bhiṣāk, विराट् virāṭ. The ज्ञ् ja does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to ट् t.

143. Of the nasals, the म् m and न् n are extremely common, especially the former (म् m and स् s are of all final consonants the most frequent); the ण् ṇ is allowed, but is quite rare; ङ् ṅ is found (remaining after the loss of a following क् k) in a very small number of words (386 b, c, 407 a); ञ् ṇ never occurs.

a. But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212 a, below): thus, akran from kram, āgan, ajagan, aganiṅan from gam, ānān from nam, ayān from yam, praṇān from ṇam; no other cases are quotable.

144. Of the semivowels, the ल् l alone is an admitted final, and it is very rare. The र् r is (like its nearest surd correspondent, स् s: 145) changed as final to visarga. Of य् y and व् v there is no occurrence.

145. Of the sibilants, none may stand unaltered at the end of a word. The स् s (which of all final consonants would otherwise be the commonest) is, like र् r, changed to a breathing, the visarga. The ण् ṇ either reverts (43) to its original क् k, or, in some roots, is changed to ट् t (in accordance with its changes in inflection and derivation: see below, 219): thus, दिक् dik, but विट् viṭ. The ष् ṣ is likewise changed to ट् t: thus, प्रावृट् prāvṛṭ.

a. The change of ण् ṇ to ट् t is of rare occurrence: see below, 226 d.

b. Final radical *s* is said by the grammarians to be changed to *t*; but no sure example of the conversion is quotable: see 168; and compare 555 a.

146. The compound क् क् is prescribed to be treated as simple क् (not becoming क् क् by 150, below). But the case is a rare one, and its actual treatment in the older language irregular.

a. In the only RV. cases where the क् has a quasi-radical character — namely *anāk* from *anāka*, and *āmyak* from *y/myaka* — the conversion is to *k*. Also, of forms of the *s*-aorist (see 890), we have *adhāk*, *asrāk*, *arāk*, etc. (for *adhāka-t* etc.); but also *aprāt*, *ayāt*, *avāt*, *asrāt* (for *aprāka-t* etc.). And RV. has twice *ayā* from *y/yaj*, and AV. twice *arās* from *y/srj* (wrongly referred by BR. to *y/sraśa*), both 2d sing., where the personal ending has perhaps crowded out the root-final and tense-sign.

b. The numeral *śaś* six is perhaps better to be regarded as *śaka*, with its क् treated as *ś*, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration क् *h* is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like क् *j* and क् *ç*) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as क् *k*, or is changed to क् *t* — both in accordance with its treatment in inflection: see below, 222. And, also as in inflection, the original sonant aspiration of a few roots (given at 155 b) reappears when their final thus becomes deaspirated. Where the क् *h* is from original क् *dh* (223 g), it becomes क् *t*.

148. The *visarga* and *anuvāra* are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final क् *s* or क् *r*; the latter occurs as final only so far as it is a substitute for क् *m* (213 h).

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are : क् *h*, क् *m*, क् *n*, क् *t*, क् *k*, क् *p*, क् *t*; those of only sporadic occurrence are क् *ñ*, क् *l*, क् *ṇ*; and, by substitution, : क् *ñ*.

150. In general, only one consonant, of whatever kind, is allowed to stand at the end of a word; if two or more would etymologically occur there, the last is dropped, and again the last, and so on, till only one remains.

a. Thus, *tudants* becomes *tudant*, and this *tudan*; *udañe-s* becomes *udañk* (142), and this *udañ*; and *achāntat* (s-aor., 3d sing., of *achand* [890 b]) is in like manner reduced to *achān*.

b. But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after *r*: thus, *ūr̥k* from *ūrj*, *vār̥k* from *vr̥j*, *avart* from *vr̥t*, *āmārt̥* from *vr̥j*, *suhārt̥* from *suhārd*. The case is not a common one.

c. For relics of former double finals, preserved by the later language under the disguise of apparent euphonic combinations, see below, 207 ff.

151. Anomalous conversions of a final mute to one of another class are occasionally met with. Examples are:

a. Of final *t* to *k*: thus, 1. in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles, as *iyók*, *tājāk* (beside *tājāt*), *ṛdhak* (beside *ṛdhat*), *pṛthak*, *drāk*; and of kindred character is *khādagdānt* (TA.); 2. in here and there a verbal form, as *sāviṣak* (AV. and VS. Kāp.), *dambhiṣak* (Āpast.), *aviṣyak* (Pārask.), *āhalak* (VS. MS.; = *āharat*); 3. in root-finals or the *t* added to root-stems (383 e), as *-dhṛk* for *-dhṛt* (*Sūtras* and later) at the end of compounds, *suṣṛūk* (TB.), *pr̥kṣū* (SV.); and 4. we may further note here the anomalous *eñkṣva* (AB.; for *intṣva*, *vidh*) and *avāksam* (AB.), and the feminines in *knī* from masculines in *ta* (1178 d).

b. Of final *d* or *t* to a lingual: thus, *pad* in Vedic *paḍbhīś*, *pāḍgr̥bhī*, *pāḍbiṣa*; *upānāḍbhyām* (QB.); *vy avāt* (MS. iii. 4. 9; *vas aśine*), and perhaps *āpā rāt* (MS.; or *vr̥aj*?).

c. Of *k* or *j* to *t*, in an isolated example or two, as *samyāt*, *āsṛt*, *viṣvasṛt* (TS. K.), and *prayātsu* (VS. Ts.; AV. -kṣu).

d. In Tāittiriya texts, of the final of *anuṣṭūbh* and *triṣṭūbh* to a guttural: as, *anuṣṭūk ca*, *triṣṭūgbhis*, *anuṣṭūgbhyas*.

e. Of a labial to a dental: in *kakūd* for and beside *kakūbh*; in *sañsṛdbhis* (TS.) from *vr̥sp*; and in *adbhis*, *adbhyās*, from *ap* or *āp* (393). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination *bbh* are not very rare in the older language: thus, *kakūbbhyām*, *triṣṭūbbhis*, *kakubbhaṇḍā*, *anuṣṭūb bhī*.

f. The forms *pratidhūṣas*, -ṣā (Tāittiriya texts) from *pratidūh* are isolated anomalies.

152. For all the processes of external combination — that is to say, in composition and sentence-collocation — a stem-final or word-final is in general to be regarded as having, not its etymological form, but that given it by the rules as to permitted finals. From this, however, are to be excepted the *s* and *r*: the various transformations of these sounds have nothing to do with the *visarga* to which as

finals before a pause they have — doubtless at a comparatively recent period of phonetic history — come to be reduced. Words will everywhere in this work be written with final *ṣ* or *r* instead of *ḥ*; and the rules of combination will be stated as for the two more original sounds, and not for the *visarga*.

Deaspiration.

153. An aspirate mute is changed to a non-aspirate before another non-nasal mute or before a sibilant; it stands unaltered only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.

a. Such a case can only arise in internal combination, since the processes of external combination presuppose the reduction of the aspirate to a non-aspirate surd (152).

b. Practically, also, the rules as to changes of aspirates concern almost only the sonant aspirates, since the surd, being of later development and rarer occurrence, are hardly ever found in situations that call for their application.

154. Hence, if such a mute is to be doubled, it is doubled by prefixing its own corresponding non-aspirate.

a. But in the manuscripts, both Vedic and later, an aspirate mute is not seldom found written double — especially, if it be one of rare occurrence: for example (RV.), *akḥkhalī*, *jáḥjhatī*

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (क्व gh, क्व dh, भ् bh; also क्व ह, as representing an original क्व gh) thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant (क्व g or क्व d or क्व b) becomes aspirate.

a. That is to say, the original initial aspirate of such roots is restored, when its presence does not interfere with the euphonic law, of comparatively recent origin, which (in Sanskrit as in Greek) forbids a root to both begin and end with an aspirate.

b. The roots which show this peculiar change are:

in gh — dagh;

in h (for original gh) — dah, dīh, duh, druh, dṛoh, guh; and also grah (in the later desiderative *jighṛkṣa*);

in dh — bandh, bādh, budh;

in bh — dabh (but only in the later desiderative *dhipsa* for which the older language has *dīpsa*).

c. The same change appears when the law as to finals causes the loss of the aspiration at the end of the root: see above, 141.

d. But from *dah*, *dūh*, *druh*, and *guh* are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, *dakṣat*; *adukṣat*; *dudukṣa* etc.; *jugukṣa*; *mitradrūk*.

e. The same analogy is followed by *dadh*, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stems *dadhā*, from *√dhā* (867), in some of the forms of conjugation: thus, *dhatthas* from *dadh + thas*, *adhatta* from *adadh + ta*, *adhaddhvam* from *adadh + dhvam*, etc.

f. No case is met with of the throwing back of an aspiration upon combination with the 2d sing. impv. act. ending *dhi*: thus, *dugdhi*, *daddhi* (RV.), but *dhugdhvam*, *dhaddhvam*.

Surd and Sonant Assimilation.

156. Under this head, there is especially one very marked and important difference between the internal combinations of a root or stem with suffixes and endings, and the external combinations of stem with stem in composition and of word with word in sentence-making: namely—

157. a. In internal combination, the initial vowel or semivowel or nasal of an ending of inflection or derivation exercises no altering influence upon a final consonant of the root or stem to which it is added.

b. To this rule there are some exceptions: thus, some of the derivatives noted at 111 d; final *d* of a root before the participial suffix *na* (967 d); and the forms noted below, 161 b.

c. In external combination, on the other hand, an initial sonant of whatever class, even a vowel or semivowel or nasal, requires the conversion of a final surd to sonant.

d. It has been pointed out above (152) that in the rules of external combination only admitted finals, along with *s* and *r*, need be taken account of, all others being regarded as reduced to these before combining with initials.

158. Final vowels, nasals, and ऋ ॠ are nowhere liable to change in the processes of surd and sonant assimilation.

a. The *r*, however, has a corresponding surd in *s*, to which it is sometimes changed in external combination, under circumstances that favor a surd utterance (178).

159. With the exceptions above stated, the collision of surd and sonant sounds is avoided in combinations—and, regularly and usually, by assimilating the final to the following initial, or by regressive assimilation.

Thus, in internal combination: átsi, átti, athás, attá (yad + si etc.); çagdhí, çagdhvám (yçak + dhi etc.);—in external combination, ábhūd ayám, jyóg jīva, çād açitāyaḥ, triṣṭúb āpi, dig-gaja, çad-ahá, arcád-dhūma, bṛhád-bhānu, ab-já.

160. If, however, a final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by ṛ t or ṛ th of an ending, the assimilation is in the other direction, or progressive: the combination is made sonant, and the aspiration of the final (lost according to 153, above) is transferred to the initial of the ending.

Thus, gh with t or th becomes gdh; dh with the same becomes ddh, as buddhá (ybudh + ta), ruddhás (yrundh + thas or tas); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhá (ylabh + ta), labdhvā (ylabh + tvā).

a. Moreover, h, as representing original gh, is treated in the same manner: thus, dugdhá, dōgdhum from duh—and compare rūḍhá and liḍhá from ruh and lih, etc., 222 b.

b. In this combination, as the sonant aspiration is not lost but transferred, the restoration of the initial aspiration (155) does not take place.

c. In dadh from ydhā (155 e), the more normal method is followed; the dh is made surd, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhatthas, dhattas. And RV. has dhaktam instead of dagdham from ydagh; and TA. has ittām instead of inddhām from yidh.

161. Before a nasal in external combination, a final mute may be simply made sonant, or it may be still further assimilated, being changed to the nasal of its own class.

Thus, either tát námas or tán námas, vāg me or vāñ me, bāḍ mahān or bāṇ mahān, triṣṭúb nūnām or triṣṭūm nūnām.

a. In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the manuscripts, as, indeed, it is by the Prātiçākhyas required and not permitted merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound çāṇṇavati, and before mātrā, and the suffix maya (1225): thus, vāñmāya, mṛṇmāya.

b. Even in internal combination, the same assimilation is made in some of the derivatives noted at 111 d, and in the na-participles (957 d). And a few sporadic instances are met with even in verb-inflection: thus,

stiñnoti, stiñnuyāt (MS.; for stighn-), mññita (L.S.; for mññn-), jāñmayana (KS.; for jāgm-); these, however (like the double aspirates, 154 a), are doubtless to be rejected as false readings.

162. Before *i*, a final *t* is not merely made sonant, but fully assimilated, becoming *i*: thus, *tāl labhate*, *ūluptam*.

163. Before *ह* (the case occurs only in external combination), a final mute is made sonant; and then the *ह* may either remain unchanged or be converted into the sonant aspirate corresponding with the former: thus, either *तद्विह* *tád hí* or *तदि* *tád dhí*.

a. In practice, the latter method is almost invariably followed; and the grammarians of the Prātiśākhya period are nearly unanimous in requiring it. The phonetic difference between the two is very slight.

Examples are: *vāg ghutāh*, *śāddhotā* (*śat + hotā*), *taddhita* (*tat + hita*), *anuṣṭub bhí*.

Combinations of final *स्* s and *र* r.

164. The euphonic changes of *स्* s and *र* r are best considered together, because of the practical relation of the two sounds, in composition and sentence-collocation, as corresponding surd and sonant: in a host of cases *स्* s becomes *र* r in situations requiring or favoring the occurrence of a sonant; and, much less often, *र* r becomes *स्* s where a surd is required.

a. In internal combination, the two are far less exchangeable with one another: and this class of cases may best be taken up first.

165. Final *r* radical or quasi-radical (that is, not belonging to an ending of derivation) remains unchanged before both surd and sonant sounds, and even before *su* in declension: thus, *píparśi*, *caturthá*, *caturṣu*, *pūrṣu*.

166. Final radical *s* remains before a surd in general, and usually before *s*, as in *çāsa*, *çāsva*, *āsse*, *āçīṣu* (the last is also written *āçīṣu*: 172): but it is lost in *āsi* (*vas + si*: 636). Before a sonant (that is, *bh*) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, *āçīrbhis*. Before a sonant (that is, *dh*) in conjugation, it appears to be dropped, at least after long *ā*: thus, *çādhi*, *çaçādhi*, *caçādhi* (the only quotable cases); in *edhi* (*vas + dhi*: 636) the root syllable is irregularly altered; but in 2d pers. pl., made with *dhvam*, as *ādhvam*, *çādhvam*, *arādhvam* (881 a), *vādhvam* (*vas*

clothe), it is, on account of the equivalence and interchangeability of *dhv* and *ddhv* (232), impossible to say whether the *s* is omitted or converted into *d*.

a. Final radical *s* is very rare; RV. (twice, both 2d pers. sing.) treats āghas from *ṽghas* in the same manner as any ordinary word ending in *as*.

b. For certain cases of irregular loss of the *s* of a root or tense-stem, see 233 b-e.

167. In a very few cases, final radical *s* before *s* is changed to *t* (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from *ṽvas duell* (also sporadically from *vas shine*, (CB., and *vas clothe*, Har.), the future *vatsyāmi* and norist *āvātsam*; from *ṽghas*, the desiderative stem *jīghatsa*.

a. For *t* as apparent ending of the 3d sing. in *s*-verbs, see 555 a.

168. According to the grammarians, the final *s* of certain other roots, used as noun-stems, becomes *t* at the end of the word, and before *bh* and *su*: thus, *dhvas*, *dhvadbhis*, *sradbhyas*, *sratsu*. But genuine examples of such change are not quotable.

a. Sporadic cases of a like conversion are found in the Veda: namely, *mādbhis* and *mādbhyās* from *mās*: *uṣādbhis* from *uṣās*; *svātavadbhyas* from *svātavas*; *svāvadbhis* etc. (not quotable) from *svāvas*. But the actuality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a *t*-stem for a *s*-stem. The same is true of the change of *vāṇs* to *vat* in the declension of perfect participles (459). The stem *anaḍvāh* (404), from *anas-vah*, is anomalous and isolated.

b. In the compounds *ducchūnā* (*duś-ṣunā*) and *pāruocheṣa* (*parus-ṣeṣa*), the final *s* of the first member is treated as if a *t* (203).

169. As the final consonant of derivative stems and of inflected forms, both of declension and of conjugation, *s* is extremely frequent; and its changes form a subject of first-rate importance in Sanskrit euphony. The *r*, on the other hand, is quite rare.

a. The *r* is found as original final in certain case-forms of stems in *ṛ* or *ar* (369 f.); in root-stems in *ir* and *ur* from roots in *ṛ* (363 b); in a small number of other stems, as *svār*, *āhar* and *ūdhar* (beside *āhan* and *ūdhan*: 430), *dvār* or *dur*, and the Vedic *vādhār*, *uṣār*, *vasar*-, *vanar*-, *ṣrutar*-, *sapar*-, *sabar*-, *athar*- (cf. 176 c); in a few particles, as *antār*, *prātār*, *pūnar*; and in the numeral *catūr* (482 g).

b. The euphonic treatment of *s* and *r* yielding precisely the same result after all vowels except *a* and *ā*, there are certain forms with regard to which it is uncertain whether they end in *s* or *r*, and opinions differ respecting them. Such are *ur* (or *us*) of the gen.-abl. sing. of *ṛ*-stems (371 c), and *us* (or *ur*) of the 3d plur. of verbs (550 c).

170. a. The म् s , as already noticed (145), becomes visarga before a pause.

b. It is retained unchanged only when followed by म् t or म् th , the surd mutes of its own class.

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes — च् c and छ् ch , ट् t and ठ् th —it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely श् ष or प् ण .

d. Before the guttural and labial surd mutes — क् k and ख् kh , प् p and फ् ph —it is also theoretically assimilated, becoming respectively the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* spirants (69); but in practice these breathings are unknown, and the conversion is to visarga.

Examples are: to b. *tatas te*, *cakṣus te*; to c. *tataṣ oa*, *tasyaṣ chāyā*; *pādaṣ ṭalati*; to d. *nalaṣ kāmaṣ*, *puruṣaṣ khaṇati*; *yaṣaṣ prāpa*, *vṛkaṣaṣ phalavān*.

171. The first three of these rules are almost universal; to the last one there are numerous exceptions, the sibilant being retained (or, by 180, converted into ष), especially in compounds; but also, in the Veda, even in sentence combination.

a. In the Veda, the retention of the sibilant in compounds is the general rule, the exceptions to which are detailed in the Vedic grammars.

b. In the later language, the retention is mainly determined by the intimacy or the antiquity and frequency of the combination. Thus, the final sibilant of a preposition or a word filling the office of a preposition before a verbal root is wont to be preserved; and that of a stem before a derivative of यक् , before *pati*, before *kalpa* and *kāma*, and so on. Examples are *namaṣkāra*, *vācaspati*, *āyuskāma*, *pāyaskalpa*.

c. The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the *Prātiśākhya*. The chief classes of cases are: 1. the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; 2. of a genitive before a governing noun: as *divāṣ putrāṣ*, *idāṣ padé*; 3. of an ablative before *pāri*: as *himāvatas pāri*; 4. of other less classifiable cases: as *dyāuṣ pitā*, *trīṣ pūtvā*, *yāṣ pātīṣ*, *paridhīṣ pātāti*, etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant — श् ष , ष् ष , म् s — म् s is either assimilated, becoming the same sibilant, or it is changed into visarga.

a. The native grammarians are in some measure at variance (see APr. II. 40, note) as to which of these changes should be made, and in

part they allow either at pleasure. The usage of the manuscripts is also discordant; the conversion to *visarga* is the prevalent practice, though the sibilant is also not infrequently found written, especially in South-Indian manuscripts. European editors generally write *visarga*; but the later dictionaries and glossaries generally make the alphabetic place of a word the same as if the sibilant were read instead.

Examples are: *manuḥ svayam* or *manus svayam*; *indraḥ qūrah* or *indraḥ qūrah*; *tāḥ ṣaṭ* or *tāḥ ṣaṭ*.

173. There are one or two exceptions to these rules:

a. If the initial sibilant has a surd mute after it, the final *a* may be dropped altogether—and by some authorities is required to be so dropped. Thus, *vāyava stha* or *vāyavaḥ stha*; *catustanām* or *catuḥstanām*. With regard to this point the usage of the different manuscripts and editions is greatly at variance.

b. Before *ts*, the *a* is allowed to become *visarga*, instead of being retained.

174. Before a sonant, either vowel or consonant (except *ṛ r*: see 179), *ṣ s* is changed to the sonant *ṛ r*—unless, indeed, it be preceded by *ṣ a* or *ṣā ā*.

Examples are: *devapatir iva*, *qrīr iva*; *manur gacchati*, *tanūr apsu*; *avasīr ajanayat*; *tayor adṛṣṭakāmah*; *sarvāir guṇāḥ*; *agner manve*.

a. For a few cases like *dūḍāḥ*, *dūṇāḥ*, see below, 199 d.

b. The exclamation *bhos* (456) loses its *a* before vowels and sonant consonants; thus, *bho nāṣadha* (and the *a* is sometimes found omitted also before surds).

c. The endings *ṣṣ as* and *ṣṣā ās* (both of which are extremely common) follow rules of their own, namely:

175. a. Final *ṣṣ as*, before any sonant consonant and before short *ṣ a*, is changed to *ṣṣ o*—and the *ṣ a* after it is lost.

b. The resulting accentuation, and the fact that the loss of *a* is only occasional in the older language of the Veda, have been pointed out above, 135 a, c.

Examples are: *nalo nāma*, *brahmanyō vedavit*; *manobhava*; *hantavyo 'smi*; *anyonya* (*anyas + anya*), *yaḥortham* (*yaḥas + artham*).

c. Final *ṣṣ as* before any other vowel than *ṣ a* loses its *ṣ s*, becoming simple *ṣ a*; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

d. That is to say, the *o* from *as* is treated as an original *e* is treated in the same situation: see 132-3.

Examples are: *bṛhadaçva uvāca*, *āditya iva*, *nāmaūkti*, *vāsyaiṣṭi*.

176. Exceptions to the rules as to final *as* are:

a. The nominative masculine pronouns *sās* and *eās* and (Vedic) *syās* (495 a, 499 a, b) lose their *s* before any consonant: thus, *sa dandaṛça* *he saw*, *eṣa puruṣaḥ* *this man*; but so *'bravīt* *he said*, *puruṣa eṣaḥ*.

b. Instances are met with, both in the earlier and in the later language, of effacement of the hiatus after alteration of *as*, by combination of the remaining final *a* with the following initial vowel: thus, *tato 'vāca* (*tatas + uvāca*), *payoṇī* (*payas + uṇī*), *adhāsana* (*adhas + āsana*): compare 133 c, 177 b. In the Veda, such a combination is sometimes shown by the metre to be required, though the written text has the hiatus. But *sa* in RV. is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel: e. g., *sē 'd* for *sā id*, *sā 'smāi* for *sā asmāi*, *sāu 'ṣadhiḥ* for *sā oṣadhiḥ*; and similar examples are found also in the other Vedic texts.

c. Other sporadic irregularities in the treatment of final *as* occur. Thus, it is changed to *ar* instead of *o* once in RV. in *avās*, once in SV. in *āvas* (RV. *āvo*), once in MS. in *dambhiṣas*; in *bhuvas* (second of the trio of sacred utterances *bhūs*, *bhuvas*, *svar*), except in its earliest occurrences; in a series of words in a Brāhmaṇa passage (TS. K.), viz. *jinṣār*, *ugrār*, *bhimār*, *tveṣār*, *ṣrutār*, *bhūtār*, and (K. only) *pūtār*; in *janar* and *mahar*; and some of the *ar*-stems noted at 169 a are perhaps of kindred character. On the other hand, *as* is several times changed to *o* in RV. before a surd consonant; and *sās* twice, and *yās* once, retains its final sibilant in a like position.

d. In MS., the final *a* left before hiatus by alteration of either *as* (*o*) or *e* (133) is made long if itself unaccented and if the following initial vowel is accented: thus, *sūrā éti* (from *sūras + éti*), *nirupyātā índrāya* (from *-yāte + ind-*), and also *kāryā éka-* (from *kāryās*, because virtually *kāriās*); but *ādityā índraḥ* (from *ādityās + índraḥ*), *etā ítare* (from *eté + ítare*).

177. Final *आस्* *ās* before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its *स्* *s*, becoming simple *आ* *ā*; and a hiatus thus occasioned remains.

a. The maintenance of the hiatus in these cases, as in that of *o* and *e* and *āi* (above, 133-4), seems to indicate a recent loss of the intermediate sound. Opinions are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the native grammarians assimilate the case of *ās* to that of *āi*, assuming

the conversion to *āy* in both alike—but probably only as a matter of formal convenience in rule-making.

b. Here, too (as in the similar cases of *e* and *āi* and *o*: 133 c, 176 b), there are examples to be found, both earlier and later, of effacement of the hiatus.

178. Final *ṛ*, in general, shows the same form which *ṛs* would show under the same conditions.

a. Thus, it becomes *visarga* when final, and a sibilant or *visarga* before an initial surd mute or sibilant (170): thus, *rudatī punaḥ*, *dvāṣ tat*, *avḥ ca*, *catuṣcatvāriṇḥcat*; and (111 c, d) *prāstāna*, *antastya*, *catuṣṭaya*, *dhūstva*; *prātaḥ karoti*, *antaḥpāta*.

b. But original final *r* preceded by *a* or *ā* maintains itself unchanged before a sonant: thus, *punar eti*, *prātarjit*, *ākar jyōtiḥ*, *āhār dāmnā*, *vārdhī*.

c. The *r* is preserved unchanged even before a surd in a number of Vedic compounds: thus, *aharpāti*; *svārcanaṣ*, *svārcakṣaṣ*, *svārpati*, *svarṣā*, *svārṣāti*; *dhūrṣād*, *dhūrṣaḥ*; *pūrpati*, *vārkāryā*, *ācīrpada*, *punartta*; and in some of these the *r* is optionally retained in the later language. The RV. also has *āvar tāmaḥ* once in sentence-combination.

d. On the other hand, final *ar* of the verb-form *āvar* is changed to *o* before a sonant in several cases in RV. And *r* is lost, like *s*, in one or two cases in the same text: thus, *akṣā induh*, *āha evā*.

179. A double *r* is nowhere admitted: if such would occur, either by retention of an original *r* or by conversion of *s* to *r*, one *r* is omitted, and the preceding vowel, if short, is made long by compensation.

Thus, *punā ramate*, *nṛpati rājati*, *mātū rihān*, *jyotiratha*, *dūrohaṇā*.

a. In some Vedic texts, however, there are instances of *ar* changed to *o* before initial *r*: thus, *svō rohāva*.

Conversion of *ṛs* to *ṛs*.

180. The dental sibilant *ṛs* is changed to the lingual *ṛs*, if immediately preceded by any vowel save *ṣ* *a* and *ṣ* *ā*, or by *ḥ* *k* or *ṛ* *r*—unless the *ṛs* be final, followed by *ṛ* *r*.

a. The assimilating influence of the preceding lingual vowels and semivowel is obvious enough; that of *k* and the other vowels appears to be due to a somewhat retracted position of the tongue in the mouth during

their utterance, causing its tip to reach the roof of the mouth more easily at a point further back than the dental one.

b. The general Hindu grammar prescribes the same change after a *l* also; but the *Prātigākyas* give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the *l* being a dental sound, are absolutely against it. Actual cases of the combination do not occur in the older language, nor have any been pointed out in the later.

c. The vowels that cause the alteration of *s* to *ṣ* may be called for brevity's sake "alterant" vowels.

181. Hence, in the interior of a Sanskrit word, the dental *s* is not usually found after any vowel save *a* and *ā*, but, instead of it the lingual *ṣ*. But—

a. A following *r* prevents the conversion: thus, *uara*, *tīaras*, *tamīara*. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an *r*-element (whether *r* or *ṛ*), whatever the position of that element: thus, *sisarti*, *sisṛtam*, *saṛisṛpā*, *tistire*, *parisrūt*. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as *viṣṭīr*, *viṣṭārā*, *nīṣṭṛta*, *vīṣpardhas*, *gāviṣṭhira*, etc. In *ajusran* the final *ṣ* of a root is preserved even immediately before *r*.

b. This dissimilating influence of a following *r*, as compared with the invariable assimilating influence of a preceding *r*, is peculiar and problematical.

c. The recurrence of *ṣ* in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by leaving the former *s* unchanged: thus, *sisakṣi*, but *siṣakṭi*; *yāsisīṣṭhās*, but *yāsiṣimahi*. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, 184 e.

d. Other cases are sporadic: RV. has the forms *sisice* and *sisicus* (but *siṣicatus*), and the stems *ṛbisa*, *kistā*, *bisa*, *busā*, *bṛsaya*; a single root *pis*, with its derivative *pesuka*, is found once in QB.; MS. has *mṛsmṛṣā*; *mūsala* begins to be found in AV.; and such cases grow more numerous; for *puṛṇs* and the roots *niṇs* and *hiṇs*, see below, 183 a.

182. On the other hand (as was pointed out above, 62), the occurrence of *ṣ* in Sanskrit words is nearly limited to cases falling under this rule: others are rather sporadic anomalies—except where *ṣ* is the product of *ṣ* or *kṣ* before a dental, as is *draṣṭum*, *caṣṭe*, *tvāṣṭar*: see 218, 221. Thus, we find—

a. Four roots, *kaṣ*, *laṣ*, *bhaṣ*, *bhāṣ*, of which the last is common and is found as early as the *Brāhmaṇas*.

b. Further, in RV., *āṣa*, *kavāṣa*, *caṣāla*, *cāṣa*, *jālāṣa*, *pāṣyā*, *baṣkāya*, *vāṣat* (for *vakṣat*?), *kāṣṭhā*; and, by anomalous alteration of original *s*, *-ṣāḥ* (*turāṣāḥ* etc.), *āṣāḍha*, *upaṣṭút*, and probably *apāṣṭhā* and *aṣṭhivánt*. Such cases grow more common later.

c. The numeral *ṣaṣ*, as already noted (149 b), is more probably *ṣakṣ*.

183. The nasalization of the alterant vowel—or, in other words, its being followed by *anusvāra*—does not prevent its altering effect upon the sibilant: thus, *haviṣi*, *parūṣi*. And the alteration takes place in the initial *s* of an ending after the final *s* of a stem, whether the latter be regarded as also changed to *ṣ* or as converted into *visarga*: thus, *haviṣṣu* or *haviṣu*, *paruṣṣu* or *paruṣu*.

a. But the *s* of *pums* (394) remains unchanged, apparently on account of the retained sense of its value as *pums*; also that of *ṽhins*, because of its value as *hins* (*hinasti* etc.); *ṽhins* (RV. only) is more questionable.

184. The principal cases of alteration of *s* in internal combination are these:

a. In endings, inflectional or derivative, beginning with *s*—thus, *su*; *si*, *se*, *ava*; *s* of sibilant-aorist, future, and desiderative; suffixes *ana*, *anu*, *aya*, etc.—after a final alterant vowel or consonant of root or stem, or a union-vowel: thus, *juhoṣi*, *ṣeṣo*, *anāṣam*, *bhaviṣyāmi*, *cuṣṛṣe*, *deṣṣa*, *jiṣṭu*, *vikṣu*, *akārṣam*.

b. The final *s* of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus: *haviṣā*, *haviṣas*, etc., from *havis*; *ṣakṣuṣmant*, *ṣociṣka*, *mānuṣa*, *manuṣya*, *jyotiṣṭva*.

c. Roots having a final sibilant (except *ṣ*) after an alterant vowel are—with the exception of fictitious ones and *pis*, *nihs*, *hihs*—regarded as ending in *ṣ*, not *s*; and concerning the treatment of this *ṣ* in combination, see below, 225-8.

d. The initial *s* of a root after a reduplication: thus, *siṣyade*, *suṣvāps*, *siṣāsati*, *coṣkūyate*, *sanīṣvanat*.

e. Excepted is in general an initial radical *s* in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes *ṣ*: thus, *sisīṣati* from *ṽsṛ*, *sisāṅkṣati* from *ṽsaṅj*. And there are other scattering cases, as *tresus* (perf. from *ṽtras*), etc.

185. But the same change occurs also, on a considerable scale, in external combination, especially in composition. Thus:

a. Both in verbal forms and in derivatives, the final *i* or *u* of a preposition or other like prefix ordinarily lingualizes the initial *s* of the root to which it is prefixed; since such combinations are both of great frequency and of peculiar intimacy, analogous with those of root or stem and affix: thus, *abhiṣṭ*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *nīṣikta*, *vīṣita*; *anuṣvadhām*, *suṣēka*; the cases are numberless.

b. The principal exceptions are in accordance with the principles already laid down: namely, when the root contains an *r*-element, and when a recurrence of the sibilant would take place. But there are also others, of a more irregular character; and the complete account of the treatment of initial radical *s* after a prefix would be a matter of great detail, and not worth giving here.

c. Not infrequently, the initial *a*, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed *a* of augment or reduplication: thus, *aty aṣṭhāt*, *abhy aṣṭhām*, *pary aṣaṣvajat*, *vy aṣahanta*, *ny aṣadāma*, *nir aṣṭhāpayan*, *abhy aṣiñcan*, *vy aṣṭabh-nāt*; *vi taṣṭhe*, *vi taṣṭhire*.

d. Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radical *s* after an *a*-element of a prefix. Such cases are *ava ṣṭambh* (against *nī stambh* and *prati stambh*) and (according to the grammarians) *ava ṣvan*.

186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) lingualizes the initial *s* of the second: for example, *yudhiṣṭhira*, *pitṛvaṣṭ*, *goṣṭhā*, *agniṣṭomā*, *anuṣṭūbh*, *triṣāṁdhi*, *diviṣād*, *parameṣṭhīn*, *abhiṣenā*, *pitṛṣād*, *puruṣṭutā*.

a. A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an *a*-element: thus, *saṣṭūbh*, *avaṣṭambha*, *savyaṣṭhā*, *apāṣṭhā*, *upaṣṭūt*; also *y'sah*, when its final, by 147, becomes *ṣ*: thus, *satṛāṣāt* (but *satṛā-sāham*).

187. The final *s* of the first member of a compound often becomes *ṣ* after an alterant vowel: thus, the *s* of a prepositional prefix, as *niṣṣīdhvan*, *duṣṭāra* (for *duṣṣṭāra*), *āviṣṛta*; and, regularly, a *s* retained instead of being converted to visarga before a labial or guttural mute (171 a), as *haviṣpā*, *jyotiṣkṛt*; *tapuṣpā*.

188. Once more, in the Veda, the same alteration, both of an initial and of a final *s*, is not infrequent even between the words composing a sentence. The cases are detailed in the *Prātiśākhya* belonging to each text, and are of very various character. Thus:

a. The initial *s*, especially of particles: as *ū ṣū*, *hī ṣma*, *kām u ṣvīt*;—also of pronouns: as *hī ṣāḥ*;—of verb-forms, especially from *yas*: as *hī ṣthā*, *divi ṣtha*;—and in other scattering cases: as *u ṣṭuhi*, *nū ṣṭhirām*, *trī ṣadhāsthā*, *ādhi ṣṇōḥ*, *nākiḥ ṣāḥ*, *yājuḥ ṣkannām*, *agnīḥ ṣṭave*.

b. A final *s*, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as *agnīḥ ṭvā*, *nīḥ ṭe*, *iyūḥ ṭe*, *śuciḥ ṭvām*, *sādhiḥ ṭava*;—but also in other cases, and wherever a final *s* is preserved, instead of being turned into visarga, before a guttural or labial (171): as *triṣ pūtṛā*, *āyus kṛṇotu*, *vāstoḥ pātīḥ*, *dyāus pitā*, *vībhiḥ pātāt*.

Conversion of न् n to ण् ṇ.

189. The dental nasal न् n, when immediately followed by a vowel or by न् n or म् m or य् y or व् v, is turned into the lingual ण् ṇ if preceded in the same word by the

lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels—that is to say, by *ṣ*, *ṣ*, or *ṣ* *r* or *ṣ* *r̥*—: and this, not only if the altering letter stands immediately before the nasal, but at whatever distance from the latter it may be found: unless, indeed, there intervene (a consonant moving the front of the tongue: namely) a palatal (except *y*), a lingual, or a dental.

a. We may thus figure to ourselves the *rationale* of the process: in the marked proclivity of the language toward lingual utterance, especially of the nasal, the tip of the tongue, when once reverted into the loose lingual position by the utterance of a non-contact lingual element, tends to hang there and make its next nasal contact in that position; and does so, unless the proclivity is satisfied by the utterance of a lingual mute, or the organ is thrown out of adjustment by the utterance of an element which causes it to assume a different posture. This is not the case with the gutturals or labials, which do not move the front part of the tongue (and, as the influence of *k* on following *s* shows, the guttural position favors the succession of a lingual): and the *y* is too weakly palatal to interfere with the alteration (as its next relative, the *i*-vowel, itself lingualizes a *s*).

b. This is a rule of constant application; and (as was pointed out above, 43) the great majority of occurrences of *ṇ* in the language are the result of it.

190. The rule has force especially—

a. When suffixes, of inflection or derivation, are added to roots or stems containing one of the altering sounds: thus, *rudrēṇa*, *rudrāṇām*, *vāriṇe*, *vāriṇi*, *vāriṇi*, *dātṛi*, *hārāṇi*, *dvēṣāṇi*, *kriṇāmi*, *ṣṛóti*, *kaubhāṇá*, *ghṛṇá*, *kāṇa*, *vṛṇá*, *ruṇá*, *dāvāṇa*, *iṣāṇi*, *purāṇá*, *rēṇas*, *cákṣaṇa*, *cíkṛṣamāṇa*, *kṛpamāṇa*.

b. When the final *n* of a root or stem comes to be followed, in inflection or derivation, by such sounds as allow it to feel the effect of a preceding altering cause: thus, from *yran*, *rāṇanti*, *rāṇyati*, *rāṇa*, *arāṇisus*; from *brahman*, *brāhmaṇā*, *brāhmāṇi*, *brāhmaṇá*, *brahmaṇyā*, *brāhmaṇvant*.

c. The form *piṇak* (RV.: 2d and 3d sing. impf.), from *ypiṇ*, is wholly anomalous.

191. This rule (like that for the change of *s* to *ṣ*) applies strictly and especially when the nasal and the cause of its alteration both lie within the limits of the same integral word; but (also like the other) it is extended, within certain limits, to compound words—and even, in the Veda, to contiguous words in the sentence.

192. Especially, a preposition or similar prefix to a root, if it contain *r* or end in euphonic *r* for *s* (174), very often lingualizes the *n* of a root or of its derived stems and forms. Thus:

a. The initial *n* of a root is usually and regularly so altered, in all forms and derivatives, after *parā*, *pari*, *pra*, *nir* (for *nis*), *antar*, *dur* (for *duś*): thus, *parā naya*, *pāri nīyate*, *prā nūdasva*; *parāṇutti*, *pariṇāma*, *praṇavā*, *nirṇīj*, *durṇāṣa*. Roots suffering this change are written with initial *n* in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are *nṛt*, *nabh*, *nand*, and *naṣ* when its *ṣ* becomes *ṣ* (as in *prānāṣṭa*).

b. The final *n* of a root is lingualized in some of the forms of *an* and *han*: thus, *prā 'niti*, *prāṇā*, *prā hanyate*, *prahāṇana*.

c. The class-signs *nu* and *nā* are altered after the roots *hi* and *mī*: thus, *pāri hiṇomi*, *prā mīṇanti* (but the latter not in the Veda).

d. The 1st sing. impv. ending *āni* is sometimes altered: thus, *prā bhavāṇi*.

e. Derivatives by suffixes containing *n* sometimes have *n* by influence of a preposition: thus, *prayāṇa*.

f. The *n* of the preposition *ni* is sometimes altered, like the initial of a root, after another preposition: thus, *praṇipāta*, *praṇidhi*.

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes lingualizes a *n* of the next following member—either its initial or final *n*, or *n* in its inflectional or derivative ending. The exercise of the altering influence can be seen to depend in part upon the closeness or frequency of the compound, or its integration by being made the base of a derivative. Examples are: *grāmaṇī*, *triṇāman*, *urūṇasā*; *vytrahāṇam* etc. (but *vytraghṇā* etc.: 195 a), *nṛmāṇas*, *drughaṇā*; *pravāhaṇa*, *nṛpāṇa*, *pūryāṇa*, *pītyāṇa*; *svargēṇa*, *durgāṇi*, *usarāṇṇa*, *tryaṅgāṇam*.

194. Finally, in the Veda, a *n* (usually initial) is occasionally lingualized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns *nas* and *ena-* are oftenest thus affected: thus, *pāri ṇas*, *prāi 'ṇan*, *indra eṇam*; but also the particle *nā* like: thus, *vār ṇā*; and a few other cases, as *vār ṇāma*, *pūnar ṇayāmaśi*, *agnér āveṇa*. More anomalous, and perhaps to be rejected as false readings, are such as *trīṇ imān* and *akṣāp āva* and *suhārṇ ṇaḥ* (MS.), and *vyṛṣaṇ vā* (Āpast.).

195. a. The immediate combination of a *n* with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to *ṇ*: thus, *vytraghṇā* etc., *ṣṭubhṇāti*, *tyṇnoti* (but in Veda *tyṇu*), *kṣepṇū*, *suṣṇnā*.

b. The RV. has the exceptions *ūṣṭrāṇām* and *rāṣṭrāṇām*.

Conversion of dental mutes to linguals and palatals.

196. When a dental mute comes in contact with a lingual or palatal mute or sibilant, the dental is usually assimilated, becoming lingual or palatal respectively.

The cases are the following:

197. A dental surd mute or nasal, or the dental sibilant, when immediately preceded by a *ś*, is everywhere converted into the corresponding lingual.

a. Under this rule, the combinations *śt*, *śth*, and *śṇ* are very common; *śṣ* is rarely so written, the *visarga* being put instead of the former sibilant (172): thus, *jyótiṣṣu* instead of *jyótiśṣu*.

b. Much less often, *dh* is changed to *ḍh* after final *ś* of a root or tense-stem, with loss of the *ś* or its conversion to *ḍ*: see 226 c.

c. Those cases in which final *ś* becomes *ṣ* before *su* (e. g. *dvīṣú*: 226 b) do not, of course, fall under this rule.

198. In the other (comparatively infrequent) cases where a dental is preceded by a lingual in internal combination, the dental (except of *su* loc. pl.) becomes lingual. Thus:

a. A *n* following immediately a *ṇ* made such by the rule given at 189, above—or, as it may be expressed, a double as well as a single *n*—is subject to the lingualization: thus, the participles *arṇṇá*, *kṣuṇṇa*, *kaviṇṇa*, *chrṇṇá*, *trṇṇá*; and, after prefixes (185 a), *niṣaṇṇa*, *pari-
viṇṇa*, *viṣaṇṇa*, *viśyaṇṇa*. But TS. has *ádhiakanna*, and RV. *yájuh
śkannám*.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: *īṭṭe* and *āṭṭa* from *yīḍ*; *śaḍḍhā* (also *śaḍdhā* and *śoḍhā*), and *śaṇṇām* (*śaś + nām*: anomalous gen. pl. of *śaś*: 483). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.

c. But *tāḍhi* (Vedic: *ytaḍ + dhi*) shows loss of the final lingual after assimilation of the dental, and compensatory lengthening.

d. Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of *ḍ* are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before *d*: thus *niḍá* from *nīśda*, *yṣiḍ* from *piśd*, *yṁṣḍ* from *mṣḍ*. For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199 c.

199. In external combination—

a. A final *t* is directed to be assimilated to an initial lingual mute: thus, *tat-ṭkā*, *taḍ ḍayate*, *tat-ṭhālinī*, *taḍ ḍhāukate*: but the case never occurs in the older language, and very rarely in the later. For final *n* before a lingual, see 205 b.

b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged: and *su* of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, *śāṭṭrīṇat*, *ānaḍ
divāḥ*, *ekarāṭ tvām*; *śaṭṣū*, *rāṭṣū*.

c. Exceptions are: a few compounds with *śaś* six showing double *ṇ* (198 b): namely, *śaṇṇavati*, *śaṇṇābhī* (and one or two others not quotable); and JB. has *śaṇ ṇiramimita*.

d. In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a lingualized dental, with compensatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its representative:

namely, in certain Vedic compounds with *du*: *dūḍābha*, *dūḍāc*, *dūḍhī*, *dūḍāca*, *dūḍāca* (compare the anomalous *puroḍāc* and *-ḍāca*: *puras + yḍāc*); and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of *ṣaṣ*, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in *voḍhum* and *soḍhum*: 224 b): *ṣoḍāca*, *ṣoḍhā* (also *ṣaḍḍhā* and *ṣaḍdhā*), *ṣoḍant*.

e. Between final *ṭ* and initial *s*, the insertion of a *t* is permitted—or, according to some authorities, required: thus, *ṣāṭ sahasrāḥ* or *ṣāṭt sahasrāḥ*.

200. The cases of assimilation of a dental to a contiguous palatal occur almost only in external combination, and before an initial palatal. There is but one case of internal combination, namely:

201. A *ṇ* coming to follow a palatal mute in internal combination is itself made palatal.

Thus, *yācñā* (the only instance after *c*), *yajñā*, *jajñe*, *ajñata*, *rājñā*, *rājñi*.

202. a. A final *ṇ* *t* before an initial palatal mute is assimilated to it, becoming *च् c* before *च् c* or *छ ch*, and *ज्ञ j* before *ज्ञ j* (*क् kh* does not occur).

Thus, *uo carati*, *etac chattram*, *vidyuj jāyate*; *yātayājjana*, *vidyujjihva*, *bṛhacchandas*, *saccarita*.

b. A final *ṇ* *n* is assimilated before *ज्ञ j*, becoming *ञ ñ*.

c. All the grammarians, of every period, require this assimilation of *n* to *j*; but it is more often neglected, or only occasionally made, in the manuscripts.

d. For *n* before a surd palatal, see below, 208.

203. Before the palatal sibilant *ञ् ç*, both *त् t* and *न् n* are assimilated, becoming respectively *च् c* and *ञ ñ*; and then the following *ञ् ç* may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to *छ ch*.

Thus, *vedavie chūrah* (-vit çū-), *tac chrutvā*, *hṛcohaya* (*hṛt + çaya*); *bṛhañ cheṣaḥ* or *çeṣaḥ*, *svapañ chete* or *çete*.

a. Some authorities regard the conversion of *ç* to *ch* after *t* or *n* as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a *ç* followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save *m*, reading also *vīpāṭ chutudrī*, *ānaṭ chūci*, *anuṣṭup chārādī*, *çuk chuci*. The manuscripts generally write *ch*, instead of *cch*, as result of the combination of *t* and *ç*.

b. In the MS., *t* and *ç* are anomalously combined into *ñ ç*: e. g. *tāñ çatām*, *etāvañçāa*.

Combinations of final *n̄* *n*.

204. Final radical *n* is assimilated in internal combination to a following sibilant, becoming *anusvāra*.

Thus, *vāṇai*, *vāṇsya*, *vāṇsat*, *maṇsyāte*, *jighāṇsati*.

a. According to the grammarians, it is treated before *bh* and *su* in declension as in external combination. But the cases are, at best, excessively rare, and RV. has *rāṇsu* and *vāṇsu* (the only Vedic examples).

b. Final *n* of a derivative suffix is regularly and usually dropped before a consonant in inflection and composition—in composition, even before a vowel; and a radical *n* occasionally follows the same rule: see 421 a, 438, 1203 c, 637.

c. For assimilation of *n* to a preceding palatal, see 201.

Thus remaining cases are those of external combination.

205. a. The assimilation of *n* in external combination to a following sonant palatal and the palatal sibilant *ç* have been already treated (202 b, 203).

b. The *n* is also declared to be assimilated (becoming *ṇ*) before a sonant lingual (*ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*), but the case rarely if ever occurs.

206. A *n* is also assimilated to a following initial *l*, becoming (like *m*: 213 d) a nasal *l*.

a. The manuscripts to a great extent disregard this rule, leaving the *n* unchanged; but also they in part attempt to follow it—and that, either by writing the assimilated *n* (as the assimilated *m*, 213 f, and just as reasonably) with the *anusvāra*-sign, or else by doubling the *l* and putting a sign of nasality above; the latter, however, is inexact, and a better way would be to separate the two *l*'s, writing the first with *virāma* and a nasal sign above. Thus (from *trin lokān*):

manuscripts त्रिलोकान् or त्रिलौकान्; better त्रिल् लोकान्.

The second of these methods is the one oftenest followed in printed texts.

207. Before the lingual and dental sibilants, *ṣ* and *s*, final *n* remains unchanged; but a *t* may also be inserted between the nasal and the sibilant: thus, *tān ṣāt* or *tānt ṣāt*; *māhān sán* or *māhānt sán*.

a. According to most of the grammarians of the *Prāticākhya*s (not RPr.), the insertion of the *t* in such cases is a necessary one. In the manuscripts it is very frequently made, but not uniformly. It is probably a purely phonetic phenomenon, a transition-sound to ease the double change of sonant to surd and nasal to non-nasal utterance—although the not infrequent cases in which final *n* stands for original *nt* (as *bharan*, *abharan*, *agnimān*) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of *n ç* into *ñch* (203) is palpable.

208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, there is inserted after final *n* a sibilant of each of those classes respectively, before which the *n* becomes *anusvāra*: thus, *devāṅc oa*, *bhvaṅc chidyate*, *kumārāṅs trīn*, *abharāṅs tataḥ*, *dadhaṅc* (425 c) *carum*.

a. This rule, which in the classical language has established itself in the form here given, as a phonetic rule of unvarying application, really involves a historic survival. The large majority of cases of final *n* in the language (not far from three quarters) are for original *na*; and the retention of the sibilant in such cases, when once its historical ground had been forgotten, was extended by analogy to all others.

b. Practically, the rule applies only to *n* before *c* and *t*, since cases involving the other initials occur either not at all, or only with extreme rarity (the *Veda* does not present an example of any of them). In the *Veda*, the insertion is not always made, and the different texts have with regard to it different usages, which are fully explained in their *Prātiśākhya*s; in general, it is less frequent in the older texts. When the *c* does not appear between *n* and *c*, the *n* is of course assimilated, becoming *ñ* (203).

209. The same retention of original final *s* after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final *ān*, *īn*, *ūn*, *ṛn* as if they were *āns*, *īns*, *ūns*, *ṛns* (long nasalized vowel with final *s*), shows itself also in other Vedic forms of combination, which, for the sake of unity, may be briefly stated here together:

a. Final *ān* becomes *āñ* (nasalized *ā*) before a following vowel: that is to say, *āns*, with nasal vowel, is treated like *ās*, with pure vowel (177): thus, *devāñ é 'há*, *ūpabaddhāñ itá*, *mahāñ asi*. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the *s* appears as *ḥ* before *p*: thus, *svātavāñḥ pāyúḥ*.

b. In like manner, *s* is treated after nasal *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ* as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming *r* before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) *ḥ* before a surd (170): thus, *raçmīr iva*, *sūñūr yuvanyūr út*, *nṛr abhí*; *nṛñḥ pātram* (and *nṛñḥ p-*, MS.).

c. RV. has once *-iñ* before *y*. MS. usually has *añ* instead of *āñ*.

210. The nasals *n*, *ṇ*, *ṁ*, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, *pratyāññ úd eṣi*, *udyāññ ādityāḥ*, *āsāññ-īṣu*.

a. This is also to be regarded as a historical survival, the second nasal being an assimilation of an original consonant following the first. It is always written in the manuscripts, although the Vedic metre seems to show that the duplication was sometimes omitted. The RV. has the compound *vṛṇaṇaṇva*.

211. The nasals *ñ* and *ṇ* before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively *k* and *ṭ*—as *n* (207) inserts *t*: thus, *pratyāñk sōmah*.

Combinations of final *m*.

212. Final radical *m*, in internal combination, is assimilated to a following mute or spirant — in the latter case, becoming anusvāra; in the former, becoming the nasal of the same class with the mute.

a. Before *m* or *v* (as when final: 143 a), it is changed to *n*: thus, from *ygam* come *āganma*, *aganmahi*, *ganvahi*, *jaganvāns* (which appear to be the only quotable cases). According to the grammarians, the same change is made in the inflection of root-stems before *bh* and *su*: thus, *praçānbhis*, *praçānsu* (from *praçām*: *pra* + *yçam*). No derived noun-stem ends in *m*.

b. The ÇB. and KṛS. have *kām*vant and *çām*vant.

213. Final *m* in external combination is a servile sound, being assimilated to any following consonant. Thus:

a. It remains unchanged only before a vowel or a labial mute.

b. But also, by an anomalous exception, before *r* of the root *rāj* in *samrāj* and its derivatives *samrājñi* and *sāmrajya*.

c. Before a mute of any other class than labial, it becomes the nasal of that class.

d. Before the semivowels *y*, *l*, *v* it becomes, according to the Hindu grammarians, a nasal semivowel, the nasal counterpart of each respectively (see 71).

e. Before *r*, a sibilant, or *h*, it becomes anusvāra (see 71).

f. The manuscripts and the editions in general make no attempt to distinguish the nasal tones produced by the assimilation of *m* before a following semivowel from that before a spirant.

g. But if *h* be immediately followed by another consonant (which can only be a nasal or semivowel), the *m* is allowed to be assimilated to that following consonant. This is because the *h* has no position of the mouth-organs peculiar to itself, but is uttered in the position of the next sound. The Prātiçākhyas do not take any notice of the case.

h. Cases are met with in the Veda where a final *m* appears to be dropped before a vowel, the final and initial vowels being then combined into one. The *pada*-text then generally gives a wrong interpretation. Thus, *samvānāno bhayaṁkarām* (RV. viii. 1. 2; *pada*-text: -*nanā ubh*;- SV. -*nanam*).

i. It has been pointed out above (73) that the assimilated *m* is generally represented in texts by the anusvāra-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by *m̐* (instead of a nasal mute or *ñ*).

The palatal mutes and sibilant, and ञ h.

214. These sounds show in some situations a reversion (43) to the original gutturals from which they are derived. The treatment of j and h, also, is different, according as they represent the one or the other of two different degrees of alteration from their originals.

215. The palatals and h are the least stable of alphabetic sounds, undergoing, in virtue of their derivative character, alteration in many cases where other similar sounds are retained.

216. Thus, in derivation, even before vowels, semivowels, and nasals, reversion to guttural form is by no means rare. The cases are the following:

a. Before a of suffix a, final c becomes k in *aṅká*, *çvaṅka*, *arká*, *páká*, *váká*, *çúka*, *parka*, *marká*, *vīka*, *prátika* etc., *reka*, *séka*, *moka*, *roká*, *çóka*, *toká*, *mroká*, *vraśká*; — final j becomes g in *tyāgá*, *bhāga*, *bhāgá*, *yāga*, *aṅga*, *bhaṅgá*, *saṅga*, *svaṅga*, *ṛṅga*, *tuṅga*, *yuṅga*, *varga*, *mārga*, *mṛgá*, *varga*, *sarga*, *nega*, *vega*, *bhóga*, *yugá*, *yóga*, *loga*, *róga*; — final h becomes gh in *aghá*, *maghá*, *arghá*, *dirghá* (and *drāghīyas*, *drāghīṣṭha*), *deggha*, *meghá*, *ogha*, *dógha*, *drógha*, *mógha*; and in *dúghāna* and *mégghamāna*. In *neka* (√nij) we have further an anomalous substitution of a sord for the final sonant of the root.

b. In another series of derivatives with a, the altered sound appears: examples are *ajá*, *yāja*, *çucá*, *çoca*, *vraja*, *vevijá*, *yuja*, *ūrjá*, *dóha*.

c. Before the suffixes *as* and *ana*, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in *aṅkas*, *ókas*, *rókas*, *çókas*, *bhārgas*, and in *rogana*; also in *ābhogāya*.

d. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in *ābhogī*, *ógīyaṅs*, *tigitá*, *mokī*, *aphigī*): thus, *ājī*, *tuji*, *rúci*, *çáci*, *vívici*, *rociṣṭú*.

e. Before u, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few): thus, *aṅku*, *vaṅkú*, *rekú*, *bhṛgu*, *mārguka*, *raghú* (and *rāghīyaṅs*).

f. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participial ending *na* (957 c): thus, *rékṇas*, *vagnú* (with the final also made sonant); and participles *bhagná*, *rugná*, etc.; and apparently *pṛṇa* from √pṛc.

g. Before m (of *ma*, *man*, *mant*, *min*), the guttural generally appears: thus, *rukma*, *tigma*, *yugma*, *ṛgma* (with sonant change); *takmán*, *vákman*, *sákman*, *yugmán*; *rúkmant*; *ṛgmín* and *vāgmín* (with sonant change): — but *ájman*, *ojmán*, *bhujmán*.

h. Before y, the altered sound is used: thus, *pacya*, *yajya*, *yajyu*, *yujya*, *bhujuyu*. Such cases as *bhogya*, *yogya*, *negya*, *okya* are doubtless secondary derivatives from *bhoga* etc.

i. Before *r*, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided: thus, *takra*, *sakra*, *vakrá*, *ṣukrá*, *vigrá*, *ugrá*, *túgra*, *mṛgra*, *vāṅkri*; but *vājra* and *pajrá*(?).

j. Before *v* (of the suffixes *va*, *van*, *vin*, etc., and participial *vāṇs*) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, *ṣkvá*, *pakvá*, *vákva*; *vákvān*, *ṣkvān*, *rikvān*, *ṣukvān*, *mṛgvān*, *túgvān*, *yugvān*; *ṣkvant*, *pṛkvant*; *vāgvīn*, *vagvanā*, *vagvanū* (with further sonant change); *vivakvāṇs*, *ririkvāṇs*, *vivikvāṇs*, *rurukvāṇs*, *ṣuṣukvāṇs*; *ṣuṣukvanā*, *ṣuṣukvāni*: also before the union-vowel *i* in *okivāṇs* (RV., once). An exception is *yájvan*.

k. The reversion of *h* in derivation is comparatively rare. The final *j* which is analogous with *ç* (219) shows much less proclivity to reversion than that which corresponds with *c*.

l. A like reversion shows itself also to some extent in conjugational stem-formation and inflection. Thus, the initial radical becomes guttural after the reduplication in the present or perfect or desiderative or intensive stems, or in derivatives, of the roots *ci*, *cit*, *ji*, *hi*, *han*, and in *jāguri* (*yjṛ*); and *han* becomes *ghn* on the elision of *s* (402, 637). The RV. has *vivakmi* from *√vac* and *vāvakre* from *√vañc*; and SV. has *saṣṭgmahe* (RV. -*ṣṭj*-). And before *ran* etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have *g* for radical *j* in *asṛgran*, *asṛgram*, *asaṣṭgram* (all in RV.).

217. Final *ç* of a root or stem, if followed in internal combination by any other sound than a vowel or semivowel or nasal, reverts (43) to its original guttural value, and shows everywhere the same form which a *ṣ* *k* would show in the same situation.

Thus, *vākti*, *uvāktha*, *vākṣi*, *vakṣyāmi*, *vagdhi*; *vāgbhīs*, *vākṣú*; *uktá*, *ukthá*, *vaktár*.

a. And, as final *c* becomes *k* (above 142), the same rule applies also to *c* in external combination: thus, *vāk ca*, *vāg ápi*, *vān me*.

Examples of *c* remaining unchanged in inflection are: *ucyáte*, *riricré*, *vāci*, *mumucmāhe*.

218. Final *ṣ* *ç* reverts to its original *ṣ* *k*, in internal combination, only before the *ṣ* *s* of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by 180, *ṣ* *ks*); before *ṣ* *t* and *ṣ* *th*, it everywhere becomes *ṣ* *ṣ* (whence, by 197, *ṣ* *ṣt* and *ṣ* *ṣth*); before *ṣ* *dh*, *ṣ* *bh*, and *ṣ* *su* of the loc. pl., as when final (145), it regularly becomes the lingual mute (*ṣ* *t* or *ṣ* *d*).

Thus, *āvikṣata*, *vekṣyāmi*; *vāṣti*, *viṣṭá*, *dīdeṣtu*; *didīḍhi*, *viḍbhīs*.

a. But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final *ç* to *k* before *bh* and *su*, and also when final (146): they are *diç*, *drç*, *sprç*, and optionally *naç*; and *viç* has in V. always *vikṣū*, loc. pl., but *viṭ*, *viḍbhā*, etc. Examples are *dīksamçita*, *drçgbhā*, *hṛdisapfk*, *nāk* [or *naṭ*].

Examples of *ç* remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: *viçī*, *viviçyās*, *aviçran*, *açnomi*, *vaçmi*, *uçmāsi*.

b. A *ç* remains irregularly unchanged before *p* in the compound *viçpāti*.

219. Final *ṣj* is in one set of words treated like *ç*, and in another set like *ṣ*.

Thus, from *yuj*: *áyukthās*, *áyukta*, *yukthé*, *yukti*, *yóktra*, *yokṣyāmi*, *yukṣū*; *yugdhī*, *áyugdhvam*, *yugbhā*.

Again, from *mṛj* etc.: *ámṛkṣat*, *śrakṣyāmi*; *māṛṣi*, *mṛṣṭā*, *sṛṣṭi*, *rāṣṭrá*; *mṛddhī*, *mṛddhvam*, *rāddbhā*, *rāṣū*, *rāt*.

a. To the former or *yuj*-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, *bhaj*, *saj*, *tyaj* (not V.), *raj* color, *svaj*, *majj*, *nij*, *tij*, *vij*, 1 and 2 *bhuj*, *yuj*, *ruj*, *vṛj*, *añj*, *bhañj*, *çinñj*; *úrj*, *srāj*, *bhiṣáj*, *áṣj*; — also, stems formed with the suffixes *aj* and *ij* (383. IV), as *tṛṇáj*, *vaññj*; and *ṛtvij*, though containing the root *yaj*.

b. To the latter or *mṛj*-class belong only about one third as many: namely, *yaj*, *bhrajj*, *vraj*, *rāj*, *bhrāj*, *mṛj*, *sṛj*.

c. A considerable number of *j*-roots are not placed in circumstances to exhibit the distinction; but such roots are in part assignable to one or the other class on the evidence of the related languages. The distinction appears, namely, only when the *j* occurs as final, or is followed, either in inflection or in derivation, by a dental mute (*t*, *th*, *dh*), or, in noun-inflection, by *bh* or *su*. In derivation (above, 218) we find a *g* sometimes from the *mṛj*-class: thus, *mārga*, *sārga*, etc.; and (218.1) before Vedic mid. endings, *saṣṛgmahé*, *saṣṛgran*, etc. (beside *saṣṛjrire*) — while from the *yuj*-class occur only *yuyujre*, *ayujran*, *bubhujrire*, with *j*. And MS. has *viçvasṛk* from *yṣṛj*.

220. Final *ch* falls under the rules of combination almost only in the root *prach*, in which it is treated as if it were *ç* (*praç* being, indeed, its more original form): thus, *prakṣyāmi*, *prṣṭā*, and also the derivative *praçnā*. As final and in noun-inflection (before *bh* and *su*), it is changed to the lingual mute: thus, *prāçvivāka*.

a. *Mūrtā* is called the participle of *mūrch*, and a gerund *mūrtvā* is given to the same root. They (with *mūrti*) must doubtless come from a simpler form of the root.

b. Of *jh* there is no occurrence: the grammarians require it to be treated like *c*.

221. The compound *kṣ* is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (s-aorist: see below, 878 ff.); and, in the not very frequent cases of its internal combination, it is treated as if a single sound, following the rules for *ç*: thus *cākṣe* (*cakṣ*+*se*), *cākṣva*; *cākṣte*, *ácakṣta*, *ákrākṣtam*, *ákrākṣta*, *tvákṣtar*. As to its treatment when final, see 146.

a. Thus, we are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as *gorát*, *gorádbhís*, *gorátṣu* (from *gorákṣ*); and we actually have *gát*, *gádbhís*, *gátṣu* from *gākṣ* or *gaṣ* (146 b). For *jagdhā* etc. from *yjakṣ*, see 233 f.

b. In the single anomalous root *vraçc*, the compound *çc* is said to follow the rules for simple *ç*. From it are quotable the future *vraççyáti*, the gerunds *vraçtvā* (AV.) and *vṛktví* (RV.), and the participle (957 c) *vṛkṇā*. Its *c* reverts to *k* in the derivative *vraśka*.

222. The roots in final *ṭṣ h*, like those in *ṭṣ j*, fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.

a. In the one class, as *duh*, we have a reversion of *h* (as of *c*) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original *gh*: thus, *ádhuḥsam*, *dhokeyámi*; *dugdhám*, *dugdhá*; *ádḥok*, *dhúk*, *dhugbhís*, *dhukṣú*.

b. In the other class, as *ruh* and *sah*, we have a guttural reversion (as of *ç*) only before *s* in verb-formation and derivation: thus, *áruḥsat*, *rokeyámi*, *sákeṣyá*, *sakṣāṇi*. As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before *bh* and *su*, the *h* (like *ç*) becomes a lingual mute: thus, *turāsát*, *pṛtanāsád* *ayodhyáh*, *turāsádbhís*, *turāsátṣu*. But before a dental mute (*t*, *th*, *dh*) in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would *ç*); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would *çh*: see 180); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened: thus, from *ruh* with *ta* comes *rūdhá*, from *leh* with *ti* comes *lēdhi*, from *guh* with *tar* comes *gūdhár*, from *meh* with *tum* comes *mēdhum*, from *lih* with *tas* or *thas* comes *līdhás*, from *lih* with *dhvam* comes *līdhvám*, etc.

c. This is as if we had to assume as transition sound a sonant aspirate lingual sibilant *çh*, with the euphonic effects of a lingual and of a sonant aspirate (180), itself disappearing under the law of the existing language which admits no sonant sibilant.

223. The roots of the two classes, as shown by their forms found in use, are:

a. of the first or *duh*-class: *dah*, *ḍih*, *duh*, *druh*, *muh*, *snih* (and the final of *usṇih* is similarly treated);

b. of the second or *ruh*-class: *vah*, *sah*, *mih*, *rih* or *lih*, *guh*, *ruh*, *ḍṛṇh*, *ṭṛṇh*, *brṇh*, *baṇh*, *spṛh* (?).

c. But *muh* forms also (not in RV.) the participle *mūḍha* and agent-noun *mūḍhār*, as well as *mugdhā* and *mugdhār*; and *druh* and *snih* are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise: such forms as *drūḍha* and *snīḍha*, however, have not been met with in use.

d. From roots of the *ruh*-class we find also in the Veda the forms *gartārūk*, nom. sing., and *prāṇadhṛk* and *dadhṛk*; and hence *puraspṛk* (the only occurrence) does not certainly prove *ṽspṛh* to be of the *duh*-class.

e. A number of other *h*-roots are not proved by their occurring forms to belong to either class; they, too, are with more or less confidence assigned to the one or the other by comparison with the related languages.

f. In derivation, before certain suffixes (218), we have *gh* instead of *h* from verbs of either class.

g. The root *nah* comes from original *dh* instead of *gh*, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental mute: thus, *natsyāmi*, *naddhā*, *upānādbhis*, *upānadyuga*, *anupānatka*. So also the root *grah* comes from (early Vedic) *grabh*, and shows labials in many forms and derivatives (though it is assimilated to other *h*-roots in the desiderative stem *jighṛkṣa*). In like manner, *h* is used for *dh* in some of the forms and derivatives of *ṽdhā put*; and further analogous facts are the stem *kakuhā* beside *kakubhā*, the double imperative ending *dhi* and *hi*, and the dative *māhyam* beside *tūbhyam* (491).

224. Irregularities of combination are:

a. The vowel *ṛ* is not lengthened after the loss of the *h*-element: thus, *ḍṛḍhā*, *ṭṛḍhā*, *brḍhā* (the only cases; and in the Veda their first syllable has metrical value as heavy or long).

b. The roots *vah* and *sah* change their vowel to *o* instead of lengthening it: thus, *voḍhām*, *voḍhām*, *voḍhār*, *sōḍhum*. But from *sah* in the older language forms with *ā* are more frequent: thus, *sāḍhā*, *śasāḍha* (also later), *sāḍhar*. The root *ṭṛṇh* changes the vowel of its class-sign *na* into *e* instead of lengthening it: thus, *ṭṛṇedhi*, *ṭṛṇedhu*, *atṛṇet* (the grammarians teach also *ṭṛṇehmi* and *ṭṛṇekṣi*: but no such forms are quotable, and, if ever actually in use, they must have been made by false analogy with the others).

c. These anomalous vowel-changes seem to stand in connection with the fact that the cases showing them are the only ones where other than an alternant vowel (180) comes before the unqualified sibilant representative of the *h*. Compare *sōḍaṣa* etc.

d. Apparently by dissimilation, the final of *vah* in the anomalous compound *anaḍvah* is changed to *d* instead of *ḍ*: see 404.

The lingual sibilant ṣ .

225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is (182) the product of lingualization of s after certain alternant sounds, we might expect final radical ṣ , when (in rare cases) it comes to stand where a s cannot maintain itself, to revert to its original, and be treated as a s would be treated under the same circumstances. That, however, is true only in a very few instances.

a. Namely, in the prefix *duṣ* (evidently identical with ṽduṣ); in *sajṣ* (adverbially used case-form from ṽjuṣ); in (RV.) *vivṣ* and *āvivṣ*, from ṽviṣ ; in *āviṣ* (RV.), from ṽviṣ ; and in *āṣis*, from ṣis as secondary form of ṽcāṣ . All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

226. In general, final lingual ṣ , in internal combination, is treated in the same manner as palatal ṣ . Thus:

a. Before *t* and *th* it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. *dviṣṭas*, *dviṣṭhas*, *dvēṣṭum*.

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

b. Before *dh*, *bh*, and *su*, as also in external combination (145), it becomes a lingual mute; and *dh* is made lingual (by 198) after it: e. g. *piṇḍḍhi*, *viḍḍhi*, *viviḍḍhi*, *dviḍḍhvaṃ*, *dviḍbhīṣ*, *dviṣṭuḥ*; *bhinnaviṣṭa*.

c. So also the *dh* of *dhvaṃ* as ending of 2d pl. mid. becomes ḍh after final ṣ of a tense-stem, whether the ṣ be regarded as lost or as converted to ḍ before it (the manuscripts write simply ḍhv , not ḍḍhv ; but this is ambiguous: see 232). Thus, after ṣ of *s*-aorist stems (881 a), *astoḍhvaṃ*, *avṛḍhvaṃ*, *cyoḍhvaṃ* (the only quotable cases), from *astoṣ* + *dhvaṃ* etc.; but *arāḍhvaṃ* from *arāṣ* + *dhvaṃ*. Further, after the ṣ of *iṣ*-aorist stems (901 a), *āindhiḍhvaṃ*, *artiḍhvaṃ*, *ajaniḍhvaṃ*, *vepiḍhvaṃ* (the only quotable cases), from *ajaniṣ* + *dhvaṃ* etc. Yet again, in the precativē (924), as *bhaviṣiḍhvaṃ*, if, as is probable (unfortunately, no example of this person is quotable from any part of the literature), the precativē-sign *s* (ṣ) is to be regarded as present in the form. According, however, to the Hindu grammarians, the use of ḍh or of *dh* in the *iṣ*-aorist and precativē depends on whether the *i* of *iṣ* or of *iṣi* is or is not "preceded by a semivowel or *h*"—which both in itself appears senseless and is opposed to the evidence of all the quotable forms. Moreover, the same authorities prescribe the change of *dh* to ḍh , under the same restriction as to circumstances, in the perf. mid. ending *dhve* also: in this case, too, without any conceivable reason; and no example of ḍhve in the 2d pl. perf. has been pointed out in the literature.

d. The conversion of ṣ to ṣ (or ḍ) as final and before *bh* and *su* is parallel with the like conversion of ṣ , and of *j* and *h* in the *mṛj* and *ruh*

classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of *s* to *t* (187-8). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of *śaś*) only once in RV. and once in AV. (-*diviṣ* and -*pruṣ*), although these texts have more than 40 roots with final *ṣ*; in the Brāhmanas, moreover, have been noticed further only -*pruṣ* and *viṣ* (QB.), and -*ṣliṣ* (K.). From *piṣ*, RV. has the anomalous form *piṣak* (2d and 3d sing., for *piṣaṣ-s* and *piṣaṣ-t*).

e. Before *s* in internal combination (except *su* of loc. pl.) it becomes *k*: thus, *dvéṣi*, *dvéṣyāmi*, *ādvikṣam*.

f. This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from *piṣak*, above) are *viveṣi*, from *viṣ*, and the desid. stem *ririṣa* from *riṣ*; AV. has only *dvikṣat* and *dvikṣata*, and the desid. stem *ṣiṣlikṣa* from *ṣliṣ*. Other examples are quotable from *vykṣ* and *piṣ* and *viṣ* (QB. etc.), and *ṣiṣ* (QB.); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.

Extension and Abbreviation.

227. As a general rule, *ch* is not allowed by the grammarians to stand in that form after a vowel, but is to be doubled, becoming *ceh* (which the manuscripts sometimes write *chch*).

a. The various authorities disagree with one another in detail as to this duplication. According to Pāṇini, *ch* is doubled within a word after either a long or a short vowel; and, as initial, necessarily after a short and after the particles *ā* and *mā*, and optionally everywhere after a long. In RV., initial *ch* is doubled after a long vowel of *ā* only, and certain special cases after a short vowel are excepted. For the required usage in the other Vedic texts, see their several Prātiśākhya. The Kāthaka writes for original *ch* (not *ch* from combination of *t* or *n* with *ç*: 203) after a vowel everywhere *ceh*. The manuscripts in general write simple *ch*.

b. Opinions are still at variance as to how far this duplication has an etymological ground, and how far it is only an acknowledgment of the fact that *ch* makes a heavy syllable even after a short vowel (makes "position": 79). As the duplication is accepted and followed by most European scholars, it will be also adopted in this work in words and sentences (not in roots and stems).

228. After *r*, any consonant (save a spirant before a vowel) is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled (an aspirate, by prefixing the corresponding non-aspirate: 154).

Thus:

अर्क *arka*, or अर्क्क *arkka*; कार्य *kārya*, or कार्य्य *kāryya*;
अर्थ *artha*, or अर्थ्य *arttha*; दीर्घ *dīrgha*, or दीर्घ्य *dīrghha*.

a. Some of the authorities include, along with *r*, also *h* or *l* or *v*, or more than one of them, in this rule.

b. A doubled consonant after *r* is very common in manuscripts and inscriptions, as also in native text-editions and in the earlier editions prepared by European scholars — in later ones, the duplication is universally omitted.

c. On the other hand, the manuscripts often write a single consonant after *r* where a double one is etymologically required: thus, *kārtikeya*, *vārtika*, for *kārttikoya*, *vārttika*.

229. The first consonant of a group — whether interior, or initial after a vowel of a preceding word — is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled.

a. This duplication is allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiśākhya — in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiśākhya; the meaning of the whole matter is too obscure to justify the giving of details here.

230. Other cases of extension of consonant-groups, required by some of the grammatical authorities, are the following:

a. Between a non-nasal and a nasal mute, the insertion of so-called *yamas* (*twins*), or nasal counterparts, is taught by the Prātiśākhya (and assumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APr. I. 99, note.

b. Between *h* and a following nasal mute the Prātiśākhya teach the insertion of a nasal sound called *nāsikya*: see APr. I. 100, note.

c. Between *r* and a following consonant the Prātiśākhya teach the insertion of a *svarabhakti* or *vowel-fragment*: see APr. I. 101-2, note.

d. Some authorities assume this insertion only before a spirant; the others regard it as twice as long before a spirant as before any other consonant — namely, a half or a quarter *mora* before the former, a quarter or an eighth before the latter. One (VPr.) admits it after *l* as well as *r*. It is variously described as a fragment of the vowel *ā* or of *ṛ* (or *ḷ*).

e. The RPr. puts a *svarabhakti* also between a sonant consonant and a following mute or spirant; and APr. introduces an element called *sphoṭana* (*distinguisher*) between a guttural and a preceding mute of another class.

f. For one or two other cases of yet more doubtful value, see the Prātiśākhya.

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, *yuṇdhī* for *yuṇgdhī*, *yuṇdhvām* for *yuṇgdhvām*, *āntām* for *āṅktām*, *pañtī* for *pañktī*, *chintām* for *chinttām*, *bhinthā* for *bhinthā*, *indhē* for *inddhē*.

a. The abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APr. (the other Prātiśākhya take no notice of it). It is the more usual practice of the manuscripts, though the full group is also often written.

232. In general, a double consonant (including an aspirate which is doubled by the prefixion of a non-aspirate) in combination with any other consonant is by the manuscripts written as simple.

a. That is to say, the ordinary usage of the manuscripts makes no difference between those groups in which a phonetic duplication is allowed by the rules given above (228, 229) and those in which the duplication is etymological. As every *tv* after a vowel may also be properly written *ttv*, so *dattvā* and *tattvā* may be, and almost invariably are, written as *datvā* and *tatvā*. As *kārtana* is also properly *kārttana*, so *kārttika* (from *kṛtti*) is written as *kārtika*. So in inflection, we have always, for example, *majñā* etc., not *majññā*, from *majñān*. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, *hr̥dyotā* for *hr̥ddyotā*; *chināty asya* for *chināty asya*. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard *ādhvam* or *āddhvam* (from *yas*), *ādvīḍhvam* or *ādvīḍḍhvam* (from *vidiṣ*), as the true form of a second person plural.

233. a. Instances are sometimes met with of apparent loss (perhaps after conversion to a semivowel) of *i* or *u* before *y* or *v* respectively. Thus, in the Brāhmaṇas, *tū* and *nū* with following *vāi* etc. often make *tvāi*, *nvāi* (also *tvāvā*, *ānvāi*); and other examples from the older language are *anvart-* (*anu + vart*); *paryan*, *paryanti*, *paryāyāt*, *paryāṇa* (*pari + yan*, etc.); *abhyārti* (*abhi + iyarti*); *antaryāt* (*antar + iyāt*); *cārvāc*, *cārvāka*, *cārvadana* (*cāru + vāc*, etc.); *kyānt* for *kīyant*; *dvyoga* (*dvi + yoga*); *anvā*, *anvāsana* (*anu + vā*, etc.); probably *vyūnoti* for *vī yunoti* (RV.), *urvāṇi* (*uru + vāṇi*), *qīqvarī* for *qīqu + varī* (RV.); *vyāmā* (*vi + yāma*); and the late *svarṇa* for *suvarṇa*. More anomalous abbreviations are the common *tr̥ca* (*tri + r̥ca*); and *dvr̥ca* (*dvi + r̥ca*: S.), and *treṇī* (*tri + eṇī*: Āpast.).

Further, certain cases of the loss of a sibilant require notice. Thus:

b. According to the Hindu grammarians, the *s* of *s*-aorist stems is lost after a short vowel in the 2d and 3d sing. middle: thus, *adithās* and *adita* (1st sing. *adiṣi*), *akṛthās* and *akṛta* (1st sing. *akṛṣi*). It is, however, probable that such cases are to be explained in a different manner: see 834 a.

c. The *s* between two mutes is lost in all combinations of the roots *sthā* and *stambh* with the prefix *ud*: thus, *ūt* thus, *ūtthita*, *ūt thāpaya*, *ūtthabdha*, etc.

d. The same omission is now and then made in other similar cases: thus *cit kambhanena* (for *skāmbh-*: RV.); *tasmāt tute* (for *stute*) and *puroruk tuta* (for *stuta*: K.); the compounds *ṛkthā* (*ṛk + sthā*: PB.) and *utphulīṅga*; the derivative *utphāla* (*yaphal*). On the other hand, we have *vidyūt stanāyanti* (RV.), *utsthala*, *kakutstha*, etc.

e. So also the tense-sign of the *s*-aorist is lost after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, *achāntta* (and

for this, by 231, *achānta*) for *achāntsta*, *çapta* for *çapsta*, *tāptam* for *tāpstam*, *abhākta* for *abhāksta*, *amāuktam* for *amāukstam*. These are the only quotable cases: compare 883.

f. A final *s* of root or tense-stem is in a few instances lost after a sonant aspirate, and the combination of mutes is then made as if no sibilant had ever intervened. Thus, from the root *ghas*, with omission of the vowel and then of the final sibilant, we have the form *gdha* (for *gha-ta*: 3d sing. mid.), the participle *gdha* (in *agdhād*), and the derivative *gdhi* (for *ghs-ti*; in *sā-gdhi*); and further, from the reduplicated form of the same root, or *yjaks*, we have *jagdha*, *jagdhum*, *jagdhvā*, *jagdhi* (from *jaghs-ta* etc.); also, in like manner, from *baps*, reduplication of *bhas*, the form *babdhām* (for *babhs-tām*). According to the Hindu grammarians, the same utter loss of the sibilant-sign *s* takes place after a final sonant aspirate of a root before an ending beginning with *t* or *th*: thus, from *yruḍh*, *s*-aorist stem *arāuts* act. and *aruts* mid., come the active dual and plural persons *arāuddham* and *arāuddhām* and *arāuddha*, and the middle singular persons *aruddhās* and *aruddha*. None of the active forms, however, have been found quotable from the literature, ancient or modern; and the middle forms admit also of a different explanation: see 834, 383.

Strengthening and Weakening Processes.

234. Under this head, we take up first the changes that affect vowels, and then those that affect consonants—adding for convenience's sake, in each case, a brief notice of the vowel and consonant elements that have come to bear the apparent office of connectives.

Guṇa and Vṛddhi.

235. The so-called *guṇa*- and *vṛddhi*-changes are the most regular and frequent of vowel-changes, being of constant occurrence both in inflection and in derivation.

a. A *guṇa*-vowel (*guṇa secondary quality*) differs from the corresponding simple vowel by a prefixed *a*-element which is combined with the other according to the usual rules; a *vṛddhi*-vowel (*vṛddhi growth, increment*), by the further prefixion of *a* to the *guṇa*-vowel. Thus, of *ṛi* or *ṛī* the corresponding *guṇa* is (*a+i*=) *ṛe*; the corresponding *vṛddhi* is (*a+e*=) *ṛē*. But in all gunating processes *ṛa* remains unchanged—or, as it is sometimes expressed,

य a is its own guṇa; यः ā, of course, remains unchanged for both guṇa and vṛddhi.

236. The series of corresponding degrees is then as follows:

simple vowel	a ā	i ī	u ū	ṛ	ḷ
guṇa	a ā	e	o	ar	al
vṛddhi	ā	ai	au	ār	

a. There is nowhere any occurrence of ṛ in a situation to undergo either guṇa or vṛddhi-change; nor does ḷ (26) ever suffer change to vṛddhi. Theoretically, ṛ would have the same changes as r; and the vṛddhi of ḷ would be āl.

b. In secondary derivatives requiring vṛddhi of the first syllable (1204), the o of go (361 c) is strengthened to gāu: thus, gāumata, gāuṣṭhika.

237. The historical relations of the members of each vowel-series are still matters of some difference of opinion. From the special point of view of the Sanskrit, the simple vowels wear the aspect of being in general the original or fundamental ones, and the others of being products of their increment or strengthening, in two several degrees—so that the rules of formation direct a, i, u, r, ḷ to be raised to guṇa or vṛddhi respectively, under specified conditions. But r has long been so clearly seen to come by abbreviation or weakening from an earlier ar (or ra) that many European grammarians have preferred to treat the guṇa-forms as the original and the other as the derivative. Thus, for example: instead of assuming certain roots to be bhr̥ and vṛdh̥, and making from them bharati and vardhati, and bhr̥ta and vṛddha, by the same rules which from bhū and nī and from budh and cit form bhavati and nayati, bodhati and cetati, bhūta and nīta, buddha and citta—they assume bhar and vardh to be the roots, and give the rules of formation for them in reverse. In this work, as already stated (104 e), the r-form is preferred.

238. The guṇa-increment is an Indo-European phenomenon, and is in many cases seen to occur in connection with an accent on the increased syllable. It is found—

a. In root-syllables: either in inflection, as dvēṣṭi from ydviṣ̥, dōhmi from yduh̥; or in derivation, as dvēṣa, dōhas, dvēṣṭum, dōgdhum.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as tanōmi from tanu; or suffixes of derivation, in inflection or in further derivation, as matāye from matī, bhānāvas from bhānū, pitāram from pitṛ (or pitār), hantavyā from hantu.

239. The vṛddhi-increment is specifically Indian, and its occurrence is less frequent and regular. It is found—

a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of *guṇa*: thus, *stāūti* from *√stū*, *sākhāyam* from *sākhi*, *ānāṣam* from *√nī*, *ākārṣam* and *kārāyati* and *kāryā* from *√kr* (or *kar*), *dātāram* from *√dāt* (or *dātār*).

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, *mānasā* from *mānas*, *vāidyutā* from *vidyūt*, *bhāumā* from *bhūmi*, *pārthiva* from *prthivī* (1204).

But—

240. The *guṇa*-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing *guṇa* in processes of derivation and inflection do not apply to a short vowel which is "long by position", nor to a long vowel unless it be final: thus, *cētatī* from *√cit*, but *nīndatī* from *√nind*; *nāyati* from *√nī*, but *jīvati* from *√jīv*.

a. The *vrddhi*-increment is not liable to this restriction.

b. Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, *ehā*, *ehas* from *√ih*; *heḍāyāmi*, *heḍas*, etc., from *√hīḍ*; *coṣa* etc. from *√cūṣ*; *óhate* etc. from *√ūh* *consider*; and especially, from roots in *iv*: *didēva* *deviṣyati*, *dēvana*, etc., from *√dīv*; *tiṣṭheva* from *√ṣṭhīv*; *srēvāyāmi*, *srēvuka*, from *√ariv*—on account of which it is, doubtless, that these roots are written with *iv* (*dīv* etc.) by the Hindu grammarians, although they nowhere show a short *i*, in either verb-forms or derivatives.

c. A few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus *dūṣāyati* from *√duṣ*, *gūḥatī* from *√guh*.

The changes of *ṛ* (more original *ar* or *ra*) are so various as to call for further description.

241. The increments of *ṛ* are sometimes *ra* and *rā*, instead of *ar* and *ār*: namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from *√drṣ*, *drakṣyāmi* and *ādrakṣam*; but also *prthū* and *prath*, *prṇh* and *prach*, *kṛpā* and *ākrapīṣṭa*.

242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in *ṛ* (for more original *ar*), the *ṛ* changes both with *ar*, and more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with *ir*—or also with *ur* (especially after a labial, in *pr*, *mṛ*, *vṛ*, sporadically in others): which *ir* and *ur*, again, are liable to prolongation into *īr* and *ūr*. Thus, for example, from *trṛ* (or *tar*), we have *taratī*, *titartī*, *tātāra*, *atāriṣam*, by regular processes; but also *tiratī*, *tīryatī*, *tīrtvā*, *-tīrya*, *tīrṇa*, and even (V.) *turyāma*, *tuturyāt*, *tarturāṇa*. The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.

a. For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long *ṛ*, or with both *r* and *ṛ*: no *ṛ* actually appears anywhere among their forms.

b. The (quotable) \bar{r} -roots are 2 $k\bar{r}$ *strew*, 1 $g\bar{r}$ *sing*, 2 $g\bar{r}$ *swallow*, 1 $j\bar{r}$ *wear out*, $t\bar{r}$, 1 $q\bar{r}$ *crush*.

c. The (quotable) r and \bar{r} -roots are \bar{r} , 1 $d\bar{r}$ *pierce*, 1 $\dot{p}\bar{r}$ *fill*, 1 $m\bar{r}$ *die*, 2 $v\bar{r}$ *choose*, $st\bar{r}$, $h\bar{v}\bar{r}$.

d. Forms analogous with these are sometimes made also from other roots: thus, $cir\bar{r}a$, $cirtv\bar{a}$, $carc\bar{u}ry\bar{a}$, from γcar ; $sp\bar{u}rdh\bar{a}n$ and $sp\bar{u}rdh\bar{a}e$ from $\gamma sprdh$.

243. In a few cases \bar{r} comes from the contraction of other syllables than ar and ra : thus, in $t\bar{r}ta$ and $t\bar{r}tiya$, from ri ; in $q\bar{r}ru$, from ru ; in $bhr\bar{k}\bar{u}ti$, from $r\bar{u}$.

Vowel-lengthening.

244. Vowel-lengthening concerns especially i and u , since the lengthening of a is in part (except where in evident analogy with that of i and u) indistinguishable from its increment, and \bar{r} is made long only in certain plural cases of stems in \bar{r} (or ar : 369 ff.). Lengthening is a much more irregular and sporadic change than increment, and its cases will in general be left to be pointed out in connection with the processes of inflection and derivation: a few only will be mentioned here.

245. a. Final radical i and u are especially liable to prolongation before y : as in passive and gerund and so on.

b. Final radical ir and ur (from variable \bar{r} -roots: 342) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before y and $tv\bar{a}$ and na : and in declension before bh and s (392). Radical is has the same prolongation in declension (392).

246. Compensatory lengthening, or absorption by a vowel of the time of a lost following consonant, is by no means common. Certain instances of it have been pointed out above (179, 198 c, d, 199 d, 222 b). Perhaps such cases as $pit\bar{a}$ for $pitars$ (371 a) and $dhan\bar{i}$ for $dhanins$ (439) are to be classed here.

247. The final vowel of a former member of a compound is often made long, especially in the Veda. Prolongations of final a , and before y , are most frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are: $dev\bar{a}v\bar{i}$, $vayun\bar{a}vid$, $pr\bar{a}v\bar{r}\bar{s}$, $\bar{r}t\bar{a}vasu$, $indr\bar{a}vant$, $sadan\bar{a}s\bar{a}d$, $qat\bar{a}magha$, $viqvan\bar{a}ra$, $\acute{e}k\bar{a}daqa$; $apij\bar{u}$, $pari\bar{q}ah$, $vir\bar{u}dh$, $tuvin\bar{a}gh\bar{a}$, $tv\bar{i}simant$, $q\bar{a}ktivant$; $vas\bar{u}j\bar{u}$, $an\bar{u}r\bar{u}dh$, $s\bar{u}m\bar{a}ya$, $pur\bar{u}vasu$.

248. In the Veda, the final vowel of a word—generally a , much less often i and u —is in a large number of cases prolonged. Usually the prolongation takes place where it is favored by the metre, but sometimes even where the metre opposes the change (for details, see the various *Pratiśākhya*s).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are:

a. Particles: namely, áthā, ádhā, evā, utā, ghā, hā, ihā, ivā, eā, amā, nā, aṅgā, kīlā, átrā, yātrā, tátrā, kútrā, anyātrā, ubhay-átrā, adyā, ácehā, āpā, prā; áti, ní, yádi, nahí, abhí, ví; ū, tū, nū, sū, makṣū.

b. Case-forms: especially instr. sing., as enā, tēnā, yēnā, svēnā, and others; rarely gen. sing., as ayyā, hariṇāsyā. Cases besides these are few: so sīmā, vṛṣabhā, hariyojanā (voc.); tanvī (loc.); and urū and (not rarely) purū.

c. Verb-forms ending in a, in great number and variety: thus (nearly in the order of their comparative frequency), 2d sing. impr. act., as pibā, syā, gamayā, dhārāyā;—2d pl. act. in ta and tha, as ethā, attā, bibhṛtā, jayatā, ṛṇutā, anadatā, nayathā, jivayathā (and one or two in tana: aviṣṭanā, hantanā);—1st pl. act. in ma, as vidmā, riṣāmā, ṛdhyāmā, ruhomā, vanuyāmā, cakrāmā, marmṛjmā;—2d sing. impv. mid. in sva, as yukṣvā, iḍiṣvā, dadhiṣvā, vahasvā;—1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as vedā, viveṣā, jagrabhā; 2d sing. perf. act., vetthā;—2d pl. perf. act., anajā, cakrā. Of verb-forms ending in i, only the 2d sing. impr. act.: thus, kṛdhī, kṛṇuhī, kaidhī, ṇudhī, ṇṛudhī, ṇṛuhī, dīdihī, jahi.

d. To these may be added the gerund in yā (993 a), as abhigūryā, ācyā.

Vowel-lightening.

249. The alteration of short a to an i- or u-vowel in the formative processes of the language, except in ṛ or ar roots (as explained above); is a sporadic phenomenon only.

250. But the lightening of a long ā especially to an i-vowel (as also its loss), is a frequent process; no other vowel is so unstable.

a. Of the class-sign nā (of the kṛī-class of verbs: 717 a.), the ā is in weak forms changed to ī, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final ā of certain roots is treated in the same manner: thus, mē, hē, etc. (802-8). And from some roots, ā- and ī- or i-forms so interchange that it is difficult to classify them or to determine the true character of the root.

b. Radical ā is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel i in certain verbal forms: as perfect dadima from ydā etc. (794 k); aorist adhithās from ydhā etc. (834 a); present jahimas from yhā etc. (865).

c. Radical ā is shortened to the semblance of stem-a in a number reduplicated forms, as tiṣṭha, piba, dada, etc.: see 671-4; also in a few aorists, as āhvam, ākhyam, etc.: see 847.

d. Radical ā sometimes becomes e, especially before y: as stheyāsam, deya.

251. Certain *a*-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with *i* and *i*-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in *o* or *āi* or *o*. Thus, from 2 *dhā suck* (*dhe*) come the present *dhāyati* and participle and gerund *dhītā*, *dhītvā*; the other forms are made from *dhā*, as *dadhū*, *adhāt*, *dhāsyati*, *dhātave*, *dhāpayati*. From 2 *gā sing* (*gāi*) come the present *gāyati*, the participle and gerund *gītā* and *gītvā*, and passive *giyāte*, and the other forms from *gā*. From 3 *dā cut* (*do*) come the present *dyāti* and participles *ditā* or *dinā*, and the other forms from *dā*. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations (see especially 761 d ff.).

252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of *ar* or *ra* to *ṛ*, the *va* (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes *u*, and the *ya* of a much smaller number becomes *i*, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from *vac* come *uvāca*, *ucyāsam*, *uktvā*, *uktā*, *uktī*, *ukthā*, etc.; from *yaj* come *iyāja*, *ijyāsam*, *iṣtvā*, *iṣtā*, *iṣti*, etc. See below, under the various formations.

a. To this change is given by European grammarians the name of *samprasāraṇa*, by adaptation of a term used in the native grammar.

253. A short *a*, of root or ending, is not infrequently lost between consonants in a weakened syllable: thus, in verb-forms, *ghnānti*, *āpāntam*, *jagmūs*, *jajñūs*, *ājñata*; in noun-forms, *rājñe*, *rājñi*.

254. Union-vowels. All the simple vowels come to assume in certain cases the aspect of union-vowels, or insertions between root or stem and ending of inflection or of derivation.

a. That character belongs oftenest to *i*, which is very widely used: 1. before the *s* of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in *ājivīṣam*, *jivīṣāmi*, *jījivīṣāmi*; 2. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as *jījivīmā*; occasionally also present, as *āniti*, *rōditi*; 3. in derivation, as *jīvitā*, *khānitum*, *janitṛ*, *rociṣṇū*, etc. etc.

b. Long *ī* is used sometimes instead of short: thus, *āgrahīṣam*, *grahīṣāmi*; *bravīti*, *vāvadīti*; *taritṛ*, *savitṛ*; it is also often introduced before *s* and *t* of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, *āsīs*, *āsīt*.

c. For details respecting these, and the more irregular and sporadic occurrences of *u*- and *a*-vowels in the same character, see below.

Nasal Increment.

255. Both in roots and in endings, a distinction of stronger and weaker forms is very often made by the presence or absence of a nasal element, a nasal mute or *anusvāra*, before a following consonant. In general, the stronger form is doubtless the more original; but, in the present condition of the language, the nasal has come in great measure to seem, and to some extent also to be used, as an actually strengthening element, introduced under certain conditions in formative and inflective processes.

a. Examples are, of roots: *ac* and *añc*, *grath* and *granth*, *vid* and *vind*, *daç* and *dañç*, *sras* and *srañs*, *dṛh* and *dṛñh*: of endings, *bhārantam* and *bhāratā*, *mānasī* and *mānāñsi*.

256. A final *n*, whether of stem or of root, is less stable than any other consonant, where a weaker form is called for: thus, from *rājan* we have *rājā* and *rājabhī*, and in composition *rāja*; from *dhanín*, *dhanī* and *dhanibhī* and *dhāni*; from *yhan* we have *hathā* and *hatā*, etc. A final radical *m* is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from *ygam*, *gahī*, *gatām*, *gatā*, *gāti*.

257. Inserted *n*. On the other hand, the nasal *n* has come to be used with great—and, in the later history of the language, with increasing—frequency as a union-consonant, inserted between vowels: thus, from *agnī*, *agnīnā* and *agninām*; from *mādhu*, *mādhunas*, *mādhunī*, *mādhūni*; from *çivā*, *çivēna*, *çivāni*, *çivānām*.

258. Inserted *y*. a. After final *ā* of a root, a *y* is often found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in inflection, *ādhāyi* etc. (844), *çāyāyati* etc. (1042), *çivāyās* etc. (363 o), *gāyati* etc. (761 e); further, in derivation, *-gāya*, *-yāyam*, *dāyaka* etc.; *-sthāyika*; *pāyāna*, *-gāyana*; *dhāyas*, *-hāyas*; *sthāyin* etc. (many cases); *-hitāyin*, *-tatāyin*; *sthāyuka*.

b. Other more sporadic cases of inserted *y*—such as that in the pronoun-forms *ayam*, *iyam*, *vayam*, *yūyam*, *svayam*; and in optative inflection before an ending beginning with a vowel (598)—will be pointed out below in their connection.

Reduplication.

259. Reduplication of a root (originating doubtless in its complete repetition) has come to be a method of radical increment or strengthening in various formative processes: namely,

- a. in present-stem formation (842 ff.): as *dādāmi*, *bibhārmī*;
- b. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally (782 ff.): as *tatāna*, *dadhañ*, *cakāra*, *riréca*, *lulōpa*;
- c. in aorist-stem formation (856 ff.): as *ādīdharam*, *ācucyavam*;
- d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout (1000 ff., 1026 ff.): as *jāghanti*, *jōhavīti*, *marmṛijyāte*; *pīpāsati*, *jīghāñsati*;
- e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems (1143 e): as *pāpri*, *cārcara*, *sāsahī*, *cikítu*, *malimlucā*.
- f. Rules for the treatment of the reduplication in these several cases will be given in the proper connection below.

260. As, by reason of the strengthening and weakening changes indicated above, the same root or stem not seldom exhibits, in the processes of inflection and derivation, varieties of stronger and weaker form, the distinction and description of these varieties forms an important part of the subjects hereafter to be treated.

CHAPTER IV.

DECLENSION.

281. The general subject of declension includes nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, all of which are inflected in essentially the same manner. But while the correspondence of nouns and adjectives is so close that they cannot well be separated in treatment (chap. V.), the pronouns, which exhibit many peculiarities, will be best dealt with in a separate chapter (VII.); and the words designating number, or numerals, also form a class peculiar enough to require to be presented by themselves (chap. VI.).

282. Declensional forms show primarily case and number; but they also indicate gender—since, though the distinctions of gender are made partly in the stem itself, they also appear, to no inconsiderable extent, in the changes of inflection.

283. Gender. The genders are three, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other older Indo-European languages; and they follow in general the same laws of distribution as, for example, in Greek and Latin.

a. The only words which show no sign of gender-distinction are the personal pronouns of the first and second person (491), and the numerals above four (483).

284. Number. The numbers are three—singular, dual, and plural.

a. A few words are used only in the plural: as *dārā* wife, *āpas* water; the numeral *dva* two, is dual only; and, as in other languages, many words are, by the nature of their use, found to occur only in the singular.

285. As to the uses of the numbers, it needs only to be remarked that the dual is (with only very rare and sporadic exceptions) used strictly in all cases where two objects are logically indicated, whether directly or by combination of two individuals: thus, *çivā te dyāvāpṛthivī ubhé stām* may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee! *dāivam ca mānuṣam ca hotārāu vṛtvā* having chosen both the divine and the human sacrificers; *pathor devayānasya pitṛyānasya ca* of the two paths leading respectively to the gods and to the Fathers.

a. The dual is used alone (without *dva tūcā*) properly when the duality of the objects indicated is well understood; thus, *açvīnāu the two Açeius; indrasya hārī Indra's two bays*; but *tasya dvāv açvāu staḥ he has two horses*. But now and then the dual stands alone pregnantly: thus, *vedaṁ vedāu vedān vā one Veda or two or more than two; ekaṣaṣṭe çate two hundred and sixty-one*.

266. Case. The cases are (including the vocative) eight: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative.

a. The order in which they are here mentioned is that established for them by the Hindu grammarians, and accepted from these by Western scholars. The Hindu names of the cases are founded on this order: the nominative is called *prathamā first*, the accusative *dvitīyā second*, the genitive *ṣaṣṭhī sixth* (sc. *vibhakti division, i. e. case*), etc. The object sought in the arrangement is simply to set next to one another those cases which are to a greater or less extent, in one or another number, identical in form; and, putting the nominative first, as leading case, there is no other order by which that object could be attained. The vocative is not considered and named by the native grammarians as a case like the rest; in this work, it will be given in the singular (where alone it is ever distinguished from the nominative otherwise than by accent) at the end of the series of cases.

A compendious statement of the uses of the cases is given in the following paragraphs:

267. Uses of the Nominative. The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.

268. One or two peculiar constructions call for notice:

a. A predicate nominative, instead of an objective predicate in the accusative, is used with middle verb-forms that signify regarding or calling one's self: thus, *sōmaṁ manyate papivān (RV.) he thinks he has been drinking soma; sām manyeta purāṇavī (AV.) he may regard himself as wise in ancient things; durgād vā āhartā 'vocathāḥ (MS.) thou hast claimed to be a savior out of trouble; indro brāhmaṇo brūvāṇaḥ (TS.) Indra pretending to be a Brahman; katthase satyavādī (R.) thou boastest thyself truthful*. Similarly with the phrase *rūpaṁ kṛ*: thus, *kṛṣṇo rūpaṁ kṛtvā (TS.) taking on a black form (i. e. making shape for himself as one that is black)*.

b. A word made by *iti* (1102) logically predicate to an object is ordinarily nominative: thus, *svargō lokā iti yām vādanti (AV.) what they call the heavenly world; tam agniṣṭoma ity ācakṣate (AB.) it they style agniṣṭoma; vidarbharājatanayām damayantī 'ti viddhi mām (MBh.) know me for the Vidarbha-king's daughter, Damayanti by*

name. Both constructions are combined in *ajñānā hi bālam ity āhuḥ pite 'ty eva tu mantradam* (M.) *for to an ignorant man they give the name of 'child', but that of 'father' to one who imparts the sacred texts.*

c. A nominative, instead of a second vocative, is sometimes added to a vocative by *ca and*: thus, *indraḥ ca sōman pibataḥ brhaspate* (RV.) *together with Indra, do ye two drink the soma, O Brhaspati!* *viśve devā yajamānaḥ ca sīdatā* (TS.) *O ye All-Gods, and the sacrificer, take seats!*

269. Uses of the accusative. The accusative is especially the case of the direct object of a transitive verb, and of any word qualifying that object, as attribute or appositive or objective predicate. The construction of the verb is shared, of course, by its participles and infinitives; but also, in Sanskrit, by a number of other derivatives, having a more or less participial or infinitival character, and even sometimes by nouns and adjectives. A few prepositions are accompanied by the accusative. As less direct object, or goal of motion or action, the accusative is construed especially with verbs of approach and address. It is found used more adverbially as adjunct of place or time or manner; and a host of adverbs are accusative cases in form. Two accusatives are often found as objects of the same verb.

270. The use of the accusative as direct object of a transitive verb and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration; an example or two are: *agnīm iḍe* *I praise Agni*; *nāmo bharantaḥ* *bringing homage*; *bhūyo dātum arhasi* *thou shouldst give more*. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is *tām ugrām kṛṇomi tān brahmāṇam* (RV.) *him I make formidable, him a priest.*

271. Of verbal derivatives having so far a participial character that they share the construction of the verb, the variety is considerable: thus —

a. Derivatives in *u* from desiderative stems (1036) have wholly the character of present participles: thus, *damayantīm abhīpsavaḥ* (MBh.) *desiring to win Damayanti*; *didṛkṣur janakātmajām* (R.) *desiring to see Janaka's daughter*. Rarely, also, the verbal noun in *ā* from such a root: thus, *svargam abhikāṅkṣayā* (R.) *with desire of paradise.*

b. So-called primary derivatives in *in* have the same character: thus, *mām kāmīni* (AV.) *loving me*; *enam abhībhāṣiṇi* (MBh.) *addressing him*. Even the obviously secondary *garbhīn* has in QB. the same construction: thus, *sārvāṇi bhūtāni garbhy ābhavat* *he became pregnant with all beings.*

c. Derivatives in *aka*, in the later language: as, *bhavantaṁ abhivādakaḥ* (MBh.) *intending to salute you*; *mithilām avarodhakaḥ* (R.) *besieging Mithilā.*

d. Nouns in *tar*, very frequently in the older language, and as periphrastic future forms (943 ff.) in the later: thus, *hantā yó vṛtrān*

sánito 'tá vājam dātā maghāni (RV.) *who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesses*; táu hi 'dam sarvaṁ hartāraṁ (JB.) *for they seize on this universe*; tyaktāraḥ samyuge prāṇān (MBh.) *risking life in battle*.

e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound: thus, yām yajñāṁ paribhūr āsi (RV.) *what offering thou surroundest (protectest)*; āhim apāḥ pariṣṭhām (RV.) *the dragon confining the waters*. Also a superlative of a root-stem (468, 471): thus, tvām vāsu devayate vāniṣṭhaḥ (RV.) *thou art chief winner of wealth for the pious*; tā sōmaṁ somapātama (RV.) *they two are the greatest drinkers of soma*.

f. The derivative in i from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, babhrīr vājraṁ papīḥ sōmaṁ dadīr gāḥ (RV.) *bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine*; yajñāṁ ātāniḥ (RV.) *extending the sacrifice*.

g. Derivatives in uka, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, vatsāṇc ca ghātuko vīkaḥ (AV.) *and the wolf destroys his calves*; vēduko vāso bhavati (TS.) *he wins a garment*; kāmukā enaṁ striyo bhavanti (MS.) *the women fall in love with him*.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as índro dṛḍhā cid ārujāḥ (RV.) *Indra breaks up even what is fast*; nāi 'vā 'rhaḥ pāitṛkaṁ riktham (M.) *by no means entitled to his father's estate*; — in atnu, as viḍu cid ārujatnūbhiḥ (RV.) *with the breakers of whatever is strong*; — in atha, as yajāthāya devān (RV.) *to make offering to the gods*; — in ana, as taṁ nivāraṇe (MBh.) *in restraining him*; svamāṁsam iva bhojane' (R.) *as if in eating one's own flesh*; — in ani, as samātsu turvāpiḥ pṛtanyūn (RV.) *overcoming foes in combats*; — in ti, as nā taṁ dhūrtiḥ (RV.) *there is no injuring him*; — in van, as āpaççāddaghvā 'nnam bhavati (MS.) *he does not come short of food*; — in snu, as sthirā cin namayisṇavaḥ (RV.) *bowing even firm things*.

272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: such words as ānuvrata *faithful to*, prātirūpa *corresponding to*, abhidhṛṣṇu *daring to cope with*, pratyāñc *opposite to*, may be regarded as taking an accusative in virtue of the preposition they contain; also ānuka, as ānukā devā varuṇam (MS.) *the gods are inferior to Varuna*. RV. has tāṁ antārvatīḥ *pregnant with him*; and AV. has mām kāmena *through loving me*.

273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (1123 ff.). With the accusative are oftenest found prati, *opposite to*, in reference to, etc.; also anu *after*, in the course of; antar or antārā *between*; rarely ati *across*; abhi *against*, to; and others (1129). Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as antareṇa, uttareṇa, dakṣiṇeṇa, avareṇa, ūrdhvaṁ, &c.

274. The accusative is very often found also as object of verbs which in the related languages are not transitive.

a. It stands especially as the goal of motion, with verbs of going, bringing, sending, and the like: thus, *vidarbhān agaman* (MBh.) *they went to Vidarbha*; *divam yayaḥ* (MBh.) *they went to heaven*; *vanagulmān dhāvantaḥ* (MBh.) *running to woods and bushes*; *apó divam úd vahanti* (AV.) *they carry up waters to the sky*; *devān yaje* (AV.) *I make offering to the gods*.

b. With verbs meaning *go*, this is an extremely common construction; and the use of such a verb with an abstract noun makes peculiar phrases of becoming: thus, *samatām eti* *he goes to equality* (i. e. *becomes equal*); *sa gaocched badhyatām mama* (MBh.) *he shall become liable to be slain by me*; *sa pañcatvam āgataḥ* (H.) *he was resolved into the five elements* (underwent dissolution, died).

c. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, *tam abravīt* *he said to him*; *prākroṣad uccāir nāiṣadham* (MBh.) *she cried out loudly to the Nishadha*; *yās tvo 'vāca* (AV.) *who spoke to thee*.

d. The assumption of an accusative object is exceptionally easy in Sanskrit, and such an object is often taken by a verb or phrase which is strictly of intransitive character: thus, *sāhasā prā 'sy anyān* (RV.) *in might thou excellest* (lit. *art ahead*) *others*; *devā vāi brāhma sām avadanta* (MS.) *the gods were discussing* (lit. *were talking together*) *brahman*; *antār vāi mā yajñād yanti* (MS.) *surely they are cutting me off* (lit. *are going between*) *from the offering*; *tām sām babbhūva* (QB.) *he had intercourse with her*.

275. Examples of the cognate accusative, or accusativa of implied object, are not infrequent: thus, *tāpas tapyāmahe* (AV.) *we do penance*; *tē hai 'tām edhatūm edhām cakrīre* (ÇR.) *they prospered with that prosperity*; *uṣitvā sukhavāsam* (R.) *abiding happily*.

276. The accusative is often used in more adverbial constructions, Thus:

a. Occasionally, to denote measure of space: thus, *yojanaçatam gantum* (MBh.) *to go a hundred leagues*; *ṣaḍ ucchrito yojanāni* (MBh.) *six leagues high*.

b. Much more often, to denote measure or duration of time: thus, *sā samvatsarām ūrdhvō 'tiṣṭhat* (AV.) *he stood a year upright*; *tisrō rātrir dikṣitāḥ syāt* (TS.) *let him be consecrated three nights*; *gatvā trin ahorātrān* (MBh.) *having traveled three complete days*.

c. Sometimes, to denote the point of space, or, oftener, of time: thus, *yām aya dīçam dāsyuḥ syāt* (QB.) *whatever region his enemy may be in*; *tēnāi 'tām rātriṁ sahā* " *jagāma* (QB.) *he arrived that night with him*; *imām rajaniṁ vyuṣṭam* (MBh.) *this current night*.

d. Very often, to denote manner or accompanying circumstance. Thus, the neuter accusative of innumerable adjectives, simple or compound

(1111), is used adverbially, while certain kinds of compounds are thus used to such an extent that the Hindu grammarians have made of them a special adverbial class (1313).

e. Special cases, are occasionally met with: thus, *brahmacāryam uvāsa* (ÇB.) *he kept a term of studentship*; *phalām paçyānte* (MS.) *they ripen their fruit*; *gām divyadhvam* (MS., S.) *gamble for a cow*.

277. The accusative is, of course, freely used with other cases to limit the same verb, as the sense requires. And whenever it is usable with a verb in two different constructions, the verb may take two accusatives, one in each construction: and such combinations are quite frequent in Sanskrit. Thus, with verbs of appealing, asking, having recourse: as, *apó yācāmi bheṣajām* (RV.) *I ask the waters for medicine*; *tvām ahañ satyam icchāmi* (It.) *I desire truth from thee*; *tvām vayam çaraṇam gatāp* (MBh.) *we have resorted to thee for succor*; — with verbs of bringing, sending, following, imparting, saying: as, *gurutvañ narañ nayanti* (H.) *they bring a man to respectability*; *sitā cā 'nvetu mām vanam* (R.) *and let Sita accompany me to the forest*; *supēçasañ mā 'va sṛjanty āstam* (RV.) *they let me go home well adorned*; *tām idam abravīt* (MBh.) *this he said to her*; — and in other less common cases: as, *vṛkṣāñ pakvāñ phalām dhūnuhī* (RV.) *shake ripe fruit from the tree*; *tām viṣām evā 'dhok* (AV.) *poison he milked from her*; *jītvā rājyañ nalam* (MBh.) *having won the kingdom from Nala*; *āmuṣṭitañ pañīm gāhī* (RV.) *ye robbed the Papi of the kine*; *draṣṭum icchāvañ putram paçcīmadarçanam* (It.) *we wish to see our son for the last time*.

a. A causative form of a transitive verb regularly admits two accusative objects: thus, *devāñ uçatāp pāyayā haviḥ* (RV.) *make the eager gods drink the oblation*; *ōṣadhīr evā phalām grāhayati* (MS.) *he makes the plants bear fruit*; *vañijo dāpayet karān* (M.) *he should cause the merchants to pay taxes*. But such a causative sometimes takes an instrumental instead of a second accusative: see 282 b.

278. Uses of the Instrumental. The instrumental is originally the *with*-case: it denotes adjaecency, accompaniment, association — passing over into the expression of means and instrument by the same transfer of meaning which appears in the English prepositions *with* and *by*.

a. Nearly all the uses of the case are readily deducible from this fundamental meaning, and show nothing anomalous or difficult.

279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment: thus, *agnīr devābhīr ā gamat* (RV.) *may Agni come hither along with the gods*; *marūdbhī rudrām huvema* (RV.) *we would call Rudra with the Maruts*; *dvāpareṇa sahāyena kva yāsyasi* (MBh.) *whither wilt thou go, with Drāpara for companion?* *kathayan nāṣadhena* (MBh.) *talking with the Nishadhan*. But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions (*saha* etc.: 284).

280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, *bhadrām kārṇebhiḥ ṣṇuyāma* (RV.) *may we hear with our ears what is propitious*; *ṣastreṇa nidhanam* (MBh.) *death by the sword*; *kecit padbhyām hatā gajāiḥ* (MBh.) *some were slain by the elephants with their feet*; *pṛthak pāṇibhyām darbhataruṇakāir navanitonā ṅguṣṭhopakaniṣṭhikābhyām akṣiṇi ājya* (AGS.) *anointing their eyes with fresh butter, by help of the bunches of darbha-grass, with the thumb and ring-finger, using the two hands successively*. And this passes easily over into the expression of occasion or reason (for which the ablative is more frequent): thus, *kṛpayā through pity*; *tona satyena in virtue of that truth*.

281. Of special applications, the following may be noticed:

a. Accordance, equality, likeness, and the like: thus, *samām jyōtiḥ sūryeṇa* (AV.) *a brightness equal with the sun*; *yeṣām ahaṁ na pādaraajasā tulyaḥ* (MBh.) *to the dust of whose feet I am not equal*.

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, *daṣābhiḥ kṛṇāti dhenūbhiḥ* (RV.) *he buys with ten kine*; *gavām ṣatasahasreṇa diyatām ṣabalā mama* (R.) *let Ṣabalā be given me for a hundred thousand cows*; *sa te 'kṣahṛdayam datā rājā 'qvahṛdayena vāi* (MBh.) *the king will give thee the secret science of dice in return for that of horses*.

c. Medium, and hence also space or distance or road, traversed: thus, *udnā nā nāvam anayanta* (RV.) *they brought [him] as it were a ship by water*; *ē 'hā yātām pathibhir devayānāiḥ* (RV.) *come hither by god-traveled paths*; *jagmur vihāyasā* (MBh.) *they went off through the air*.

d. Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about: thus, *vidarbhān yātum icchāmy ekāhnā* (MBh.) *I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day*; *te ca kālana mahatā yāunvanam pratīpedire* (R.) *and they in a long time attained adolescence*; *tatra kālana jāyante mānavā dīrghajīvinaḥ* (M.) *there in time are born men long-lived*. This use of the instrumental borders upon that of the locative and ablative.

e. The part of the body on (or by) which anything is borne is usually expressed by the instrumental: as, *kukkuraḥ skandheno 'hyate* (H.) *a dog is carried on the shoulder*; and this construction is extended to such cases as *tulayā kṛtam* (H.) *put on* (i. e. *so as to be carried by*) *a balance*.

f. Not infrequent are such phrases as *bahunā kim pralāpene* (R.) *what is the use of* (i. e. *is gained by*) *much talking?* *ko nu me jīvitena 'rthaḥ* (MBh.) *what object is life to me?* *nīrujas tu kim āṇadhaiḥ* (H.) *but what has a well man to do with medicines?*

g. An instrumental of accompaniment is occasionally used almost or quite with the value of an instrumental absolute: thus, *na tvayā 'tra mayā 'vasthitena kā 'pi cintā kāryā* (Pañc.) *with me at hand, thou needst feel no anxiety whatever on this point*.

282. a. The construction of a passive verb (or participle) with an instrumental of the agent is common from the earliest period, and becomes decidedly more so later, the passive participle with instrumental taking to no small extent the place of an active verb with its subject. Thus, *yamēna dattāḥ* (RV.) *given by Yama*; *ṛṣibhir īdyaḥ* (RV.) *to be praised by sages*; *vyādhena jālaḥ vistīrṇam* (H.) *by the hunter a net [was] spread*; *tac chrutvā jaradgaveno 'ktam* (H.) *Jaradgava, hearing this, said*; *mayā gantavyam* (H.) *I shall go*. A predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, *adhunā tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam* (H.) *henceforth I shall always be thy companion*; *avahitāir bhavitavyaḥ bhavadbhiḥ* (Vikr.) *you must be attentive*.

b. A causative verb sometimes takes an instrumental instead of an accusative as second object; thus, *tām qvabhiḥ khādayeḥ rāja* (M.) *the king should have her devoured by dogs*; *tā varuṇeṇa 'grāhayat* (MS.) *he caused Varuna to seize them*.

283. Many instrumental constructions are such as call in translation for other prepositions than *with* or *by*; yet the true instrumental relation is usually to be traced, especially if the etymological sense of the words be carefully considered.

a. More anomalously, however, the instrumental is used interchangeably with the ablative with words signifying separation: thus, *vatsāir vīyutāḥ* (RV.) *separated from their calves*; *mā 'hām ātmānā vī rādhiṣi* (AV.) *let me not be severed from the breath of life*; *sa tayā vyayujyata* (MBh.) *he was parted from her*; *pāpmānāi 'vāi 'nam vī punanti* (MS.) *they cleanse him from evil* (compare English *parted with*). The same meaning may be given to the case even when accompanied by *saha* with: thus, *bhartrā saha vīyogaḥ* (MBh.) *separation from her husband*.

284. The prepositions taking the instrumental (1127) are those signifying *with* and the like: thus, *saha*, with the adverbial words containing *sa* as an element, as *sākam*, *sārdham*, *saratham*;—and, in general, a word compounded with *sa*, *sam*, *saha* takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement. But also the preposition *vinā* *without* takes sometimes the instrumental (cf. 283 a).

285. Uses of the Dative. The dative is the case of the indirect object—or that toward or in the direction of or in order to or for which anything is or is done (either intransitively or to a direct object).

a. In more physical connections, the uses of the dative approach those of the accusative (the more proper *to*-case), and the two are sometimes interchangeable; but the general value of the dative as the *toward*- or *for*-case is almost everywhere distinctly to be traced.

286. Thus, the dative is used with—

a. Words signifying *give*, *share out*, *assign*, and the like: thus, *yó ná dádati sákhye* (RV.) *who gives not to a friend*; *yáccchā 'smāi cārma* (RV.) *bestow upon him protection*.

b. Words signifying *show, announce, declare*, and the like: thus, *dhanur darçaya rāmāya* (R.) *show the bow to Rāma*; *āvīr ebhyo abhavat sūryaḥ* (RV.) *the sun was manifested to them*; *ṛtuparṇam bhīmāya pratyavedayan* (MBh.) *they announced Rītuparṇa to Bhīma*; *tebhyaḥ pratijñāya* (MBh.) *having promised to them*.

c. Words signifying *give attention, have a regard or feeling, aspire*, and the like: thus, *niveçāya mano dadhuḥ* (MBh.) *they set their minds upon encamping*; *mātē 'va putrēbhyo mṛḍa* (AV.) *be gracious as a mother to her sons*; *kīm asmābhyam hr̥ṣṣe* (RV.) *why art thou angry at us?* *kāmāya sprhayaty ātmā* (Spr.) *the soul longs for love*.

d. Words signifying *please, suit, conduce*, and the like: thus, *yadyad rocate viprebhyaḥ* (M.) *whatever is pleasing to Brahmins*; *tad ānantiyāya kalpate* (KU.) *that makes for immortality*.

e. Words signifying *inclination, obedience*, and the like: thus, *māhyaṁ namantām pradīçaç cātasraḥ* (RV.) *let the four quarters bow themselves to me*; *devebhyo namaṣkṛtya* (MBh.) *having paid homage to the gods*.

f. Words signifying *hurling or casting*: as *yēna dūḍāçe āsyasi* (AV.) *with which thou hurlest at the impious*.

g. In some of these constructions the genitive and locative are also used: see below.

287. In its more distinctive sense, as signifying *for, for the benefit of, with reference to*, and the like, the dative is used freely, and in a great variety of constructions. And this use passes over into that of the dative of end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, *iṣuṁ kṛṇvānā āsanāya* (AV.) *making an arrow for hurling*; *gr̥hṇāmi te sāubhagatvāya hāstam* (RV.) *I take thy hand in order to happiness*; *rāṣṭrāya māhyaṁ badhyatām sapātnebhyaḥ parābhūve* (AV.) *be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies*.

a. Such a dative is much used predicatively (and oftenest with the copula omitted), in the sense of *makes for, tends toward; also is intended for, and so must; or is liable to, and so can*. Thus, *upadeço mūrkhāṇāṁ prakopāya na çāntaye* (H.) *good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools*; *sa ca tasyāḥ saṁtoçāya nā 'bhavat* (H.) *and he was not to her satisfaction*; *sugopā asi nā dābhāya* (RV.) *thou art a good herdsman, not one for cheating* (i. e. *not to be cheated*).

b. These uses of the dative are in the older language especially illustrated by the dative infinitives, for which see 982.

288. The dative is not used with prepositions (1124).

289. Uses of the Ablative. The ablative is the *from*-case in the various senses of that preposition; it is used to express removal, separation, distinction, issue, and the like.

290. The ablative is used where expulsion, removal, distinction, release, defense, and other kindred relations are expressed: thus, *tē sedhanti pathō vṛkam* (AV.) *they drive away the wolf from the path*; *mā prā*

gāma pathāḥ (RV.) *may we not go away from the path*; *ēti vā eṣā yajñamukhāt* (MS.) *he verily goes away from the face of the sacrifice*; *ārē asmād astu hetīḥ* (AV.) *far from us be your missile*; *pātāḥ no vīkāt* (RV.) *save us from the wolf*; *āstabhnād dyām avasrāsah* (RV.) *he kept (lit. made firm) the sky from falling*.

291. The ablative is used where procedure or issue from something as from a source or starting-point is signified: thus, *çukrā kṛṣṇād ajanīṣṭa* (RV.) *the bright one has been born from the black one*; *lobhāt krodhah prabhavati* (MBh.) *passion arises from greed*; *vātāt te prāṇam avidam* (AV.) *I have won thy life-breath from the wind*; *yé prācyā diçō abhidāsanty aśmān* (AV.) *who attack us from the eastern quarter*; *tac chrutvā sakhigaṇāt* (MBh.) *having heard that from the troop of friends*; *vāyur antarikṣād abhāṣata* (MBh.) *the wind spoke from the sky*.

a. Hence also, procedure as from a cause or occasion is signified by the ablative: this is especially frequent in the later language, and in technical phraseology is a standing construction; it borders on instrumental constructions. Thus, *vājrasya çuṣṇād dadāra* (RV.) *from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder*; *yasya daṇḍabhayāt sarve dharmam anurudhyanti* (MBh.) *from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty*; *akāramiçritatvād ekārasya* (Tribh.) *because e contains an element of a*.

b. Very rarely, an ablative has the sense of *after*: thus, *agacchann ahoṛātrāt tirtham* (MBh.) *they went to the shrine after a whole day*; *ṭakārāt sakāre takāreṇa* (APr.) *after ṭ, before s, is inserted ṭ*.

292. One or two special applications of the ablative construction are to be noticed:

a. The ablative with words implying fear (terrified recoil from): thus, *tāsyā jātāyāḥ sārvaṃ abibhet* (AV.) *everything was afraid of her at her birth*; *yasmād rējanta kṛṣṭāyāḥ* (RV.) *at whom mortals tremble*; *yuṣmād bhiyā* (RV.) *through fear of you*; *yasmān no 'dviḥate lokah* (BhG.) *of whom the world is not afraid*.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, *prā ririce divā indrah pṛthivyāḥ* (RV.) *Indra is greater than the heaven and the earth*. With a comparative, or other word used in a kindred way, the ablative is the regular and almost constant construction: thus, *svādōḥ svādīyah* (RV.) *sweeter than the sweet*; *kiṃ tasmād duḥkhataram* (MBh.) *what is more painful than that?* *ko mitrād anyah* (H.) *who else than a friend?* *gā avṛṇithā mat* (AB.) *thou hast chosen the kine rather than me*; *ajñebhyo granthinah çreṣṭhā granthibhyo dhāriṇo vaṛah* (M.) *possessors of texts are better than ignorant men; rememberers are better than possessors*; *tād anyātra tvān ní dadhmasi* (AV.) *we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee*; *pūrvā vīçvasmād bhūvanāt* (RV.) *earlier than all beings*.

c. Occasionally, a probably possessive genitive is used with the comparative; or an instrumental (as in a comparison of equality): thus,

nā 'sti dhanyataro mama (R.) there is no one more fortunate than I (i. e. my superior in fortune); putram mama prāṇāir gariyasam (MBh.) a son dearer than my life.

d. Occasionally, an ablative is used instead of a partitive genitive: thus, *mithunād ekaṁ jaghāna (R.) he slew one out of the pair; tebhya ekam (KSS.) one of them.*

293. The ablative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character (1138); but all these have rather an adverbial value, as strengthening or defining the *from*-relation, than any proper governing force. We may notice here:

a. In the Veda, *ādhi* and *pāri* are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, *jātó himāvatas pāri (AV.) born from the Himalaya (forth); samudrād ādhi jajñise (AV.) thou art born from the ocean; cārantam pāri tasthūṣaḥ (RV.) moving forth from that which stands fast.*

b. Also *purā* (and *purās*), in the sense of *forward from*, and hence *before*: as, *purā jārasaḥ (RV.) before old age*; and hence also, with words of protection and the like, *from*: as *çaçamānāḥ purā nidāḥ (RV.) securing from ill-will.*

c. Also *ā*, in the sense of *hither from*, *all the way from*: as, *ā mūlād ānu çuṣyatu (AV.) let it dry completely up from the root; tasmād ā nadyò nāma stha (AV.) since that time ye are called rivers.* But usually, and especially in the later language, the measurement of interval implied in *ā* is reversed in direction, and the construction means *all the way to, until*: as *yatí giribhya ā samudrāt (RV.) going from the mountains to the ocean; ā 'ayá yajñāsyò 'dfoaḥ (VS.) until the end of this sacrifice; ā ṣoḍaçāt (M.) till the sixteenth year; ā pradānāt (V.) until her marriage.*

294. Uses of the Genitive. a. The proper value of the genitive is adjectival; it belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relating to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly. Other genitive constructions, with adjective or verb or preposition, appear to arise out of this, by a more or less distinctly traceable connection.

b. The use of the genitive has become much extended, especially in the later language, by attribution of a noun-character to the adjective, and by pregnant verbal construction, so that it often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases—as dative, instrumental, ablative, locative.

295. The genitive in its normal adjective construction with a noun or pronoun is classifiable into the usual varieties: as, genitive of possession or appurtenance, including the complement of implied relation—this is, as elsewhere, the commonest of all; the so-called partitive genitive; the subjective and objective genitives; and so on. Genitives of apposition or

equivalence (*city of Rome*), and of characteristic (*man of honor*), do not occur, and hardly that of material (*house of wood*). Examples are: *indra-sya vājraḥ Indra's thunderbolt*; *pitā putrāṇām father of sons*; *putraḥ pituḥ son of the father*; *pituḥ kāmāḥ putrasya the father's love of the son*; *ke naḥ which of us*; *çatām dāsīnām a hundred female slaves*.

a. The expression of possession etc. on the part of pronouns is made almost entirely by the genitive case, and not by a derived possessive adjective (516).

b. Exceptional cases like *nagarasya mārgaḥ the road to the city* (cf. *le chemin de Paris*), *yasyā 'haṁ dūta īpsitaḥ* (MBh.) *as messenger to whom I am wanted*, are occasionally met with.

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

a. A so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word of similar substantival value: thus, *çreṣṭhaṁ virāṇām best of heroes*; *vīrūdhām viryāvati* (AV.) *of plants the mighty (mightiest) one*.

b. Very often, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had noun-value: thus, *tasya samaḥ or anurūpaḥ or sadṛçaḥ resembling him* (i. e. *his like*); *tasya priyā dear to him* (*his dear one*); *tasyā 'viditam unknown to him* (*his unknown thing*); *hāvyaç carçaṇinām* (RV.) *to be sacrificed to by mortals* (*their object of sacrifice*); *īpsito naranāriṇām* (MBh.) *desired of men and women* (*their object of desire*); *yasya kasya prasūtaḥ* (H.) *of whomsoever born* (*his son*); *hantavyo 'smi na te* (MBh.) *I am not to be slain of thee*; *kim arthinām vañçayitavyam asti* (H.) *why should there be a deceiving of suppliants?*

c. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a genitive object: thus, *abhiññā rājadharmāṇām* (R.) *understanding the duties of a king*.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is:

a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying *give, impart, communicate*, and the like: thus, *varān pradāya 'sya* (MBh.) *having bestowed gifts upon him* (*made them his by bestowal*); *rājño niveditam* (H.) *it was made known to the king* (*made his by knowledge*); *yad anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya diyate* (M.) *that after being promised to one she is given to another*. This construction, by which the genitive becomes substitute for a dative or locative, abounds in the later language, and is extended sometimes to problematic and difficult cases.

b. A (in most cases, probably) partitive genitive, as a less complete or less absolute object than an accusative: thus, with verbs meaning *partake* (*eat, drink, etc.*), as *pība sutasya* (AV.) *drink (of) the soma*; *mādhvaḥ pāyaya* (RV.) *cause to drink the sweet draught*; — with verbs meaning *impart* (*of the thing imparted*) etc., as *dādāta no amṛtasya* (RV.) *bestow upon us immortality*; — with verbs meaning *enjoy, be satisfied or filled*

with: as, *mātsy āndhasaḥ* (RV.) *do thou enjoy the juice*; *ājyasya pūrayanti* (S.) *they fill with butter*; — with verbs meaning *perceive, note, care for, regard* with feeling of various kinds: as, *vāsiṣṭhasya stuvatā indro aṣrot* (RV.) *Indra listened to Vasiṣṭha who was praising him*; *yāthā māma smārāt* (AV.) *that he may think of me*; *tasya ukopa* (MBh.) *he was angry at him*.

c. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning *rule or have authority*: as, *tvām iṣṭe vāsūnām* (RV.) *thou art lord of good things*; *yāthā hām eṣām virājāni* (AV.) *that I may rule over them*; *katham mṛtyuḥ prabhavati vedaśāstravidām* (M.) *how has death power over those who know the Vedas and treatises?*

d. A genitive, instead of an ablative, is sometimes found used with a verb of receiving of any kind (hearing included), and with one of fearing: thus, *yo rājñāḥ pratigṛhṇāti lubdhasya* (M.) *whoever accepts a gift from a greedy king*; *ṣṣu me* (MBh.) *learn from me*; *bibhīmas tava* (MBh.) *we are afraid of thee*.

298. A genitive in its usual possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, *yāthā 'so māma kēvalaḥ* (AV.) *that thou mayest be wholly mine*; *sarvāḥ saṃpattayas tasya saṃtuṣṭaḥ yasya mānasam* (H.) *all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind*; — as objective predicate, *bhartuḥ putraḥ vijānanti* (M.) *they recognise a son as the husband's*.

299. a. The prepositional constructions of the genitive (1130) are for the most part with such prepositions as are really noun-cases and have the government of such: thus, *agre*, *arthe*, *kṛte*, and the like; also with other prepositional words which, in the general looseness of use of the genitive, have become assimilated to these. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like *upāri* *above*, or occasionally, like *adhās*, *antār*, *āti*.

b. A genitive is occasionally used in the older language with an adverb, either of place or of time: thus, *yātra kvā ca kurukṣetrāsya* (CB.) *in whatever part of Kurukṣetra*; *yātra tū bhūmer jāyeta* (MS.) *on what spot of earth he may be born*; *idānim āhnaḥ* (RV.) *at this time of the day*; *yasyā rātryaḥ prātāḥ* (MS.) *on the morn of what night*; *dvīḥ saṃvatsarasya* (K.) *twice a year*. Such expression as the last occur also later.

300. a. The genitive is very little used adverbially; a few genitives of time occur in the older language: as, *aktos* *by night*, *vastos* *by day*; and there are found later such cases as *kaśya cit kālasya* (Ṣ) *after a certain time*; *tataḥ kālasya mahataḥ prayayāu* (R.) *then after a long time he went forth*.

b. A genitive, originally of possession, passing over into one of general concernment, comes in the later language (the construction is unknown earlier) to be used absolutely, with an agreeing participle, or quite rarely

an adjective. Form such cases as the following—*paçyato bakamürkhasya nakulāir bhakṣitāḥ autāḥ* (H.) *of the foolish heron, while he looked on, the grung were eaten by the ichneumons*, or *gato 'rdharātrah kathāḥ kathayato mama* (KSS.) *half my night was passed in telling stories*, or *kartavyasya karmaṇaḥ kṣipram akriyamāṇasya kalāḥ pibati tadasam* (H.) *of a work needing to be done but left undone time quickly drinks up its essence*—come into currency, by increasing independence of the genitive, such other cases as: *divaṁ jagāma munināḥ paçyatāṁ tadā* (H.) *he went then to heaven, the ascetics looking on*; *evāḥ lālapatas tasya devadūtas tadā 'bhyetya vākyam āha* (MBh.) *as he thus lamented, a divine messenger coming addressed him*; *iti vādina evā 'sya dhenur āvavṛte vanāt* (Ragh.) *while he thus spoke, the cow came from the forest*. The genitive always indicates a living actor, and the participle is usually one of seeing or hearing or uttering, especially the former. The construction is said by the Hindu grammarians to convey an implication of disregard or despite; and such is often to be recognized in it, though not prevailingly.

301. Uses of the Locative. a. The locative is properly the *in*-case, the case expressing situation or location; but its sphere of use has been somewhat extended, so as to touch and overlap the boundaries of other cases, for which it seems to be a substitute.

b. Unimportant variations of the sense of *in* are those of *amid* or *among*, *on*, and *at*. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied to yet less physical relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.

c. Moreover, by a pregnant construction, the locative is used to denote the place of rest or cessation of action or motion (*into* or *on to* instead of *in* or *on*; German *in* with accusative instead of dative: compare English *there* for *thither*).

302. a. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration. An example or two are: *yé devā divī sthā* (AV.) *which of you gods are in heaven*; *na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu tādṛk* (MBh.) *not among gods or Yakshas is such a one*; *pārvatasya prsthé* (RV.) *on the ridge of the mountain*; *vidāthe santu devāḥ* (RV.) *may the gods be at the assembly*; *daçame pade* (MBh.) *at the tenth step*.

b. The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, *asā uśāso vyūṣṭāu* (RV.) *at the shining forth of this dawn*; *etasminn ēva kāle* (MBh.) *at just that time*; *dvādaçe varṣe* (MBh.) *in the twelfth year*. That the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative, was pointed out above (276 c).

c. The person with whom, instead of the place at which, one is or remains is put in the locative: thus, *tiṣṭhanty asmin paçāvah* (MS.) *animals abide with him*; *gurāu vasan* (M.) *living at a teacher's*; and, pregnantly, *tāvat trayi bhaviṣyāmi* (MBh.) *so long will I cleave to thee*.

303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, *māde āhim indro jaghāna* (RV.) *in fury Indra slew the dragon*; *mitrāsya sumatāu syāma* (RV.) *may we be in the favor of Mitra*; *te vacane ratam* (MBh.) *delighted in thy words*.

a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for *in the matter or case of*, or *with reference to*, *respecting*, and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, *ē 'mām bhaja grāme ācveṇu gōṇu* (AV.) *be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle*; *tām it sakhitvā imahe* (RV.) *him we beg for friendship*; *upāyo 'yam mayā dṛṣṭa ānayane tava* (MBh.) *this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither*; *satitve kārapaṁ striyāḥ* (H.) *the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity*; *na cakto 'bhavan nivāraṇe* (MBh.) *he was not capable of preventing*.

b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the earliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later. Transitional examples are: *hāve tvā sūra ūdite hāve madhyāndine divāḥ* (RV.) *I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day*; *aparādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me kopāḥ* (MBh.) *and even in case of an offence committed, there is no anger on my part*.

c. The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, *stirṇe barhiṣi samidhāne agnāu* (RV.) *when the barhis is strewn and the fire kindled*; *kāle ṣubhe prāpte* (MBh.) *a propitious time having arrived*; *avasannāyām rātrāv astācala-cūḍśvalambini candramasi* (H.) *the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain*.

d. But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbial substitute (as *evam*, *tathā*, *iti*): thus, *varṣati* *when it rains*; [*sūrye*] *astamite* *after sunset*; *ādityasya dīḡyamāne* (S.) *while there is seen [some part] of the sun*; *ity ardhokte* (Ç.) *with these words half uttered*; *asmābhiḥ samanujñāte* (MBh.) *it being fully assented to by us*; *evam ukte kalinā* (MBh.) *it being thus spoken by Kali*; *tathā 'nuṣṭhite* (H.) *it being thus accomplished*. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula *sati* or the like having to be supplied): thus, *dūre bhaye* *the cause of fear being remote*; while, on the other hand, the participle *sati* etc. is sometimes redundantly added to the other participle: thus, *tathā kṛte sati* *it being thus done*.

e. The locative is frequently used adverbially or prepositionally (1116): thus, *arthe* or *-kṛte* *in the matter of, for the sake of*; *agre* *in front of*; *ṛte* *without*; *samīpe* *near*.

304. The pregnant construction by which the locative comes to express the goal or object of motion or action or feeling exercised is not

uncommon from the earliest time. It is by no means to be sharply distinguished from the ordinary construction; the two pass into one another, with a doubtful territory between. It occurs:

a. Especially with verbs, as of arriving, sending, placing, communicating, bestowing, and many others, in situations where an accusative or a dative (or a genitive, 297 a) might be looked for, and exchangeable with them: thus, *sá id devéṣu gacchati* (RV.) *that, truly, goes to (to be among) the gods*; *imám no yajñám amṛteṣu dhehi* (RV.) *set this offering of ours among the immortals*; *yá āsiñcānti rāsam ōṣadhiṣu* (AV.) *who pour in the juice into the plants (or, the juice that is in the plants)*; *mā prayacche "ṣvare dhanam* (H.) *do not offer wealth to a lord*; *papāta medinyām* (MBh.) *he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth*; *akandhe kṛtvā* (H.) *putting on the shoulder*; *sañcṛutya pūrvam asmāsu* (MBh.) *having before promised us*.

b. Often also with nouns and adjectives in similar constructions (the instances not always easy to separate from those of the locative meaning with reference to: above, 303 a): thus, *dayā sarvabhūteṣu* *compassion toward all creatures*; *anurāgañ nāiśadhe* (MBh.) *affection for the Nishadhan*; *rājā samyag vṛttaḥ sadā tvayi* (MBh.) *the king has always behaved properly toward thee*.

305. The prepositions construed with the locative (1126) stand to it only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its meaning.

306. Declensional forms are made by the addition of endings to the stem, or base of inflection.

a. The stem itself, however, in many words and classes of words, is liable to variation, especially assuming a stronger form in some cases and a weaker in others.

b. And between stem and ending are sometimes inserted connecting elements (or what, in the recorded condition of the language, have the aspect of being such).

c. Respecting all these points, the details of treatment, as exhibited by each class of words or by single words, will be given in the following chapters. Here, however, it is desirable also to present a brief general view of them.

307. Endings: Singular. a. In the nominative, the usual masc. and fem. ending is *a* — which, however, is wanting in derivative *a* and *i*-stems; it is also euphonically lost (150) by consonant-stems. Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case the bare stem; *a*-stems alone add *m* (as in the accus. masc.). Among the pronouns, *am* is a frequent masc. and fem. nom. ending (and is found even in du. and pl.); and neuters show a form in *d*.

b. In the accusative, *m* or *am* is the masc. and fem. ending — *am* being added after a consonant and *r*, and after *i* and *ū* in the radical division, and *m* elsewhere after vowels. The neuter accusative is like the nominative.

c. The instrumental ending for all genders alike is *ā*. With final *i*- and *u*-vowels, the *ā* is variously combined, and in the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them. Stems in *a* make the case end in *ena* (sometimes *enā* in V.), and those in *ā* make it end in *ayā*; but instances occur, in the early language, of immediate addition of *ā* to both *a* and *ā*.

d. The dative ending is in general *e*; and with it likewise the modes of combination of *i* and *u* final are various (and disappearance by contraction not unknown in the oldest language). The *a*-stems are quite irregular in this case, making it end in *āya* — excepted is the pronominal element *-ama*, which combines (apparently) with *e* to *-amāi*. In the personal pronouns is found *bhyam* (or *hyam*).

e. A fuller ending *āi* (like gen.-abl. *ās* and loc. *ām*: see below) belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interposed *y*) by the great class of those in derivative *ā*; also by those in derivative *i*, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative *ū*. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical *i* and *ū*, and even by those in *i* and *u*: these last have it in the earliest language in only exceptional instances. For the substitution of *āi* for abl.-gen. *ās*, see below, h.

f. The ablative has a special ending, *d* (or *t*), only in *a*-stems, masc. and neut., the *a* being lengthened before it (except in the personal pronouns of 1st and 2d person, which have the same ending as in the pl., and even, in the old language, in the dual). Everywhere else, the ablative is identical with the genitive.

g. The genitive of *a*-stems (and of one pronominal *u*-stem, *amu*) adds *aya*. Elsewhere, the usual abl.-gen. ending is *as*; but its irregularities of treatment in combination with a stem-final are considerable. With *i* and *u*, it is either directly added (only in the old language), added with interposed *n*, or fused to *es* and *os* respectively. With *r* (or *ar*) it yields *ur* (or *us*: 100 b).

h. The fuller *ās* is taken by feminine stems precisely as *āi* is taken in the dative: see above. But in the language of the Brāhmapas and Sūtras, the dative-ending *āi* is regularly and commonly used instead of *ās*, both of ablative and of genitive. See 365 d.

i. The locative ending is *i* in consonant- and *r*- and *a*-stems (fusing with *a* to *e* in the latter). The *i*- and *u*-stems (unless the final vowel is saved by an interposed *n*) make the case end in *āu*; but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms (*ay-i* [?] and *av-i*) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives

from i-stems end also in ā and ī. The pronominal element -sma makes the locative -smin. Stems in an in the older language often lose the i, and use the bare stem as locative.

J. The ending ām is the locative correspondent to dat. ai and abl-gen. ās, and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.

k. The vocative (unless by accent: 314) is distinguished from the nominative only in the singular, and not quite always there. In a-stems, it is the unaltered stem, and so also in most consonant-stems; but neuters in an and in may drop the n; and the oldest language has sometimes a vocative in s from stems in nt and ns. Stems in r change this to ar. In masc. and fem. i- and u-stems, the case ends respectively in e and o; in neuters, in the same or in ī and ū. Stems in ā change ā to e; derivative ī and ū are shortened; radical stems in long vowels use the nominative form.

308. Dual. a. The dual has—except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nominative and accusative by a difference of accent: 314—only three case-forms: one for nom., accus., and voc.; one for instr., dat., and abl.; and one for gen. and loc.

b. But the pronouns of 1st and 2d person in the older language distinguish five dual cases: see 492 b.

c. The masc. and fem. ending for nom.-accus.-voc. is in the later language usually āu; but instead of this the Veda has pre-vaillingly ā. Stems in ā make the case end in e. Stems in ī and ū, masc. and fem., lengthen those vowels; and derivative ī in the Veda remains regularly unchanged, though later it adds āu. The neuter ending is only ī; with final a this combines to e.

d. The universal ending for the instr.-dat.-abl. is bhyām, before which final a is made long. In the Veda, it is often to be read as two syllables, bhiām.

e. The universal ending of gen.-loc. is oḥ; before this, a and ā alike become e (ai).

309. Plural. a. In the nominative, the general masculine and feminine ending is ās. The old language, however, often makes the case in āsas instead of ās from a-stems, and in a few examples also from ā-stems. From derivative i-stems, īs instead of yas is the regular and usual Vedic form. Pronominal a-stems make the masc. nom. in e.

b. The neuter ending (which is accusative also) is in general ī; and before this the final of a stem is apt to be strengthened, by prolongation of a vowel, or by insertion of a nasal, or by both. But in the Veda the hence resulting forms in āni, īni, ūni are frequently abbreviated by loss of the ni, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.

c. The accusative ending is also *as* in consonant-stems and in the radical division of *i*- and *ū*-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine *n* (for *nas*, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine *s*. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.

d. In the instrumental, the case-ending is everywhere *bhis* except in *a*-stems, where in the later language the case always ends in *ais*, but in the earlier either in *āis* or the more regular *ebhis* (*ābhis* in the two personal pronouns; and the pronominal stem *a* [501] makes *ebhis* only).

e. The dative and ablative have in the plural the same form, with the ending *bhyas* (in Veda often *bhiyas*), before which only *a* is altered, becoming *e*. But the two personal pronouns distinguish the two cases, having for the ablative the singular ending (as above pointed out), and for the dative the peculiar *bhyam* (almost never in Veda *bhiyam*), which they extend also into the singular.

f. Of the genitive, the universal ending is *ām*; which (except optionally after radical *i* and *ū*, and in a few scattering Vedic instances) takes after final vowels an inserted consonant, *s* in the pronominal declension, *n* elsewhere; before *n*, a short vowel is lengthened; before *s*, *a* becomes *e*. In the Veda, it is frequently to be pronounced in two syllables, as *a-am*.

g. The locative ending is *su*, without any exceptions, and the only change before it is that of *a* to *e*.

h. The vocative, as in the dual, differs from the nominative only by its accent.

310. The normal scheme of endings, as recognized by the native grammarians (and conveniently to be assumed as the basis of special descriptions), is this:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
	m. f. n.	m. f. n.	m. f. n.
N.	<i>s</i> —	<i>āu ī</i>	<i>as ī</i>
A.	<i>am</i> —	<i>āu ī</i>	<i>as ī</i>
I.	<i>ā</i>	<i>bhyām</i>	<i>bhis</i>
D.	<i>e</i>	<i>bhyām</i>	<i>bhyas</i>
Ab.	<i>as</i>	<i>bhyām</i>	<i>bhyas</i>
G.	<i>as</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>ām</i>
L.	<i>i</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>su</i>

a. It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems and by the radical division of *i*- and *ū*-stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are *bhyām* and *os* of the dual, and *bhis*, *bhyas*, *ām*, and *su* of the plural.

311. Variation of Stem. a. By far the most important matter under this head is the distinction made in large classes of words (chiefly those ending in consonants) between strong and weak stem-forms — a distinction standing in evident connection with the phenomena of accent. In the nom. and accus. sing. and du. and the nom. pl. (the five cases whose endings are never accented: 316 a), the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example (424), राजानम् *rājān-am*, राजानौ *rājān-āu*, राजानम् *rājān-as*, against राजा *rājā-ā* and राजभिन् *rāja-bhis*; or (450 b) महात्तम् *mahānt-am* and (447) अदत्तम् *adānt-am* against महात्ता *mahat-ā* and अदत्ता *adat-ā*. These five, therefore, are called the cases with strong stem, or, briefly, the strong cases; and the rest are called the cases with weak stem, or the weak cases. And the weak cases, again, are in some classes of words to be distinguished into cases of weakest stem, or weakest cases, and cases of middle stem, or middle cases: the former having endings beginning with a vowel (instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., gen.-loc. du.; acc. and gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (instr.-dat.-abl. du.; instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

b. The class of strong cases, as above defined, belongs only to masculine and feminine stems. In neuter inflection, the only strong cases are the nom.-acc. pl.; while, in those stems that make a distinction of weakest and middle form, the nom.-acc. du. belongs to the weakest class, and the nom.-acc. sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare (408) प्रत्यञ्चि *pratyāñc-i*, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यञ्चम् *pratyāñc-as*, nom. pl. masc.; प्रतीची *pratīcī-ī*, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रतीचीन् *pratīcī-ōs*, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यक् *pratyāk*, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यग्भिन् *pratyāg-bhis*, instr. pl.

312. Other variations concern chiefly the final vowel of a stem, and may be mainly left to be pointed out in detail below. Of consequence

enough to mention here is only the **gūṇa**-strengthening of a final **i** or **u**, which in the later language is always made before **as** of nom. pl. and **e** of dat. sing. in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing. Final **r** has **gūṇa**-strengthening in loc. sing.

313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added **n** often makes its appearance before an ending. The appendage is of least questionable origin in nom.-acc. pl. neut., where the interchange in the old language of the forms of **a-** and **i-**stems with those of **an-** and **in-**stems is pretty complete; and the **u-**stems follow their analogy. Elsewhere, it is most widely and firmly established in the gen. pl., where in the great mass of cases, and from the earliest period, the ending is virtually **nām** after a vowel. In the **i-** and **u-**stems of the later language, the instr. sing. of masc. and neut. is separated by its presence from the fem., and it is in the other weakest cases made a usual distinction of neuter forms from masculine; but the aspect of the matter in the Veda is very different: there the appearance of the **n** is everywhere sporadic; the neuter shows no special inclination to take it, and it is not excluded even from the feminine. In the ending **ena** from **a-**stems (later invariable, earlier predominating) its presence appears to have worked the most considerable transformation of original shape.

a. The place of **n** before gen. pl. **ām** is taken by **s** in pronominal **a-** and **ā-**stems.

b. The **y** after **ā** before the endings **āi**, **ās**, and **ām** is most probably an insertion, such as is made elsewhere (258).

Accent in Declension.

314. a. As a rule without exception, the vocative, if accented at all, is accented on the first syllable.

b. And in the Veda (the case is a rare one), whenever a syllable written as one is to be pronounced as two by restoration of a semivowel to vowel form, the first element only has the vocative accent, and the syllable as written is circumflex (83-4): thus, **dyāūs** (i. e. **dīāūs**) when dissyllabic, but **dyāūs** when monosyllabic; **jyāke** when for **jīāke**.

c. But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence—or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or **pāda**; elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus, **āgne yām yajñām paribhūr āsi** (RV.) *O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest*; but **ūpa tvā 'gna é 'masi** (RV.) *unto thee, Agni, we come*.

d. A word, or more than one word, qualifying a vocative—usually an adjective or appositive noun, but sometimes a dependent noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case)—constitutes, so far as accent is

concerned, a unity with the vocative: thus (all the examples from RV.), at the beginning of a pāda, with first syllable of the combination accented, *indra brātaḥ O brother Indra! rājan soma O king Soma! yāviṣṭha dūta most youthful messenger! hōtar yaviṣṭha sukrato most youthful skilled offerer! ūrjo napāt sahasvan mighty son of strength!* — in the interior of a pāda, without accent, *sómāsa indra girvanāḥ the somas, O song-loving Indra! tāv aṣvinā bhadraḥastā supāpi ye, O Aśvins of propitious and beautiful hands! ā rājānā maha ṛtasya gopā hither, ye two kingly guardians of great order!*

e. On the other hand, two or more independent or coördinate vocatives at the beginning of a pāda are regularly and usually both accented: thus, *pitar mātāḥ O father! O mother! āgna indra varuṇa mitra dévāḥ Agni! Indra! Varuṇa! Mitra! gods! çātamūte çātakrato thou of a hundred aids! of a hundred arts! vásiṣṭha çūkra didīvaḥ pávaka best, bright, shining, cleansing one! ūrjo napād bhādraçoce son of strength, propitiously bright one!* But the texts offer occasional irregular exceptions both to this and to the preceding rule.

f. For brevity, the vocative dual and plural will be given in the paradigms below along with the nominative, without taking the trouble to specify in each instance that, if the latter be accented elsewhere than on the first syllable, the accent of the vocative is different.

315. As regards the other cases, rules for change of accent in declension have to do only with monosyllables and with stems of more than one syllable which are accented on the final; for, if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back — as is *sárpant, vāri, bhāgavant, sumānas, sahāsravāja* — the accent remains upon that syllable through the whole inflection (except in the vocative, as explained in the preceding paragraph).

a. The only exceptions are a few numeral stems: see 483.

316. Stems accented on the final (including monosyllables) are subject to variation of accent in declension chiefly in virtue of the fact that some of the endings have, while others have not, or have in less degree, a tendency themselves to take the accent. Thus:

a. The endings of the nominative and accusative singular and dual and of the nominative plural (that is to say, of the strong cases: 311) have no tendency to take the accent away from the stem, and are therefore only accented when a final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the ending are blended together into a single vowel or diphthong. Thus, from *dattā* come *dattāu* (= *dattā + āu*) and *dattās* (= *dattā + as*); but from *nadī* come *nadyāu* (= *nadī + āu*) and *nadyas* (= *nadī + as*).

b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning with a vowel (i. e. of the weakest cases: 311) do so more readily than those beginning with a consonant (i. e. of the middle cases: 311). Thus, from *pāūs* come *nāyā* and *nāubbis*; from *mahānt*, however, come *mahatā* but *mahādbhis*.

The general rules of accent, then, may be thus stated:

317. In the declension of monosyllabic stems, the accent falls upon the ending in all the weak cases (without distinction of middle and weakest): thus, *nāvá, nāubhyám, nāvám, nāuṣ; váci, vāgbhis, vācám, vāṇu*.

a. But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout: thus, *gōbbhis, gāvām, gōṣu*. For such cases, see below, **350, 361 c, d, 372, 390, 427**. And in the acc. pl. the stem is even oftener accented than the ending, some words also admitting either accentuation.

318. Of polysyllabic stems ending in consonants, only a few shift the accent to the ending, and that in the weakest (not the middle) cases. Such are:

a. Present participles in *ánt* or *át*: thus, from *tudánt, tudatá* and *tudatós* and *tudatám*; but *tudádbhyám* and *tudátu*.

b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles, as *mahatá, bṛhatás*.

c. Stems of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncope of the vowel: thus, *majjñá, mürdhné, dāmnás* (from *majján* etc.: **423**).

d. Other sporadic cases will be noticed under the different declensions.

e. Case-forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see **1110 ff.**

319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowels the final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, *datténa* and *dattāya* from *dattá*; *agnína* and *agnáye* from *agní*; and also *dattébhyas, agníbhis*, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in *dattáś, dhenāú, agnín, dhenús*, and so on: or whether the final is changed into a semivowel before the ending: thus, *dhervá, pítirá, jāmyós, bāhvós*, etc.

a. But *ām* of the gen. pl. from stems in *í* and *ú* and *ṛ* may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by *n* from the stem: thus, *agninām, dhenūnām, pítṛnām*. In RV., even derivative *i*-stems show usually the same shift: thus, *bahvinām*. Of stems in *á*, only numerals (**483 a**) follow this rule: thus, *saptānām, daçānām*.

320. Root-words in *ī* and *ū* as final members of compounds retain the accent throughout, not shifting it to any of the endings. And in the older language there are polysyllabic words in long final vowels which follow in this respect as in others the analogy of the root-declension (below, **355 ff.**). Apart from these, the treatment of stems in derivative long vowels is, as regards accent, the same as of those in short vowels — save that the tone is not thrown forward upon the ending in gen. plural.

CHAPTER V.

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

321. a. THE accordance in inflection of substantive and adjective stems is so complete that the two cannot be separated in treatment from one another.

b. They may be classified, for convenience of description, as follows:

I. Stems in अ a;

II. Stems in इ i and उ u;

III. Stems in आ ā, ई ī, and ऊ ū: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;

IV. Stems in अर r (or अर् ar);

V. Stems in consonants.

o. There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in a are here treated first because of the great predominance of the class.

322. The division-line between substantive and adjective, always an uncertain one in early Indo-European language, is even more wavering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above — unless we except the stems in r or ar — words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective stems with peculiarities of inflection to which there is among nouns nothing corresponding. But there are also two considerable classes of adjective-compounds, requiring special notice: namely —

323. Compound adjectives having as final member a bare verbal root, with the value of a present participle (363 a ff.): thus, सु-दृक् *well-looking*; प्रा-बुध् *foreknowing*; अ-द्रुह् *not hating*; वेदा-विद् *Veda-knowing*; व्यूहा-हन् *Vitru-slaying*; उपस्था-सद् *sitting in the lap*. Every root is liable to be used in this way, and such compounds are not infrequent in all ages of the language: see chapter on Compounds, below (1269).

a. This class is essentially only a special class of compound adjectives, since in the earliest Veda the simple as well as the compounded root was sometimes used adjectively. But the compounded root was from the beginning much more often so used, and the later the more exclusively, so that practically the class is a separate and important one.

324. Compound adjectives having a noun as final member, but obtaining an adjective sense secondarily, by having the idea of possession added, and being inflected as adjectives in the three genders (1293 ff.). Thus, *prajākāmā* *desire of progeny*, whence the adjective *prajākāma*, meaning *desirous* (i. e. *having desire*) of progeny; *sabhārya* (sa + bhāryā) *having one's wife along*; and so on.

a. In a few cases, also, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member (1309-10): thus, *stimātra* *immoderate* (*ati mātram beyond measure*); *yāvayāddvṛṇas* *driving away enemies*.

325. Hence, under each declension, we have to notice how a root or a noun-stem of that declension is inflected when final member of an adjective compound.

a. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked here that a root-word ending a compound has the accent, but (320) loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone forward upon the ending (except añc in certain old forms: 410).

Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in *ū* a.

326. a. This declension contains the majority of all the declined stems of the language.

b. Its endings deviate more widely than any others from the normal.

327. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. masc. has the normal ending *a*.

b. The acc. (masc. and neut.) adda *m* (not *am*); and this form has the office also of nom. neuter.

c. The instr. changes *a* to *ena* uniformly in the later language; and even in the oldest Vedic this is the predominant ending (in RV., eight ninths of all cases). Its final *i* in Vedic verse frequently made long (*enā*). But the normal ending *ā* — thus, *yajñā*, *suhāvā*, *mahitvā* (for *yajñēna* etc.) — is also not rare in the Veda.

d. The dat. has *āya* (as if by adding *aya* to *a*), alike in all ages of the language.

e. The abl. has *t* (or doubtless *d*: it is impossible from the evidence of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending),

before which *a* is made long: this ending is found in no other noun-declension, and elsewhere only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

f. The gen. has *aya* added to the final *a*; and this ending is also limited to *a*-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun *amúṣya*: 501). Its final *a* is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its *y* is vocalized (*asia*) almost as rarely.

g. The loc. ends in *e* (as if by combining the normal ending *i* with the final of the stem), without exception.

h. The voc. is the bare stem.

328. Dual. a. The dual endings in general are the normal ones.

b. The nom., acc., and voc. masc. end in the later language always in *āu*. In the Veda, however, the usual ending is simple *ā* (in RV., in seven eighths of the occurrences). The same cases in the neut. end in *e*, which appears to be the result of fusion of the stem-final with the normal ending *i*.

c. The instr., dat., and abl. have *bhyām* (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into *bhiām*), with the stem-final lengthened to *ā* before it.

d. The gen. and loc. have a *y* inserted after the stem-final before *os* (or as if the *a* had been changed to *e*). In one or two (doubtful) Vedic instances (as also in the pronominal forms *enos* and *yos*), *oā* is substituted for the final *a*.

329. Plural. a. The nom. masc. has in the later language the normal ending *as* combined with the final *a* to *ās*. But in the Veda the ending *āsas* instead is frequent (one third of the occurrences in RV., but only one twenty-fifth in the peculiar parts of AV.).

b. The acc. masc. ends in *ān* (for earlier *āns*, of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonic combination, even in the later language: see above, 208 ff.).

c. The nom. and acc. neut. have in the later language always the ending *āni* (like the *an*-stems: see 421; or else with *n*, as in the gen. pl., before normal *i*). But in the Veda this ending alternates with simple *ā* (which in RV. is to *āni* as three to two, in point of frequency; in AV., as three to four).

d. The instr. ends later always in *āis*; but in the Veda is found abundantly the more normal form *ebhis* (in RV., nearly as frequent as *āis*; in AV., only one fifth as frequent).

e. The dat. and abl. have *bhyas* as ending, with *e* instead of the final *a* before it (as in the Vedic instr. *ebhis*, the loc. pl., the gen. loc. du. [y], and the instr. sing.). The resolution into *ebhis* is not infrequent in the Veda.

f. The gen. ends in *ānām*, the final *a* being lengthened and having *n* inserted before the normal ending. The *ā* of the ending is not seldom (in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, *aam*: opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only. A

very small number (half-a-dozen) of examples of simple *ām* as ending instead of *ānām* occur in RV.

g. The loc. ends in *eṣu* — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to *e* (with consequent change of *a* to *ṣ*: 180).

h. Of accent, in this declension, nothing requires to be said; the syllable accented in the stem retains its own accent throughout.

330. Examples of declension. As examples of the inflection of *a*-stems may be taken काम *kāma* m. *love*; देव *deva* m. *god*; मास्य *āsyā* n. *mouth*.

Singular:

N.	कामस् <i>kāmas</i>	देवस् <i>devās</i>	मास्यम् <i>āsyām</i>
A.	कामम् <i>kāmam</i>	देवम् <i>devām</i>	मास्यम् <i>āsyām</i>
I.	कामेन <i>kāmena</i>	देवेन <i>devēna</i>	मास्येन <i>āsyēna</i>
D.	कामाय <i>kāmāya</i>	देवाय <i>devāya</i>	मास्याय <i>āsyāya</i>
Ab.	कामात् <i>kāmāt</i>	देवात् <i>devāt</i>	मास्यात् <i>āsyāt</i>
G.	कामस्य <i>kāmasya</i>	देवस्य <i>devāsya</i>	मास्यस्य <i>āsyāsya</i>
L.	कामे <i>kāme</i>	देवे <i>devé</i>	मास्ये <i>āsyé</i>
V.	काम <i>kāma</i>	देव <i>dēva</i>	मास्य <i>āsyā</i>

Dual:

N. A. V.	कामौ <i>kāmāu</i>	देवौ <i>devāu</i>	मास्ये <i>āsyé</i>
I. D. Ab.	कामाभ्याम् <i>kāmābhyām</i>	देवाभ्याम् <i>devābhyām</i>	मास्याभ्याम् <i>āsyābhyām</i>
G. L.	कामयोस् <i>kāmayos</i>	देवयोस् <i>devāyos</i>	मास्ययोस् <i>āsyāyos</i>

Plural:

N. V.	कामान् <i>kāmāa</i>	देवान् <i>devāa</i>	मास्यानि <i>āsyāni</i>
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A.	कामान् kā mān	देवान् devān	आस्यानि āsyāni
I.	कामिम् kā māis	देविम् devāis	आस्यैम् āsyāis
D. Ab.	कामेभ्यम् kā mebhyaḥ	देवेभ्यम् devēbhyaḥ	आस्येभ्यम् āsyēbhyaḥ
G.	कामानाम् kā mānām	देवानाम् devānām	आस्यानाम् āsyānām
L.	कामेषु kā meṣu	देवेषु devēṣu	आस्येषु āsyēṣu

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

a. Sing.: Instr. *raṇāthenā*, *yajñā* (such genitive forms as *āqvasā* are purely sporadic).

b. Du.: nom. etc. masc. *devā*; gen.-loc. *pastyōs* (stem *pastyā*).

c. Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. *devāsas*; neut. *yugā*; Instr. *devēbhis*; gen. *carāthām*, *devānaam*.

331. Among nouns, there are no irregularities in this declension. For irregular numeral bases in *a* (or *an*), see 483-4. For the irregularities of pronominal stems in *a*, which are more or less fully shared also by a few adjectives of pronominal kindred, see the chapter on Pronouns (495 ff).

Adjectives.

332. Original adjectives in *a* are an exceedingly large class, the great majority of all adjectives. There is, however, no such thing as a feminine stem in *a*; for the feminine, the *a* is changed to *ā*—or often, though far less often, to *i*; and its declension is then like that of *sonā* or *devī* (364). An example of the complete declension of an adjective *a*-stem in the three genders will be given below (368).

a. Whether a masc.-neut. stem in *a* shall form its feminine in *ā* or in *i* is a question to be determined in great part only by actual usage, and not by grammatical rule. Certain important classes of words, however, can be pointed out which take the less common ending *i* for the feminine: thus, 1. the (very numerous) secondary derivatives in *a* with *vṛddhi* of the first syllable (1204): e. g. *āmitrā -trī*, *mānuṣa -ṣī*, *pāvamānā -nī*, *pāurṇamāsā -sī*; 2. primary derivatives in *ana* with accent on the radical syllable (1150): e. g. *oōdana -nī*, *saṁgrāhaṇa -ṇī*, *subhāgaṁkāraṇa -nī*; 3. primary derivatives in *a*, with strengthening of the radical syllable, having a quasi-participial meaning: e. g. *divākara -rī*, *avakramā -mī*,

rathavāhā -hī (but there are many exceptions); 4. secondary derivatives in *maya* (1225) and *tana* (1245 e): e. g. *ayaśmāya -yī*; *adyatana -nī*; 5. most ordinal numerals (457 h): e. g. *pañcamā -mī*, *navadaśā -cī*, *triṅcattamā -mī*. Not a few words make the feminine in either *ā* or *ī*: e. g. *kévalā* or *-lī*, *ugrā* or *-rī*, *pāpā* or *-pī*, *rāmā* or *-mī*; but ordinarily only one of these is accepted as regular.

333. There are no verbal roots ending in *a*. But *a* is sometimes substituted for the final *ā* of a root (and, rarely, for final *an*), and it is then inflected like an ordinary adjective in *a* (see below, 354).

334. *a*. A noun ending in *a*, when occurring as final member of an adjective compound, is inflected like an original adjective in *a*, making its feminine likewise in *ā* or *ī* (367).

b. For the most part, an adjective compound having a noun in *a* as final member makes its feminine in *ā*. But there are numerous exceptions, certain nouns taking, usually or always, *ī* instead. Some of the commonest of these are as follows: *akṣa eye* (e. g. *lohitaṅkṣī*, *dvyakṣī*, *gavākṣī*), *parṇa leaf* (e. g. *tilaparṇī*, *saptaparṇī*; but *ekaparṇā*), *mukha face* (e. g. *kṛṣṇamukhī*, *dur mukhī*; but *trimukhā* etc.), *aṅga limb, body* (e. g. *anavadyāṅgī*, *sarvāṅgī*; but *caturāṅgā* etc.), *keśa hair* (e. g. *sukeṣī*, *muktakeṣī* or *-ṣā*, etc.), *kārṇa ear* (e. g. *mahākārṇī*; but *gokārṇā* etc.), *udara belly* (e. g. *lambodarī*), *mūla root* (e. g. *pañcamūlī*; but oftener *ṣatāmūlā* etc.). The very great majority of such nouns (as the examples indicate) signify parts of the body.

c. On the other hand, a feminine noun ending in derivative *ā* shortens its final to *a* to form a masculine and neuter base: see 367 c.

d. In frequent cases, nouns of consonant ending are, as finals of compounds, transferred to the *a*-declension by an added suffix *a* (1207 a) or *ka* (1222).

Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in *ṣ i* and *ṣ u*.

335. The stems in *ṣ i* and *ṣ u* are inflected in so close accordance with one another that they cannot be divided into two separate declensions. They are of all the three genders, and tolerably numerous — those in *ṣ i* more numerous than those in *ṣ u*, especially in the feminine (there are more neuters in *ṣ u* than in *ṣ i*).

a. The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the irregularities in the older language are numerous.

336. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. masc. and fem. adds to the stem the normal ending *s*. The nom. and acc. neut. is the bare stem, without ending. In the Veda, the final *u* of a few neuters is lengthened (248 b): thus, *urū*, *purū*.

b. The acc. masc. and fem. adds *m* to the stem. Vedic forms in *iam* and *uam*, and, with *n*, *inam* and *unam*, are excessively rare, and doubtful.

c. The instr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending *ā* simply, while the masc. and neut. insert *n* before it, making *inā* and *unā*. But in the Veda, forms in *yā* and *vā* (or *iā* and *uā*) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while *inā* is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. *yā* is often (in two-thirds of the occurrences) contracted to *i*; and this is even sometimes shortened to *i*. An adverbial instr. in *uyā* from half-a-dozen stems in *u* occurs.

d. The dat. masc. and fem. gunates the final of the stem before the ending *e*, making *aye* and *ave*. These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal *ye* and *ve* (or *ue*) also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the form *i* for *ie*. In the later language, the neuter is required in this, as in all the other weakest cases, to insert *n* before the normal ending: but in the Veda such forms are only sporadic; and the neut. dat. has also the forms *aye*, *ve*, *ave*, like the other genders.

e. The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending *s* with gunated vowel before it: thus, *es*, *os*; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although *unas*, required later, is also not infrequent (*inas* does not occur). But the normal forms *yas* (or *ias*) and *vas* (or *uas*) are also frequent in both masc. and neuter. As masc. ending, *unas* occurs twice in RV. The anomalous *didyót* (so TS.; in the corresponding passages, *vidyót* VS., *didyāut* K., *didivās* MS.) is of doubtful character.

f. The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language *āu*, replacing both finals, *i* and *u*. And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the *i*-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc. in *ā*: thus, *agnā*; and this is found once even in the neuter. The RV. has a number of examples of masc. and neut. locatives in *avi* (the normal ending and the *u* gunated before it) from *u*-stems; and certain doubtful traces of a corresponding *ayi* from *i*-stems. Half-a-dozen locatives in *ī* (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as *praghyā* or uncombinable: 138 d) are made from *i*-stems. The later language makes the neuter locatives in *ini* and *uni*; but the former never occurs in the oldest texts, and the latter only very rarely.

g. The later grammar allows the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. fem. to be formed at will with the fuller fem. terminations of long-vowel stems, namely *āi*, *ās* (for which, in Brāhmaṇa etc., *āi* is substituted: 307 h), *ām*. Such forms are quite rare in the oldest language even from *i*-stems (less than 40 occurrences altogether in RV.; three times as many in AV.); and from *u*-stems they are almost unknown (five in RV. and AV.).

h. The voc. gunates the final of the stem, in masc. and fem., alike in the earlier and in the later language. In the neut., it is later allowed to be either of the same form or the unaltered stem; and this was probably the usage in the older time also; not instances enough are quotable to determine the question (AV. has *u* once, and VS. *o* once).

337. Dual. a. The later and earlier language agree in making the nom.-acc.-voc. masc. and fem. by lengthening the final of the stem. The same cases in the neuter (according to the rule given above) end later in *inī* and *unī*; but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has *inī* twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has *unī* once; RV. has *uī* from one *u*-stem, and *i*, once shortened to *i*, from one or two *i*-stems.

b. The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is *bhyām* added to the unchanged stem.

c. The gen.-loc. of all ages add *os* to the stem in masc. and fem.; in neut., the later language interposes, as elsewhere in the weakest cases, a *n*; probably in the earlier Vedic the form would be like that of the other genders; but the only occurrence noted is one *unos* in AV.

338. Plural. a. The nom.-voc. masc. and fem. adds the normal ending *as* to the gunated stem-final, making *ayas* and *avas*. The exceptions in the Veda are very few: one word (*ari*) has *ias* in both genders, and a few feminines have *is* (like *i*-stems); a very few *u*-stems have *uas*. The neut. nom.-acc. ends later in *inī* and *ūnī* (like *ānī* from a: 329 c); but the Veda has *i* and *ī* (about equally frequent) much oftener than *inī*; and *ū* and (more usually) *u*, more than half as often as *ūnī*.

b. The accus. masc. ends in *īn* and *ūn*, for older *ins* and *ūns*, of which plain traces remain in the Veda in nearly half the instances of occurrence, and even not infrequently in the later language, in the guise of phonetic combination (308 ff.). The accus. fem. ends in *is* and *ūs*. But both masc. and fem. forms in *ias* and *uas* are found sparingly in the Veda.

c. The instr. of all genders adds *bhis* to the stem.

d. The dat.-abl. of all genders adds *bhyas* (in V., almost never *bhias*) to the stem.

e. The gen. of all genders is made alike in *inām* and *ūnām* (of which the *ā* is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into *aam*). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.

f. The loc. of all genders adds *su* (as *ṣu*: 180) to the stem-final.

g. The accent is in accordance with the general rules already laid down, and there are no irregularities calling for special notice.

339. Examples of declension. As models of *i*-stems may be taken अग्नि *agni* m. *fire*; गति *gāti* f. *gait*; वारि *vāri* n. *water*.

Singular:

N.	अग्निम् agnis	गतिम् gātis	वारि vāri
A.	अग्निम् agnim	गतिम् gātim	वारि vāri
I.	अग्निना agninā	गत्या gātyā	वारिणा vāriṇā
D.	अग्नये agnāye	गतये, गत्यै gātaye, gātyāi	वारिणे vāriṇe
Ab. G.	अग्नेस् agnēs	गतेस् गत्यास् gātes, gātyās	वारिणास् vāriṇas
L.	अग्नी agnāu	गतौ, गत्याम् gātāu, gātyām	वारिणि vāriṇi
V.	अग्ने agne	गते gāte	वारि, वारे vāri, vāre

Dual:

N. A. V.	अग्नी agnī	गती gāti	वारिणी vāriṇī
I. D. Ab.	अग्निभ्याम् agnibhyām	गतिभ्याम् gātibhyām	वारिभ्याम् vāribhyām
G. L.	अग्नयोस् agnyōs	गतयोस् gātyos	वारिणोस् vāriṇos

Plural:

N. V.	अग्नयस् agnāyas	गतयस् gātayas	वारिणि vāriṇi
A.	अग्निन् agnin	गतीन् gātis	वारिणि vāriṇi
I.	अग्निभिस् agnibhis	गतिभिस् gātibhis	वारिभिस् vāribhis
D. Ab.	अग्निभ्यस् agnibhyas	गतिभ्यस् gātibhyas	वारिभ्यस् vāribhyas
G.	अग्निनाम् agninām	गतीनाम् gātinām	वारिणाम् vāriṇām
L.	अग्निषु agnīṣu	गतिषु gātiṣu	वारिषु vāriṣu

340. In order to mark more plainly the absence in Vedic language of some of the forms which are common later, all the forms of Vedic occurrence are added below, and in the order of their frequency.

a. Singular. Nom. *agnís* etc., as above.

b. Acc.: masc. *agním, yayíam, ūrmíṇam*(?); fem. and neut. as above.

c. Instr.: masc. *agnínā, rayyā* and *ūrmīā*; fem. *ácittī, ūtīā, matyā, suvṛktī, dhāsínā*; neut. wanting.

d. Dat.: masc. *agnáye*; fem. *tujáye, ūtī, turyái*; neut. *çúcaye*.

e. Gen.-abl.: masc. *agnés, ávyas, ariás*; fem. *ádites, hetyás* and *bhūmíās*; neut. *bhūres*.

f. Loc.: masc. *agnāú, agnā, ájáyī*(?); fem. *ágatāu, úditā, dhānasātayī*(?), *védī, bhūmyām*; neut. *apratā, saptáraçmāu*.

g. Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. *hári*; fem. *yuvatí*; neut. *çúcī, máhi, hárīṇī*(?).

i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.

j. Gen.-loc.: masc. *hários*; fem. *yuvatyós* and *jámiós*; neut. wanting.

k. Plural. Nom.: masc. *agnáyas*; fem. *matáyas, bhūmís*; neut. *çúcī, bhūri, bhūríṇī*.

l. Accus.: masc. *agnín*; fem. *kṣitís, çúcayas*(?).

m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above.

n. Gen.: masc. fem. *kavínām, řṣṇīṇām* etc. (neut. wanting). ✓

341. As models of u-stems may be taken शत्रु *çátru* m. *enemy*; धेनु *dhenú* f. *cow*; मधु *mádhu* n. *honey*.

Singular:

N.	शत्रुम् çátruṣ	धेनुम् dhenús	मधु mádhu
A.	शत्रुम् çátrum	धेनुम् dhenúm	मधु mádhu
I.	शत्रुणा çátruṇā	धेन्वा dhenvā	मधुना mádhunā
D.	शत्रवे çátrave	धेनवे, धेन्वै dhenáve, dhenvái	मधुने mádhune
Ab. G.	शत्रोस् çátros	धेनोस्, धेन्वाम् dhenós, dhenvās	मधुनस् mádhunas
L.	शत्रौ çátrāu	धेनौ, धेन्वाम् dhenāú, dhenvām	मधुनि mádhuni
V.	शत्रो çátro	धेनो dhenó	मधु, मधो mádhu, mádho

Dual:

N. A. V.	शत्रु çátrū	धेनु dhenū	मधुनी mádhunī
I. D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्याम् çátrubhyām	धेनुभ्याम् dhenūbhyām	मधुभ्याम् mádhubhyām
G. L.	शत्रवोम् çátrvos	धेन्वोम् dhenvós	मधुनोम् mádhunos

Plural:

N. V.	शत्रवम् çátravas	धेनवम् dhenávas	मधूनि mádhūni
A.	शत्रून् çátrūn	धेनून् dhenūs	मधूनि mádhūni
I.	शत्रुभिम् çátrubhis	धेनुभिम् dhenūbhis	मधुभिम् mádhubhis
D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्याम् çátrubhyas	धेनुभ्याम् dhenūbhyas	मधुभ्याम् mádhubhyas
G.	शत्रूणाम् çátrūpām	धेनूनाम् dhenūnām	मधूनाम् mádhūnām
L.	शत्रुषु çátruṣu	धेनुषु dhenúṣu	मधुषु mádhūṣu

342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the u-stems in the same manner as for the i-stems above.

a. Singular. Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urú, urú.

b. Accus.: masc. ketúm, ábhīruam, sucetúnam (?); fem. dhenúm.

c. Instr.: masc. ketúnā, paçvā and krátunā; fem. ádhenunā and panvā, āçuyā; neut. mádhunā, mádhvā.

d. Dat.: masc. ketāve, çīçve; fem. çárove, íṣvāi; neut. páçve (?), urāve, mádhune.

e. Abl.-gen.: masc. manyós, pitvās, cāruṇas; fem. síndhos, íṣvās; neut. mádhvas and mádhvas, mádhos, mádhunas.

f. Loc.: masc. pūrāú, sūnāvi; fem. síndhau, rájvām; neut. sánāu, sánavi, sáno, sánuni.

g. Voc.: as above.

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urvī, jānuni.

i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.

j. Gen.-loc.: as above (but vos or uos).

k. Plural. Nom.: masc. řbhāvas, mádhvas and mádhvas; fem. dhenāvas, çatakratvas; neut. purūpi, purú, purú.

1. Accus.: masc. *ṛtūn*, *paçvās*; fem. *īṣūn*, *mādhvas*.

m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above; also gen. (but with the resolution *ūnaam* in part).

343. Irregular declension. There are no irregular u-stems, and only a very few i-stems.

a. *Sākhi* m. *friend* has for the five strong cases a peculiarly strengthened base (vridhdied), namely *sākhāy*, which in the nom. sing. is reduced to *sākhā* (without ending), and in the other cases takes the normal endings. The instr. and dat. sing. have the normal endings simply, without inserted *n* or *guṇa*; the abl.-gen. sing. adds *us*; and the loc. sing. adds *ān*: the rest is like *agnī*. Thus:

Sing. *sākhā*, *sākhāyam*, *sākhyā*, *sākhye*, *sākhyus*, *sākhyāu*, *sākhe*; Du. *sākhāyāu*, *sākhibhyām*, *sākhyos*; Pl. *sākhāyas*, *sākhīn*, etc. etc.

b. The Veda has usually *sākhāyā* du., and often resolves the *y* to *i*, in *sākhīā*, *sākhīus*, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless (1315 b) *sakha* be substituted.

c. There is a corresponding fem., *sakhī* (declined like *devī*: 364); but the forms of *sakhi* are also sometimes found used with feminine value.

d. *Pāti* m. is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning *lord*, *master*; when uncompounded and when meaning *husband*, it is inflected like *sākhi* in the instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming *pātyā*, *pātye*, *pātyus*, *pātyāu*. There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.

e. For *pati* as final member of a possessive compound is regularly and usually substituted *patnī* in the fem.: thus, *jīvapatnī* *having a living husband*; *dāśapatnī* *having a barbarian for master*.

f. *Jānī* f. *wife* has the gen. sing. *jānyus* in the Veda.

g. *Arī* *eager*, *greedy*, *hostile* has in the Veda *aryās* in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem. Its accus. sing. is *arīm* or *aryām*.

h. *Vī* *bird* has in RV. the nom. *vēs* (beside *vīs*). In the plural it accents *vībhis*, *vībhyas*, but *vīnām*.

i. The stems *ākṣi* *eye*, *āsthi* *bone*, *dādhi* *curds*, and *sākthi* *thigh*, are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from stems in *ān* (*akṣān* etc.): see the stems in *an*, below (431).

j. The stem *paṭhī* *road* is used to make up part of the inflection of *pānthan*: see below, 433.

k. *Krōṣṭu* m. *jackal* lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of *kroṣṭī* are substituted.

Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in *i* are few; those in *u* are much more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a participial

adjective in u). Their inflection is like that of nouns, and has been included in the rules given above. In those weak cases, however — namely, the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual — in which neuter nouns differ from masculines in the later language by an inserted *n* (we have seen above that this difference does not exist in the Veda), the neuter adjective is allowed to take either form. The stem is the same for masculine and neuter, and generally (and allowably always) for feminine also.

a. There are a few instances of a feminine noun in *i* standing (sometimes with changed accent) beside a masculine in *i*: thus, *krími* m., *krímī* f.; *sákhi* (343 a) m., *sakhī* f.; *duṇḍubhī* m., *duṇḍubhī* f.; *dhūni* m., *dhunī* f.; *çakūni* m., *çakunī* or *-nī* f. In the later language, especially, there is a very frequent interchange of *i* and *ī* as finals of the same stem. No adjective in *i* makes a regular feminine in *ī*.

b. With stems in *u* the case is quite different. While the feminine may, and in part does, end in *u*, like the masculine and neuter, a special feminine-stem is often made by lengthening the *u* to *ū*, or also by adding *ī*; and for some stems a feminine is formed into two of these three ways, or even in all the three: thus, *kārū*, *-dīpsū*, *çundhyū*, *carīçū*, *vacaayū*; *-anvī*, *urvī*, *gurvī*, *pūrvī* (with prolongation of *u* before *r*: compare 245 b), *bahvī*, *prabhvī*, *raghvī*, *sādhvī*, *svādvī*; — *prthū* and *prthvī*, *vibhū* and *vibhvī*, *mṛdū* and *mṛdvī*, *laghu* and *laghvī*, *vásu* and *vásvī*; *babhrū* and *babhrvī*, *bībhatsū* and *bībhatsvī*, *bhīrū* and *bhīrvī*; — *tanū* and *tanvī*, *phalgū* and *phalgvī* and *phalgvī*, *mādhū* and *madhvī* and *mādhvī*. There are also some feminine noun-stems in *ū* standing (usually with changed accent) beside masculines in *u*: thus, *ágru* m., *agrū* f.; *kādrū* m., *kadrū* f.; *gūggulū* m., *guggulū* f.; *jatū* m., *jatū* f.; *pṛdākū* m., *pṛdākū* f.

345. Roots ending in *i* or *u* (or *r*: 378 b) regularly add a *t* when used as root-words or as root-finals of compounds; and hence there are no adjectives of the root-class in this declension.

a. Yet, in the Veda, a few words ending in a short radical *u* are declined as if this were suffixal: thus, *ásmṛtadhru*, *suçtū*; and the AV. has *prtanājí* (once). Roots in *ū* sometimes also shorten *ū* to *u*: thus, *prabhū*, *vibhū*, etc. (354); *go* (361 e) becomes *gu* in composition; and *re* perhaps becomes *ri* (361 e); while roots in *ā* sometimes apparently weaken *ā* to *i* (in *-dhi* from *ydhā* etc.: 1155).

346. Compound adjectives having nouns of this declension as final member are inflected in general like original adjectives of the same endings.

a. But in such compounds a final *i* or *u* is sometimes lengthened to form a feminine stem: thus, *suçronī*, *svayonī* or *-nī*, *-gātrayaṣṭī* or *-ṭī*; *vāmorū* or *-ru*, *durhanū* or *-nu*, *varatanū*, *mātṛbandhū*; and RV. has *āçīqvī* from *çīqu*.

Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: $\text{आ } \bar{a}$, $\text{इ } \bar{i}$, $\text{उ } \bar{u}$.

347. The stems ending in long vowels fall into two well-marked classes or divisions: A. monosyllabic stems — mostly bare roots — and their compounds, with a comparatively small number of others inflected like them; B. derivative feminine stems in $\text{आ } \bar{a}$ and $\text{इ } \bar{i}$, with a small number in $\text{उ } \bar{u}$ which in the later language have come to be inflected like them. The latter division is by far the larger and more important, since most feminine adjectives, and considerable classes of feminine nouns, ending in $\text{आ } \bar{a}$ or $\text{इ } \bar{i}$, belong to it.

A. Root-words, and those inflected like them.

348. The inflection of these stems is by the normal endings throughout, or in the manner of consonant-stems (with $\text{अम् } am$, not $\text{मम् } m$, in the accus. sing.); peculiarities like those of the other vowel-declensions are wanting. The simple words are, as nouns, with few exceptions feminine; as adjectives (rarely), and in adjective compounds, they are alike in masculine and feminine forms. They may, for convenience of description, be divided into the following sub-classes:

1. Root-words, or monosyllables having the aspect of such. Those in \bar{a} are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in \bar{i} and \bar{u} are more numerous, but still very few.

2. Compounds having such words, or other roots with long final vowels, as last member.

3. Polysyllabic words, of various origin and character, including in the Veda many which later are transferred to other declensions.

4. As an appendix to this class we may most conveniently describe the half-dozen stems, mostly of regular inflection, ending in diphthongs.

349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final ī is changed to iy and ū to uv; while final ā is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases, and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, ā is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in ī and ū are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings āi, ās, ām in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except bhiyāi[P], RV., once). Before ām of gen. pl., n may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (dhiyām, once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncompound stems are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is ā instead of āu.

350. To the ī- and ū-stems the rules for monosyllabic accent apply; the accent is thrown forward upon the endings in all the weak cases except the accus. pl., which is like the nom. But the ā-stems appear (the instances are extremely few) to keep the accent upon the stem throughout.

351. Examples of declension. As models of monosyllabic inflection we may take ज्ञा jā f. *progeny*; धी dhī f. *thought*; and भू bhū f. *earth*.

a. The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur; of the loc. sing. and gen.-loc. du., no Vedic examples from ā-stems are found.

Singular:			
N.	ज्ञान् jās	धीन् dhīs	भून् bhūs
A.	ज्ञाम् jām	धियम् dhiyam	भुवम् bhūvam
I.	ज्ञा jā	धिया dhiyā	भुवा bhuvā
D.	ज्ञे jé	धिये, धियै dhiyé, dhiyāi	भुवे, भुवै bhuvé, bhuvāi
Ab. G.	ज्ञान् jās	धियम्, धियाम् dhiyās, dhiyāś	भुवम्, भुवाम् bhuvās, bhuvāś
L.	ज्ञि jī	धियि, धियाम् dhiyī, dhiyām	भुवि, भुवाम् bhuvī, bhuvām
V.	ज्ञान् jās	धीन् dhīs	भून् bhūs

Dual:

N. A. V.	तौ jāu	द्विौ dhīyāu	भुवौ bhūvāu
I. D. Ab.	तौभ्याम् jābhyām	द्वौभ्याम् dhībhyām	भूभ्याम् bhūbhyām
G. L.	तौस् jōs	द्विौस् dhīyōs	भुवौस् bhuvōs

Plural:

N.	ताम् jās	द्वियम् dhīyas	भुवम् bhūvas
A.	ताम् (ताम्?) jās, jās	द्वियम् dhīyas	भुवम् bhūvas
I.	ताभिम् jābhīs	द्विभिम् dhībhis	भूभिम् bhūbhis
D. Ab.	ताभ्याम् jābhyas	द्विभ्याम् dhībhyās	भूभ्याम् bhūbhyās
G.	तानाम् (ताम्?) jānām, jānām	द्वियाम्, द्विनाम् dhīyām, dhīnām	भुवाम्, भूनाम् bhuvām, bhūnām
L.	तासु jāsu	द्वीषु dhīṣu	भूषु bhūṣu

352. Monosyllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in ā or I or ū is found in a like position, the inflection of an ā-stem is as above. But I- and ū-stems follow a divided usage: the final vowel before a vowel-ending is either converted into a short vowel and semivowel (iy or uv, as above) or into a semivowel simply (y or v). The accent is nowhere thrown forward upon the endings; and therefore, when I and ū become y and v, the resulting syllable is circumflex (§3-4). Thus:

Mas. and fem. Singular:

N. V.	-dhīs	-bhūs
A.	-dhīyam -dhyām	-bhūvam -bhvām
I.	-dhīyā -dhyā	-bhūvā -bhvā
D.	-dhīye -dhyē	-bhūve -bhvē
Ab. G.	-dhīyas -dhyās	-bhūvas -bhvās
L.	-dhīyi -dhyi	-bhūvi -bhvi

Dual:

N. A. V.	-dhīyāu	-dhyāu	-bhūvāu	-bhvāu
I. D. Ab.		-dhībhyām		-bhūbhyām
G. L.	-dhīyos	-dhyōs	-bhūvos	-bhvōs

Plural:

N. A. V.	-dhīyas	-dhyas	-bhūvas	-bhvas
I.		-dhībhis		-bhūbhis
D. Ab.		-dhībhyas		-bhūbhyas
G.	{-dhīyām	-dhyām	{-bhūvām	-bhvām
	{-dhīnām		{-bhūnām	
L.		-dhīṣu		-bhūṣu

a. As to the admissibility of the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, and *ām* in the singular (feminine), grammatical authorities are somewhat at variance; but they are never found in the Veda, and have been omitted from the above scheme as probably unreal.

b. If two consonants precede the final *ī* or *ū*, the dissyllabic forms, with *iy* and *uv*, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe *iy* and *uv* when the monosyllabic stem has more the character of a noun, and *y* and *v* when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda—where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the *yā*- and *vā*-forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: *iā* or *īā* and *uā* or *ūā*, and so on.

c. As to neuter stems for such adjectives, see 367.

353. A few further Vedic irregularities or peculiarities may be briefly noticed.

a. Of the *ā*-stems, the forms in *ās*, *ām*, *ā* (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, *aas*, *aam*, *aa*. The dative of the stem used as infinitive is *āi* (as if *ā + e*): thus, *prakhyāi*, *pratimāi*, *parādāi*.

b. Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, *avadyabhiyā* (RV.), *ādhiā* (AV.).

354. But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the *ā* shortened to *a* for a masculine (and neuter) stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative *ā*-class (below, 364) as feminine; the *ī* and *ū* shortened to *i* and *u*, and inflected as of the second declension.

a. Thus, compound stems in *-ga*, *-ja*, *-da*, *-stha*, *-bhu*, and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later (being made from all, or nearly all, the roots in *ā*); and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, *ṛṭtapān*, *vayodhāis* and *ratnadhōbhis*, *dhanasāis* (all RV.); and, from *ī* and *ū* compounds, *veṣaṇis* (TS.), *āhrayas* (RV.), *gaṇaṇibhis* (RV.), *karmaṇis* (CB.) and *ṛtanibhyas* (RV.) and *senānibhyas* (VS.) and *grāmaṇibhis* (TB.), *supūnā* (AV.), *ṛtibhrāve* (TS.).

b. Still more numerous are the feminines in *ā* which have lost their

root-declension: examples are *prajā* (of which the farther compounds in part have root-forms), *svadhā*, *çradhā*, *pratimā*, and others.

c. Then, in the later language, a few feminines in *i* are made from the stems in *a* shortened from *ā*: thus, *gopī*, *goṣṭhī*, *pannagī*, *pañkajī*, *bhujagī*, *bhujangī*, *surāpī*.

355. Polysyllabic Stems. Stems of this division (A) of more than one syllable are very rare indeed in the later language, and by no means common in the earlier. The Rig-Veda, however, presents a not inconsiderable body of them; and as the class nearly dies out later, by the disuse of its stems or their transfer to other modes of declension, it may be best described on a Vedic basis.

a. Of stems in *ā*, masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: *pānthā*, *mānthā*, and *ṛbhukāṣā* are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 433-4; *uçānā* (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. *uçānā* (and loc. as well as dat. *uçāne*); *mahā* *great* is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition; *ātā* *frame* has only *ātāsu* not derivable from *āta*.

b. Of stems in *i*, over seventy are found in the Veda, nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. Half of the feminines are formed from masculines with change of accent: thus, *kalyāṇī* (m. *kalyāṇa*), *puruṣī* (m. *pūruṣa*); others show no change of accent: thus, *yamī* (m. *yamā*); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, *nadī*, *lakṣmī*, *sūrmī*. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, *rathī*, *pravī*, *starī*, *abī*, *āpathī*.

c. Of stems in *ū*, the number is smaller: these, too, are nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. The majority of them are the feminine adjectives in *ū* to masculines in *ū* or *u* (above, 344 b): thus, *caranyū*, *carignū*, *jighatsū*, *madhū*. A few are nouns in *ū*, with change of accent: thus, *agrū* (*āgru*), *prḍākū* (*prḍāku*), *çvaçrū* (*çvāçura*); or without change, as *ṛtū*. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, *tanū*, *vadhū*, *camū*. The masculines are only two or three: namely, *prāçū*, *kṛkadāçū*, *makaçū* (?); and their forms are of the utmost rarity.

356. The mode of declension of these words may be illustrated by the following examples: *rathī* m. *charioteer*; *nadī* f. *stream*; *tanū* f. *body*.

a. No one of the selected examples occurs in all the forms; forms for which no example at all is quotable are put in brackets. No loc. sing. from any *i*-stem occurs, to determine what the form would be. The stem *nadī* is selected as example partly in order to emphasize the difference between the earlier language and the later in regard to the words of this division: *nadī* is later the model of derivative inflection.

Singular:

N.	rathīa	nadīa	tanūa
A.	rathīam	nadīam	tanūam
I.	rathīā	nadīā	tanūā
D.	rathīe	nadīe	tanūe
Ab. G.	rathīas	nadīas	tanūas
L.,	tanūi
V.	rathī(?)	nādī	tānu

Dual:

N. A. V.	rathīā	nadīā	tanūā
I. D. Ab.	[rathībhyām]	nadībhyām	[tanūbhyām]
G. L.	[rathīos]	nadīos	tanūos

Plural:

N. A.	rathīas	nadīas	tanūas
I.	[rathībhis]	nadībhis	tanūbhis
D. Ab.	[rathībhyas]	nadībhyas	tanūbhyas
G.	rathīnām	nadīnām	tanūnām
L.	[rathīṣu]	nadīṣu	tanūṣu

b. The cases — *nadīam*, *tanūam*, etc. — are written above according to their true phonetic form, almost invariably belonging to them in the Veda; in the written text, of course, the stem-final *a* is made a semi-vowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, *nadyām*, *tanvām*, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms *iy* and *uv* are written instead; and also where the combination *yv* would otherwise result: thus, *cakriyā*, [agrūvāi.] and *mitrāyūvas*. The RV. really reads *staryām* etc. twice, and *tanvās* etc. four times; and such contractions are more often made in the AV. The ending *ā* of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. is the equivalent of the later *āu*. The nom. sing. in *s* from *ī*-stems is found in the older language about sixty times, from over thirty stems.

357. Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: *camū* as loc. sing. (instead of *camvi*), occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final *ū* is regarded as *pragṛhya* or uncombinable (138); *tanūi* is lengthened to *tanvi* in a passage or two; *-yūvas* is once or twice abbreviated to *-yūa*.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of *ī*- and *ū*-declension (below, 362 ff.), which has nearly extinguished this category of words in the later language, has its beginnings in the Veda; but in RV. they are excessively scanty: namely, *dūtīām*, loc. sing., once, and *ṣvaṣṇām*, do., once, and *dravitnuā*, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. *kuhūm*, *tanūm*, *vadhūm*; the instr. sing. *palālīā* and one or two others; the dat. sing. *vadhvāi*, *ṣvaṣṇvāi*, *agrūvāi*; the abl.-gen. sing. *punarbhūvās*, *prḍākuās*, *ṣvaṣṇās*; and the loc. sing. *tanūām* (with anomalous accent). Accusatives plural in *is* and *ūs* are nowhere met with.

359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, *hīraṇyavāqīs* and *sahāsrastarīs*, *ātaptatanūs* and *sārvatanūs*. all nom. sing. masculine.

Stems ending in diphthongs.

360. There are certain monosyllabic stems ending in diphthongs, which are too few and too diverse in inflection to make a declension of, and which may be most appropriately disposed of here, in connection with the stems in ī and ū, with which they have most affinity. They are:

- a. stems in āu: *nāū* and *glāū*;
- b. stems in āi: *rāī*;
- c. stems in o: *gō* and *dyō* (or *dyū*, *dīv*).

361. a. The stem *nāū* f. *ship* is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllabic accentuation (317) — except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: *nāūs*, *nāyam*, *nāvā*, *nāvē*, *nāvās*, *nāvi*; *nāvāu*, *nāubhyām*, *nāvós*; *nāvas*, *nāvas*, *nāubhīs*, *nāubhyās*, *nāvām*, *nāuḥ*. The stem *glāū* m. *ball* is apparently inflected in the same way; but few of its forms have been met with in use.

b. The stem *rāī* f. (or m.) *wealth* might be better described as *rā* with a union-consonant *y* (258) interposed before vowel endings, and is regularly inflected as such, with normal endings and monosyllabic accent. Thus: *rās*, *rāyam*, *rāyā*, *rāyē*, *rāyās*, *rāyī*; *rāyāu*, *rābhyām*, *rāyós*; *rāyas*, *rāyās*, *rābhīs*, *rābhyās*, *rāyām*, *rāsū*. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either *rāyās* or *rāyas*; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms *rām* (RV. once: *rāyam* does not occur in V.) and *rās* (SV., once); and the gen.-sing. is sometimes anomalously accented *rāyas*.

c. The stem *gō* m. or f. *bull* or *cow* is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to *gāū*, forming (like *nāū*) *gāūs*, *gāvāu*, *gāvas*. In accus. sing. and pl. it has (like *rāī*) the brief forms *gām* and *gās*. The abl.-gen. sing. is *gós* (as if from *gu*). The rest is regularly made from *go*, with the normal endings, but with accent always remaining irregularly upon the stem: thus, *gāvā*, *gāve*, *gāvi*, *gāvos*, *gāvām*; *gōbhyām*, *gōbhīs*, *gōbhyas*, *gōḥ*. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is *gónām*; the nom. etc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also *gāvā*; and *gām*, *gós*, and *gās* are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables. As acc. pl. is found a few times *gāvas*.

d. The stem *dyō* f. (but in V. usually m.) *sky*, *day* is yet more anomalous, having beside it a simpler stem *dyu*, which becomes *div* before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as

independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem *dyó* is inflected precisely like *gó*, as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

	Singular.		Dual.		Plural.	
N.	dyāūs	}		dīvas	dyāvas	
A.	dīvam dyām		[dīvāu]	dyāvāu	dīvas, dyūn	[dyās]
I.	dīvā [dyāvā]	}			dyūbhis	[dyóbhis]
D.	dívó dyáve		[dyūbhyām dyóbhyām]			[dyūbhyas dyóbhyas]
Ab.	dīvas dyós	}				
G.	dīvas dyós				[dīvām	dyāvām]
L.	dīví dyávi	}	[dívós	dyávós]	dyūṣu	[dyōṣu]

e. The dat. sing. *dyáve* is not found in the early language. Both *dīvas* and *dīvās* occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., *dyāvā* is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs *dyāvi* (du.), as if a neuter form; and *dyāūs* is found once used as ablative. The cases *dyāūs*, *dyām* and *dyūn* (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes *dyāūs* (i. e. *dīāūs*: see 314 b).

f. Adjective compounds having a diphthongal stem as final member are not numerous, and tend to shorten the diphthong to a vowel. Thus, from *nāu* we have *bhinnanu*; from *go*, several words like *āgu*, *saptāgu*, *sugu*, *bahugū* (f. *-gū* TB.); and, correspondingly, *rāi* seems to be reduced to *ri* in *bṛhādraye* and *ṛdhādrayas* (RV.). In derivation, *go* maintains its full form in *gotra*, *agotā*, *-gava* (f. *-gavi*), etc.; as first member of a compound, it is variously treated: thus, *gāvācīr*, *gāviṣṭi* (but *gañcīr*, *gañṣṭi* K.), etc.; *goaṣvā* or *go'ṣva*, *górjika*, *gōpaṣa*, etc. In certain compounds, also, *dyu* or *dyo* takes an anomalous form: thus, *dyāurdā* (K.), *dyāurlokā* (QB.), *dyāūsamṣita* (AV.). In *revānt* (unless this is for *rayivant*) *rāi* becomes *re*. RV. has *ādhriḡāvas* from *ādhriḡu* (of questionable import); and AV. has *ghṛtastāvas*, apparently accus. pl. of *ghṛtastū* or *-stō*.

B. Derivative stems in ā, ī, ū.

362. To this division belong all the ā and ī-stems which have not been specified above as belonging to the other or root-word division; and also, in the later language, most of the ī and ū-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

1. a. The great mass of derivative feminine ā-stems, substantive and adjective.

b. The inflection of these stems has maintained itself with little change through the whole history of the language, being almost precisely the same in the Vedas as later.

2. c. The great mass of derivative feminine *i*-stems.

d. This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (355 b): that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the *i*: thus, *táviṣī*, *páruṣṇī*, *páliknī*, *róhiṇī*.

e. The *i*-stems of this division in general are regarded as made by contraction of an earlier ending in *yā*. Their inflection has become in the later language somewhat mixed with that of the other division, and so far different from the Vedic inflection: see below, 363 g.

f. Very few derivative stems in *i* are recognized by the grammarians as declined like the root-division; the Vedic words of that class are, if retained in use, transferred to this mode of inflection.

g. A very small number of masculine *i*-stems (half-a-dozen) are in the Veda declined as of the derivative division; they are a few rare proper names, *mātali* etc.; and *rāṣṭrī* and *sirī* (only one case each).

3. h. The *ū*-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative *i*-stems (except that they retain the ending *s* of the nom. sing.).

363. Endings. The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:

a. In nom. sing. the usual *s*-ending is wanting: except in the *ū*-stems and a very few *i*-stems — namely, *lakṣmī*, *tari*, *tantrī*, *tandri* — which have preserved the ending of the other division.

b. The accus. sing. and pl. add simply *m* and *s* respectively.

c. The dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing. take always the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, *ām*; and these are separated from the final of the *ā*-stems by an interposed *y*. In Brāhmaṇa etc., *āi* is generally substituted for *ās* (307 h).

d. Before the endings *ā* of instr. sing. and *os* of gen.-loc. du., the final of *ā*-stems is treated as if changed to *e*; but in the Veda, the instr. ending *ā* very often (in nearly half the occurrences) blends with the final to *ā*. The *yā* of *i*-stems is in a few Vedic examples contracted to *ī*, and even to *i*. A loc. sing. in *i* occurs a few times.

e. In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an *i*- or *ū*-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a *n* is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in *i* and *ū*-stems).

f. In voc. sing., final *ā* becomes *e*; final *ī* and *ū* are shortened.

g. In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in *ī* (and *ū*)-stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending *āu* is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is *ī* (a corresponding dual of *ū*-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending *as* has only a

doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrences) adds *s* simply; and though *yas*-forms occur in the Brāhmaṇas, along with *īs*-forms, both are used rather indifferently as nom. and accus. (as, indeed, they sometimes interchange also in the epics). Of ā-stems, the du. nom. etc. ends in *e*, both earlier and later; in pl., of course, *s*-forms are indistinguishable from *as*-forms. The RV. has a few examples of *āsas* for *ās*.

h. The remaining cases call for no remark.

364. Examples of declension. As models of the inflection of derivative stems ending in long vowels, we may take *सेना* *sénā* f. *army*; *कन्या* *kanyā* f. *girl*; *देवी* *devī* f. *goddess*; *वधू* *vadhū* f. *woman*.

Singular:

N.	सेना <i>sénā</i>	कन्या <i>kanyā</i>	देवी <i>devī</i>	वधूम् <i>vadhūs</i>
A.	सेनाम् <i>sénām</i>	कन्याम् <i>kanyām</i>	देवीम् <i>devīm</i>	वधूम् <i>vadhūm</i>
I.	सेनया <i>sénayā</i>	कन्यया <i>kanyāyā</i>	देव्या <i>devyā</i>	वध्वा <i>vadvhā</i>
D.	सेनायै <i>sénāyāi</i>	कन्यायै <i>kanyāyāi</i>	देव्यै <i>devyāi</i>	वध्वै <i>vadvhāi</i>
Ab. G.	सेनायाम् <i>sénāyās</i>	कन्यायाम् <i>kanyāyās</i>	देव्याम् <i>devyās</i>	वध्वाम् <i>vadvhās</i>
L.	सेनायाम् <i>sénāyām</i>	कन्यायाम् <i>kanyāyām</i>	देव्याम् <i>devyām</i>	वध्वाम् <i>vadvhām</i>
V.	सेने <i>séne</i>	कन्ये <i>kānye</i>	देवि <i>dēvi</i>	वधु <i>vādhū</i>

Dual:

N. A. V.	सेने <i>séne</i>	कन्ये <i>kānye</i>	देव्यौ <i>devyāu</i>	वध्वौ <i>vadvhāu</i>
I. D. Ab.	सेनाभ्याम् <i>sénābhyām</i>	कन्याभ्याम् <i>kanyābhyām</i>	देवीभ्याम् <i>devībhyām</i>	वधूभ्याम् <i>vadhūbhyām</i>
G. L.	सेनयोस् <i>sénayos</i>	कन्ययोस् <i>kanyhyos</i>	देव्योस् <i>devyós</i>	वध्वोस् <i>vadvhós</i>

Plural:

N. V.	मेनाम् sénās	कन्याम् kanyās	देव्यम् devyās	वध्वन् vadhvās
A.	सेनाम् sénās	कन्याम् kanyās	देवीन् devīs	वधून् vadhūs
I.	सेनाभिम् sénābhis	कन्याभिम् kanyābhis	देवीभिम् devībhis	वधूभिम् vadhūbhis
D. Ab.	सेनाभ्यन् sénābhyas	कन्याभ्यन् kanyābhyas	देवीभ्यन् devībhyas	वधूभ्यन् vadhūbhyas
G.	सेनानाम् sénānām	कन्यानाम् kanyānām	देवीनाम् devīnām	वधूनाम् vadhūnām
L.	सेनासु sénāsu	कन्यासु kanyāsu	देवीषु devīṣu	वधूषु vadhūṣu

a. In the Veda *vadhū* is a stem belonging to the other division (like *तादृ*, above, 356).

365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

a. *ā*-stems: instr. sing. *manīṣā* (this simpler form is especially common from stems in *tā* and *iā*); nom. pl. *vaçāsas* (about twenty examples); accus. pl. *aramgamūsas* (a case or two). Half the *bhyas*-cases are to be read as *bhis*; the *ām* of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into *aam*; and the *ā* and *ām* of nom. accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

b. *i*-stems: instr. sing. *çāmī*, *çāmi*; loc. *gāurī*; nom. etc. du. *devī*; nom. pl. *devīs*; gen. pl. *bahvīnām*. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel (not *y*) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus, *deviā*, *deviās*, *deviām*, *ródasioa*.

c. The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.

d. Of the regular substitution made in the Brāhmaṇa language (307 b, 336 g, 363 c) of the dat. sing. ending *āi* for the gen.-abl. ending *ās*, in all classes of words admitting the latter ending, a few examples may be given here: *abhibhūtyāi rūpam* (AB.) *a sign of overpowering*; *triṣṭubhaç ca jagatyāi ca* (AB.) *of the metres triṣṭubh and jagati*; *vāco dāivyāi ca mānuṣyāi ca* (AA.) *of speech, both divine and human*; *striyāi payaḥ* (AB.) *woman's milk*; *dhenvāi vā etād rétaḥ* (TB.) *that, faragoth, is the seed of the cow*; *jirṇāyāi tvacaḥ* (KR.) *of dead skin*; *jyāyasi yājñayāi* (AB.) *superior to the yājñā*; *asyāi divo 'smād antarikṣāt* (V.S.) *from this heaven, from this atmosphere*. The same substitution is made once in the AV.: thus, *svāpantv asyāi jñātāyaḥ* *let her relatives sleep*.

366. The noun *strī* *f. woman* (probably contracted from *sūtrī generatrix*), follows a mixed declension: thus, *strī*, *strīyam* or *strīm*, *strīyā*, *strīyāi*, *strīyās*, *strīyām*, *strī*; *strīyāu*, *strībhyām*, *strīyós*; *strīyas*, *strīyas* or *strīs*, *strībhis*, *strībhyās*, *strīpām*, *strīṣú* (but the accusatives *strīm* and *strīs* are not found in the older language, and the voc. *strī* is not quotable). The accentuation is that of a root-word; the forms (conspicuously the nom. sing.) are those of the other or derivative division.

Adjectives.

367. a. The occurrence of original adjectives in long final vowels, and of compounds having as final member a stem of the first division, has been sufficiently treated above, so far as masculine and feminine forms are concerned. To form a neuter stem in composition, the rule of the later language is that the final long vowel be shortened; and the stem so made is to be inflected like an adjective in *i* or *u* (339, 341, 344).

b. Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost unknown. Of neuters from *ī*-stems have been noted in the Veda only *hariṣṛīyam*, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and *suādhīas*, gen. sing. (same as masc. and fem.); from *ū*-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-forms which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, *vibhū*, *subhū*, etc. (nom.-acc. sing.: compare 354); *suphā* and *mayobhūvā*, instr. sing.; and *mayobhū*, acc. pl. (compare *purū*: 342 k); from *ā*-stems occur only half-a-dozen examples of a nom. sing. in *ās*, like the masc. and fem. form.

c. Compounds having nouns of the second division as final member are common only from derivatives in *ā*; and these shorten the final to *a* in both masculine and neuter: thus, from *a* *not* and *prajā* *progeny* come the masc. and neut. stem *apraja*, fem. *aprajā* *childless*. Such compounds with nouns in *ī* and *ū* are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the simple words (only with *in* and *ūn* in acc. pl. masc.); but the examples given by the grammarians are fictitious.

d. Stems with shortened final are occasionally met with: thus, *skapatni*, *āttalakāmi*; and such adverbs (neut. sing. accus.) as *upabhāimi*, *abhyujjayini*. The stem *strī* is directed to be shortened to *stri* for all genders.

368. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm, for all genders, of an adjective-stem in *ṣ a*. We take for the purpose *पप पपā ecīl*, of which the feminine is usually made in *ṣā ā* in the later language, but in *ṣī ī* in the older.

Singular:

	m.	n.	f.	f.
N.	पापम् pāpām	पापम् pāpām	पापा pāpā	पापी pāpī
A.	पापम् pāpām		पापाम् pāpām	पापीम् pāpīm
I.	पापेन pāpēna		पापया pāpāyā	पाप्या pāpyā
D.	पापाय pāpāya		पापायै pāpāyāi	पाप्यै pāpyāi
Ab.	पापात् pāpāt		पापायाम् pāpāyāś	पाप्याम् pāpyāś
G.	पापस्य pāpāsya		पापायाम् pāpāyāś	पाप्याम् pāpyāś
L.	पापे pāpé		पापायाम् pāpāyām	पाप्याम् pāpyām
V.	पाप pāpa		पापे pāpe	पापि pāpi

Dual:

N. A. V.	पापौ pāpāu	पापे pāpé	पापे pāpé	पाप्यौ pāpyāu
I. D. Ab.	पापाभ्याम् pāpābhyām		पापाभ्याम् pāpābhyām	पापीभ्याम् pāpībhyām
G. L.	पापयोम् pāpāyos		पापयोम् pāpāyos	पाप्योम् pāpyós

Plural:

N.	पापान् pāpāś	पापानि pāpāni	पापान् pāpāś	पाप्यन् pāpyāś
A.	पापान् pāpān	पापानि pāpāni	पापान् pāpāś	पापीन् pāpīś
I.	पापैम् pāpāis		पापाभिम् pāpābhīś	पापीभिम् pāpībhīś
D. Ab.	पापेभ्यस् pāpēbhyas		पापाभ्यस् pāpābhyas	पापीभ्यस् pāpībhyas

G.	पापानाम् pāpānām	पापानाम् pāpānām	पापानाम् pāpānām
L.	पापेषु pāpēṣu	पापाम् pāpāsu	पापेषु pāpēṣu

Declension IV.

Stems in र (or य्र ar).

369. This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix तृ त्र (or तृ tar), which makes masculine *nomina agentis* (used also participially), and a few nouns of relationship.

a. But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely देवृ m. , स्वसृ and नानांदृ f. ; and, besides these, नृ m. , सृ (in V.) m., उसृ (in V.) f., सव्यसृ m. , and the feminine numerals तिसृ and सप्तसृ (for which, see 482 c, g). The feminines in तृ are only मातृ , दुहितृ , and यातृ .

b. The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in i and u (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.

370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is र , which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to r (129). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them—which is very much the larger, containing all the *nomina agentis*, and also the nouns of relationship $\text{नपृ$ and स्वसृ , and the irregular words सृ and सव्यसृ —the र is vriddhied, or becomes ār ; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with नृ and उसृ , the र is gunated, or changed to ar . In both classes, the loc. sing. has ar as stem-final.

371. Endings. These are in general the normal, but with the following exceptions:

a. The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in ā (for original ars or ārs). The voc. sing. ends in ar .

b. The accus. sing. adds am to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like i- and u- stems) n as masc. ending and s as fem. ending, with the र lengthened before them.

c. The abl.-gen. sing. changes *r̥* to *ur* (or *us*: 169 b).

d. The gen. pl. (as in *i* and *u*-stems) inserts *n* before *ām*, and lengthens the stem-final before it. But the *r̥* of *nṛ̥* may also remain short.

e. The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents certain deviations from them. Thus:

f. The ending in nom.-acc.-voc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly *ā* instead of *āu* (only ten *āu*-forms in RV.).

g. The *i* of loc. sing. is lengthened to *ī* in a few words: thus, *kartāri*.

h. In the gen. pl., the RV. has once *svāsāram*, without inserted *n*; and *narām* instead of *nṛām* is frequent.

i. Other irregularities of *nṛ̥* are the sing. dat. *nāre*, gen. *nāras*, and loc. *nāri*. The Veda writes always *nṛām* in gen. pl., but its *r̥* is in a majority of cases metrically long.

j. The stem *uṣ̥* *f. dawn* has the voc. sing. *uṣar*, the gen. sing. *uṣrās*; and the accus. pl. also *uṣrās*, and loc. sing. *uṣrām* (which is metrically trisyllabic: *uṣrām*), as if in analogy with *ī* and *ū*-stems. Once occurs *uṣrī* in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, *uṣāri* (for the exchange of *s* and *ṣ*, see 181 a).

k. From *stṛ̥* come only *tūras* (apparently) and *stṛ̥bhīḥ*.

l. In the gen.-loc. du., the *r* is almost always to be read as a separate syllable, *r̥*, before the ending *os*: thus, *pitṛós*, etc. On the contrary, *nānāndari* is once to be read *nānāndri*.

m. For neuter forms, see below, 375.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for *i*- and *u*-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as acute, on the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the gen. pl., where it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown forward upon the ending; where, in the weakest cases, *r̥* becomes *r*, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, *nṛ̥* and *stṛ̥*, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the forms already given above), *nṛ̥bhīḥ*, *nṛ̥ṣu*.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with *दा* *ār* in the strong forms) the stems *दातृ* *dātṛ̥* *m. giver* and *स्वसृ* *svásr̥* *f. sister*; from the second class (with *पृ* *ar* in the strong forms), the stem *पितृ* *pitṛ̥* *m. father*.

Singular:

N.	दाता dātā	स्वसा svásā	पिता pitā
A.	दाताम् dātāram	स्वसाम् svásāram	पिताम् pitāram

I.	दात्रा dātrā	स्वस्रा svāsrā	पित्रा pitṛā
D.	दात्रे dātre	स्वस्रे svāstre	पित्रे pitṛe
Ab. G.	दातुर् dātūr	स्वसुर् svāsūr	पितुर् pitūr
L.	दातारि dātāri	स्वसारि svāsari	पितारि pitāri
V.	दातॄ dātār	स्वसॄ svāsār	पितॄ pitār

Dual:

N. A. V.	दातारौ dātārāu	स्वसारौ svāsārāu	पितरौ pitārāu
I. D. Ab.	दातृभ्याम् dātṛbhyām	स्वसृभ्याम् svāsṛbhyām	पितृभ्याम् pitṛbhyām
G. L.	दात्रोम् dātrōs	स्वस्रोम् svāsrōs	पित्रोम् pitṛōs

Plural:

N. V.	दातारम् dātāras	स्वसारम् svāsāras	पितरम् pitāras
A.	दातॄन् dātṛn	स्वसृन् svāsṛn	पितॄन् pitṛn
I.	दातृभिस् dātṛbhis	स्वसृभिस् svāsṛbhis	पितृभिस् pitṛbhis
D. Ab.	दातृभ्यम् dātṛbhyas	स्वसृभ्यम् svāsṛbhyas	पितृभ्यम् pitṛbhyas
G.	दातॄणाम् dātṛṇām	स्वसृणाम् svāsṛṇām	पितॄणाम् pitṛṇām
L.	दातॄषु dātṛṣu	स्वसृषु svāsṛṣu	पितॄषु pitṛṣu

a. The feminine stem मातृ *mātrī*, *mother*, is inflected precisely like पितृ *pitṛ*, excepting that its accusative plural is मातॄम् *mātrīm*.

b. The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. *da. datārā, svāsārā, pitārā*, and the gen. pl. of *nṛ, narām*.

c. The nom. pl. forms *pitaras* and *mātaras* etc. are found used also as accus. in the epics.

374. The stem *kroṣṭṭ* m. *jackal* (litly *howler*) substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of *krōṣṭu* (343 k).

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for bases in *tr*, precisely accordant with that of *vāri* or *mādhū* (above, 339, 341). Thus, for example:

	Sing.	Du.	Plur.
N. A.	dhātṛ	dhātṛñi	dhātṛṇi
I.	dhātṛnā	dhātṛbhyām	dhātṛbhis
G.	dhātṛṇas	dhātṛṇos	dhātṛṇām
V.	dhātṛ, dhātar	dhātṛñi	dhātṛṇi.

a. The weakest cases, however (as of *i*- and *u*-stems used adjectively: 344), are allowed also to be formed like the corresponding masculine cases: thus, *dhātṛā* etc.

b. No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. *Retter, Retterin*; Fr. *menteur, menteuse*) to give this *nomen agentis* a more adjective character making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (oppositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. *bhartṛ* and *janayitr̥*, qualifying *antārikṣam*; and *bhartṛṇi* and *janayitr̥ṇi*, qualifying *nākṣatrāṇi*; as, in M., *grahitr̥ṇi*, qualifying *indriyāṇi*.

c. When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in *i* is employed: thus, in TB., *bhartryās* and *bhartryāṁ*, *janayitryās* and *janayitryāṁ*, qualifying *ūpas* and *ahorātré*; and such instances are not uncommon.

d. The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus. pl. *mātṛṇ*, instead of *mātṛs*, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. x. 35.2).

e. Other neuter forms in RV. are *sthātūr* gen. sing., *dhimātāri* loc. sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of *-tr*, a few more or less doubtful cases, *sthātar*, *sthātūr*, *dhartāri*.

Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension: for the quasi-adjectival character of the nouns composing it, see above (375b). The feminine stem is made by the suffix *i*: thus, *dātrī*, *dhātṛī*.

b. Roots ending in *r* (like those in *i* and *u*: 345) add a *t* to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a compound:

thus, *karmakṛt* (ykr), *vajrabhṛt* (ybhṛ), *balihṛt* (yhr). From some *r*-roots, also, are made stems in *ir* and *ur*: see below, 383 a, b.

c. Nouns in *r* as finals of adjective compounds are inflected in the same manner as when simple, in the masculine and feminine; in the neuter, they would doubtless have the peculiar neuter endings in nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

d. But TS. has once *tvātpitāras*, nom. pl., *having thee for father*.

Declension V.

Stems ending in Consonants.

377. All stems ending in consonants may properly be classed together, as forming a single comprehensive declension: since, though some of them exhibit peculiarities of inflection, these have to do almost exclusively with the stem itself, and not with the declensional endings.

378. In this declension, masculines and feminines of the same final are inflected alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

a. The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in $\frac{3}{2}$ ī (never in ऋ ऌ), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.

b. Exceptions are in general the stems of divisions A and B — namely, the radical stems etc., and those in *as* and *is* and *us*. For special cases, see below.

379. Variations, as between stronger and weaker forms, are very general among consonantal stems: either of two degrees (strong and weak), or of three (strong, middle, and weakest): see above, 311.

a. The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (311 b), are made in the plural from the strong stem, in singular and dual from the weak — or, when the gradation is threefold, in singular from the middle stem, in dual from the weakest.

b. As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (*āsyāni*, *vāriṇi*, *mādhūni*, *dātṛṇi*, etc.), a nasal sometimes appears in the special neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in *as*, *is*, *us*, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. in *-ānsi*, *-īṅsi*, *-ūṅsi* are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division A) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neuters are of extreme rarity in the language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras have been noted only *-hanti* (AB. vii. 2. 3), *-vṛnti* (PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al.), *-bhāñji* (KB. xxvii. 7), *-bhṛnti* (QB. viii. 1. 3¹), and *-yuñji* (LCS. ii. 1. 8; while in the later language is found here and there a case, like *-ṇṇṇṇi* (Rāgh.), *-pūṇṇi* (Çiç.); it may be questioned whether they are not later analogical formations.

360. The endings are throughout those given above (310) as the "normal".

a. By the general law as to finals (150), the *s* of the nom. sing. masc. and fem. is always lost; and irregularities of treatment of the final of the stem in this case are not infrequent.

b. The gen. and abl. sing. are never distinguished in form from one another — nor are, by ending, the nom. and accus. pl.: but these sometimes differ in stem-form, or in accent, or in both.

381. Change in the place of the accent is limited to monosyllabic stems and the participles in *ânt* (accented on the final). For details, see below, under divisions A and E.

a. But a few of the compounds of the root *āñ* or *ac* show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, 410.

382. a. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:

- B. Derivative stems in *as*, *is*, *us*;
- C. Derivative stems in *an* (*an*, *man*, *van*);
- D. Derivative stems in *in* (*in*, *min*, *vin*);
- E. Derivative stems in *ant* (*ant*, *mant*, *vant*);
- F. Perfect active participles in *vāñs*;
- G. Comparatives in *yāñs* or *yas*.

b. There remain, then, to constitute division A, especially radical stems, or those identical in form with roots,

together with a comparatively small number of others which are inflected like these.

They will be taken up in the order thus indicated.

A. Root-stems, and those inflected like them.

383. The stems of this division may be classified as follows:

I. a. Root-stems, having in them no demonstrable element added to a root: thus, *ṛc* *verse*, *gír* *song*, *pád* *foot*, *díc* *direction*, *máh* (V.) *great*.

b. Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, *vác* from *y'vac*, *aráj* from *y'srj*, *mūṣ* from *y'muṣ*, *vriṣ* from *y'vraṣ* (?), *úṣ* from *y'vas* *shine*; — from roots in final *r* come stems in *ir* and *ur*: thus, *gír*, *ā-ṣír*, *stír*; *júr*, *túr*, *dhúr*, *púr*, *múr*, *stúr*, *sphúr*; and *psúr* from *y'psar*.

c. With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as *cikít*, *yaviyúdh*, *vánivan*, *sasyád*.

d. Words of this division in uncompound use are tolerably frequent in the older language: thus, in RV. are found more than a hundred of them; in AV., about sixty; but in the classical Sanskrit the power of using any root at will in this way is lost, and the examples are comparatively few. In all periods, however, the adjective use as final of a compound is very common (see below, 401).

e. As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-noun, see 371.

II. f. Stems made by the addition of *t* to a final short vowel of a root.

g. No proper root-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (354) examples of transfer of such to short-vowel-declensions; but *i* or *u* or *r* adds a *t* to make a declinable form: thus, *-jít*, *-ṣrút*, *-kít*. Roots in *r*, however, as has just been seen (b), also make stems in *ir* or *ur*.

h. As regards the frequency and use of these words, the same is true as was stated above respecting root-stems. The Veda offers examples of nearly thirty such formations, a few of them (*mít*, *rít*, *stút*, *hrút*, *vít*, and *dyút* if this is taken from *dyu*) in independent use. Of roots in *r*, *t* is added by *kr*, *dhṛ*, *dhvṛ*, *bhr*, *vṛ*, *sr*, *spṛ*, *hr*, and *hvr*. The roots *gā* (or *gam*) and *han* also make *-gát* and *-hát* by addition of the *t* to an abbreviated form in *a* (thus, *adhvagát*, *dyugát*, *dvigat*, *navagát*, and *samhát*).

III. i. Monosyllabic (also a few apparently reduplicated) stems not certainly connectible with any verbal root in the language, but having the aspect of root-stems, as containing no traceable suffix

thus, *tvāc* *skin*, *pāth* *road*, *hṛd* *heart*, *āp* and *vār* *water*, *dvār* *door*, *ās* *mouth*, *kakūbh* and *kakūd* *anumūt*.

j. Thirty or forty such words are found in the older language, and some of them continue in later use, while others have been transferred to other modes of declension or have become extinct.

k. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix *vat*: *arvāvāt*, *āvāt*, *udvāt*, *nivāt*, *parāvāt*, *pravāt*, *sañvāt*;—2. derivatives (V.) in *tāt* (perhaps abbreviated from *tāti*), in a few isolated forms: thus, *uparātāt*, *devātāt*, *vṛkātāt*, *satyātāt*, *sarvātāt*;—3. other derivatives in *t* preceded by various vowels: thus, *daçāt*, *vehāt*, *vahāt*, *sarvāt*, *saççāt*, *vāghāt*; *nāpāt*; *taçīt*, *divīt*, *yoçīt*, *rohīt*, *sarīt*, *harīt*; *marūt*; *yākṛt*, *çākṛt*; and the numerals for 30, 40, 50, *triñçāt* etc. (475);—4. stems in *ad*: thus, *drṣād*, *dhṛṣād*, *bhasād*, *vanād*, *çarād*, *samād*;—5. stems in *j* preceded by various vowels: thus, *ṭṛṇāj*, *dhṛṣāj*, *sanāj*, *bhiṣāj*; *uçj*, *vanīj*, *bhurīj*, *niṇīj*(?); *āsṛj*;—6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, *jñās*, *-dās*, *bhās*, *mās*, *bhiṣ*;—7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as *viṣṭāp*, *vīpāç*, *kāpṛth*, *çurūdh*, *iṣīdh*, *ṛkṣūdh*, *raghāt*(?), *sarāgh*, *visrūh*, *uṇṇih*, *kavāç*.

384. Gender. The root-stems are regularly feminine as *nomen actionis*, and masculine as *nomen agentis* (which is probably only a substantive use of their adjective value: below, 400). But the feminine noun, without changing its gender, is often also used concretely: e. g., *druh* f. (*ṽdruh* *be inimical*) means *harming*, *enmity*, and also *harmer*, *hater*, *enemy*—thus bordering on the masculine value. And some of the feminines have a completely concrete meaning. Through the whole division, the masculines are much less numerous than the feminines, and the neuters rarest of all.

a. The independent neuter stems are *hṛd* (also *-hārd*), *dām*, *vār*, *avār*, *mās* *flesh*, *ās* *mouth*, *bhās*, *dōs* (with which may be mentioned the indeclinables *çām* and *yōs*); also the apparent derivatives *yākṛt*, *çākṛt*, *kāpṛth*, *āsṛj*.

385. Strong and weak stem-forms. The distinction of these two classes of forms is usually made either by the presence or absence of a nasal, or by a difference in the quantity of the stem-vowel, as long or short; less often, by other methods.

386. A nasal appears in the strong cases of the following words:

1. Compounds having as final member the root *ac* or *añc*: see below, 407 ff.; and RV. has once *urnvyāñcam* from root *vyac*;—2. The

stem *yuj*, sometimes, in the older language: thus, nom. sing. *yūñ* (for *yūñk*), accus. *yūñjam*, du. *yūñjā* (but also *yūjam* and *yūjā*); — 3. The stem *-dr̥q*, as final of a compound in the older language; but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, *anyādñ*, *idñ*, *kīdñ*, *tādñ*, *etādñ*, *sadñ* and *pratisadñ*: but also *idñk*, *tādñk*, *svardñk*, etc.; — 4. For *path* and *puma*, which substitute more extended stems, and for *dant*, see below, 394—8.

387. The vowel *a* is lengthened in strong cases as follows:

1. Of the roots *vac*, *sac*, *sap*, *nabh*, *ṣas*, in a few instances (V.), at the end of compounds; — 2. Of the roots *vah* and *sah*, but irregularly; see below, 403—5; — 3. Of *ap* *water* (see 393); also in its compound *rūtyap*; — 4. Of *pad* *foot*: in the compounds of this word, in the later language, the same lengthening is made in the middle cases also; and in RV. and AV. the nom. sing. neut. is both *-pat* and *-pāt*, while RV. has once *-pāde*, and *pādbhīa* and *pātsu* occur in the Brāhmaṇas; — 5. Of *nas* *nose* (? *nāsā* nom. du. fem., RV., once); — 6. Sporadic cases (V.) are: *yāj* (?), voc. sing.; *pāthās* and *-rāpas*, accus. pl.; *vānivānas*, nom. pl. The strengthened forms *bhāj* and *rāj* are constant, through all classes of cases.

388. Other modes of differentiation, by elision of *a* or contraction of the syllable containing it, appear in a few stems:

1. In *-han*: see below, 402; — 2. In *kṣam* (V.), along with prolongation of *a*: thus, *kṣāmā* du., *kṣāmas* pl.; *kṣamā* instr. sing., *kṣāmi* loc. sing., *kṣmās* abl. sing.; — 3. In *dvār*, contracted (V.) to *dur* in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes); — 4. In *avār*, which becomes, in RV., *sūr* in weak cases; later it is indeclinable.

389. The endings are as stated above (380).

a. Respecting their combination with the final of the stem, as well as the treatment of the latter when it occurs at the end of the word, the rules of euphonic combination (chap. III.) are to be consulted; they require much more constant and various application here than anywhere else in declension.

b. Attention may be called to a few exceptional cases of combination (V.): *mādbhīa* and *mādbhyāa* from *mās* *month*; the wholly anomalous *paḍbhīa* (RV. and VS.: AV. has always *padbhīa*) from *pād*; and *sarāṭ* and *sarāḍbhyas* corresponding to a nom. pl. *sarāghas* (instead of *sarāhas*: 322). *Dān* is apparently for *dām*, by 143a.

c. According to the grammarians, neuter stems, unless they end in a nasal or a semivowel, take in nom.-acc.-voc. pl. a strengthening nasal before the final consonant. But no such cases from neuter noun-stems appear ever to have been met with in use; and as regards adjective stems ending in a root, see above, 379b.

390. Monosyllabic stems have the regular accent of such, throwing the tone forward upon the endings in the weak cases.

a. But the accusative plural has its normal accentuation as a weak case, upon the ending, in only a minority (hardly more than a third) of the stems: namely in *datás*, *pathás*, *padás*, *nídás*, *apás*, *uśás*, *jñásás*, *pumsás*, *māsás*, *mahás*; and sometimes in *vācás*, *śracás*, *hrutás*, *śridhás*, *kṣapás*, *vīpás*, *durás*, *iśás*, *dviśás*, *druhás* (beside *vācás* etc.).

b. Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: *sádā*, *nádbhyas*, *tānā* (also *tanā*) and *tāne*, *bádhe* (inf.), *rāpe* and *rāṅsu*, *vāṅsu*, *svāni*, *vīpas*, *kṣāmi*, *sūrā* and *sūras* (but *sūrē*), *áṅhas*, and *vānas* and *bḥas* (in *vānaspāti*, *bḥaspāti*). On the other hand, a strong case is accented on the ending in *mahás*, nom. pl., and *kāsām* (AV.: perhaps a false reading). And *preśā*, instr. sing., is accented as if *preṣ* were a simple stem, instead of *pra-īṣ*. *Vimṣdhāḥ* is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in *ac* or *añc*, see 410.

391. Examples of inflexion. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflexion, we may take the stem-
वाच् *vāc* f. *voice* (from *वच् vac*, with constant prolongation);
of inflexion with strong and weak stem, पद् *pād* m. *foot*;
of polysyllabic inflexion, मरुत् *marūt* m. *wind* or *wind-god*;
of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, त्रिवृत् *trivṛt*
three-fold, in the neuter. Thus:

Singular:

N. V.	वाक् vāk	पात् pāt	मरुत् marūt	त्रिवृत् trivṛt
A.	वाचम् vācam	पादम् pādam	मरुतम् marutam	त्रिवृत् trivṛt
I.	वावा vācā	पदा padā	मरुता marutā	त्रिवृता trivṛtā
D.	वाचे vācē	पदे padē	मरुते marute	त्रिवृते trivṛte
Ab. G.	वाचम् vācās	पदम् padās	मरुतम् marutas	त्रिवृतम् trivṛtas
L.	वाचि vācī	पदि padī	मरुति maruti	त्रिवृति trivṛti

Dual:

N. A. V.	वाचौ vācāu	पादौ pādāu	मरुतौ marútāu	त्रिवृती trivṛtī
I. D. Ab.	वाग्भ्याम् vāgbhyām	पद्भ्याम् padbhyām	मरुद्भ्याम् marudbhyām	त्रिवृद्भ्याम् trivṛdbhyām
G. L.	वाचोन् vācós	पदोन् padós	मरुतोन् marútos	त्रिवृतोन् trivṛtos

Plural:

N. V.	वाचम् vācas	पादम् pādas	मरुतम् marútas	त्रिवृत्ति trivṛnti
A.	वाचम् vācās, vācas	पदम् pādas	मरुतम् marútas	त्रिवृत्ति trivṛnti
I.	वाग्भिम् vāgbhis	पद्भिम् padbhis	मरुद्भिम् marúdbhis	त्रिवृद्भिम् trivṛdbhis
D. Ab.	वाग्भ्याम् vāgbhyās	पद्भ्याम् padbhyās	मरुद्भ्याम् marúdbhyas	त्रिवृद्भ्याम् trivṛdbhyas
G.	वाचाम् vācām	पदाम् padām	मरुताम् marútām	त्रिवृतान् trivṛtām
L.	वानु vāksū	पत्सु patsū	मरुत्सु marútsu	त्रिवत्सु trivṛtsu

By way of illustration of the leading methods of treatment of a stem-final, at the end of the word and in combination with case-endings, characteristic case-forms of a few more stems are here added. Thus:

a. Stems in j: yuj-class (219 a, 142), *bhiṣáj physician*: bhiṣák, bhiṣájam, bhiṣággbhis, bhiṣákṣu; — mrj-class (219 b, 142), *samráj universal ruler*: samráṭ, samrájam, samráḍgbhis, samráṭsu.

b. Stems in dh: -vṛdh *increasing*: -vṛt, -vṛdham, -vṛdbhis, -vṛtsu; -búdh (155) *waking*: -bhút, -búdhm, -bhúdbhis, -bhútsu.

c. Stems in bh: -stúbh *praising*: -stúp, -stúbham, -stúbgbhis, -stúpsu.

d. Stems in ḡ: díḡ (218 a, 145) *direction*: dík, díḡam, díḡgbhis, díḡṣú; — víḡ (218, 145) *the people*: víṭ, víḡam, víḡgbhis, víṭṣú (V. víḡṣú: 218 a).

e. Stems in ḡ (226 b, 145): dvíḡ *enemy*: dvíṭ, dvíḡam, dvíḡgbhis, dvíṭṣú.

f. Stems in h: duh-class (232-3 a, 155 b, 147), -dúh *milking*,

yielding: -dhúk, -dúham, -dhúgbhis, -dhúkeṣu; — *ruh-class* (223 b, 147), -lih *licking*: -liṭ, -liham, -liḍbhis, -liṭsu.

g. Stems in m (143 a, 212 a: only praçán, nom. sing., quotable): -çām *quieting*: -çān, -çāmam, -çānbhis, -çānsu.

392. The root-stems in *ir* and *ur* (383 b) lengthen their vowel when the final *r* is followed by another consonant (245 b), and also in the nom. sing. (where the case-ending *s* is lost).

a. Thus, from *gír* f. *song* come *gír* (gīḥ), *gíram*, *girá* etc.; *gírau*, *gírbhyām*, *gíros*; *gíras*, *gírbhis*, *gírbhyás*, *gírām*, *gírú* (165); and, in like manner, from *púr* f. *stronghold* come *púr* (pūḥ), *púram*, *purá*, etc.; *púrau*, *púrbhyām*, *purós*; *púras*, *púrbhis*, *púrbhyás*, *purām*, *pūrú*.

b. There are no roots in *is* (except the excessively rare *pis*) or in *us*; but from the root *çās* with its *ā* weakened to *i* (250) comes the noun *āçis* f. *blessing*, which is inflected like *gír*: thus, *āçis* (āçīḥ), *āçisam*, *āçisā*, etc.; *āçisau*, *āçírbhyām*, *āçisós*; *āçisas*, *āçírbhis*, *āçírbhyas*, *āçisām*, *āçīṣu*. And *sajús* *together* is apparently a stereotyped nominative of like formation from the root *juṣ*. The form *aṣṭāpruṭ* (TS.), from the root-stem *pruṣ*, is isolated and anomalous.

c. These stems in *ir*, *ur*, *is* show a like prolongation of vowel also in composition and derivation: thus, *gírvāṇa*, *púrbhíd*, *dhūrgata*, *dhūstva*, *āçirdā*, *āçírvant*, etc. (but also *gírvan*, *gírvaṇas*).

d. The native grammar sets up a class of quasi-radical stems like *jigamís* *desiring to go*, made from the desiderative conjugation-stem (1027), and prescribes for it a declension like that of *āçis*: thus, *jigamís*, *jigamiṣā*, *jigamírbhis*, *jigamíṣu*, etc. Such a class appears to be a mere figment of the grammarians, since no example of it has been found quotable from the literature, either earlier or later, and since there is, in fact, no more a desiderative stem *jigamís* than a causative stem *gamay*.

393. The stem *áp* f. *water* is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before *bh* to *d* (151 e): thus, *āpas*, *apás*, *adbhis*, *adbhyás*, *apām*, *apsú*.

a. But RV. has the sing. instr. *apā* and gen. *apás*. In the earlier language (especially AV.), and even in the epics, the nom. and accus. pl. forms are occasionally confused in use, *āpas* being employed as accus., and *apás* as nominative.

b. Besides the stem *ap*, case-forms of this word are sometimes used in composition and derivation: thus, for example, *abjā*, *āpodevata*, *āpomāya*, *apsumant*.

394. The stem *pūms* m. *man* is very irregular, substituting *pūmán* in the strong cases, and losing its *s* (necessarily) before initial *bh* of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at 231) in the loc. plural. The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly

inflected perfect participles: see 462 a) *pūman* in the later language, but *pūmas* in the earlier. Thus: *pūman*, *pūmānsam*, *pūmāś*, *pūmāśē*, *pūmāśās*, *pūmāśī*, *pūman*; *pūmānsāu*, *pumbhyām*, *pūmāśōs*; *pūmāśās*, *pūmāśās*, *pumbhāś*, *pumbhyāś*, *pūmāśām*, *pūmāśū*.

a. The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noticed, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with *bh*-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later. Instances of the confusion of strong and weak forms are occasionally met with. As to the retention of *s* unlingualized in the weakest cases (whence necessarily follows that in the loc. pl.), see 183 a.

b. This stem appears under a considerable variety of forms in composition and derivation: thus, as *pūms* in *pūmṣcalī*, *pūmṣtva*, *pūmṣvant*, *-pūmṣka*, etc.; as *pum* in *pūmvatsa*, *pūmrūpa*, *pūmvat*, *pumartha*, etc.; as *pūmsa* in *pūmsavant*; — at the end of a compound, either with its full inflection, as in *stripūms* etc.; or as *pūmsa*, in *stripūmsa*, *mahāpūmsa*; or as *puma* in *stripuma* (TS. TA.).

395. The stem *path m. road* is defective in declension, forming only the weakest cases, while the strong are made from *pānthā* or *pānthan*, and the middle from *pathī*: see under *an*-stems, below, 433.

396. The stem *dānt m. tooth* is perhaps of participial origin, and has, like a participle, the forms *dānt* and *dāt*, strong and weak: thus (V.), *dān*, *dāntam*, *datā*, etc.; *datās* acc. pl. etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent: thus, *dadbhāś*, *dadbhyās*. In nom. pl. occurs also *-datas* instead of *-dantas*. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from *dānta*.

397. A number of other words of this division are defective, making part of their inflection from stems of a different form.

a. Thus, *hṛd heart*, *māṁs* or *mās n. meat*, *mās m. month*, *nās f. nose*, *niç f. night* (not found in the older language), *pṛt f. army*, are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accus. sing. and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from *hṛdaya*, *māṁsā*, *māsa*, *nāsikā*, *niçā*, *pṛtanā*. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find *mās flesh* accus. sing.; *mās month* nom. sing.; and *nāsā nostrils* du. From *pṛt* occurs only the loc. pl. *pṛtsū* and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, *pṛtsūṇu*.

398. On the other hand, certain stems of this division, allowed by the grammarians a full inflection, are used to fill up the deficiencies of those of another form.

a. Thus, *āṣṭj n. blood*, *çākṛt n. ordure*, *yākṛt n. liver*, *dōs n. (also m.) fore-arm*, have beside them defective stems in *ān*: see below, 432. Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.

b. Of *ās* n. *mouth*, and *úd* *water*, only a case or two are found, in the older language, beside *āsān* and *āsyā*, and *udān* and *údaka* (432).

399. Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, *dānta*, *māsa*. A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are *-pāda*, *-māda*, *-dāṣa*, *bhrājā*, *viṣṭāpa*, *dvāra* and *dūra*, *pura*, *dhura*, *-dṛṣa*, *nāsā*, *nidā*, *kaśpā*, *keapā*, *ācā*, and perhaps a few others.

a. A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head of Adjectives.

Adjectives.

400. Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively rare even in the oldest language.

a. About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only in a few scattering cases. But *mah* *great* is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, *mahī*, which continues in use, as meaning *earth* etc.

401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member, with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period of the language.

a. Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are not very rare: examples are *yatāsruc* *with offered bowl*; *sūryatvac* *sun-skinned*; *cātuspad* *four-footed*; *suhārd* *kind-hearted, friendly*; *rītyāp* (i. e. *ritī-ap*) *having streaming waters*; *sahasradvār* *furnished with a thousand doors*.

b. The inflection of such compounds is like that of the simple root-stems, masculine and feminine being throughout the same, and the neuter varying only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers. But special neuter forms are of rare occurrence, and masc.-fem. are sometimes used instead.

c. Only rarely is a derivative feminine stem in *ī* formed: in the older language, only from the compounds with *ac* or *añc* (407 ff.), those with *han* (402), those with *pad*, as *ēkapadī*, *dvipadī*, and with *dant*, as *vīṣadati*, and *mahī*, *āmucī* (AV.), *ūpasadī* (?ÇB).

Irregularities of inflection appear in the following:

402. The root *han* *slay*, as final of a compound, is inflected somewhat like a derivative noun in *an* (below, 420 ff.), becoming *hā* in the nom. sing., and losing its *n* in the middle cases and its *a* in the weakest cases but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when the vowel is lost, *h* in contact with following *n* reverts to its original *gh*. Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	vṛtrahā	} vṛtrahāpāu	vṛtrahāpas
A.	vṛtrahānam		vṛtraghnās
I.	vṛtraghnā	} vṛtrahābhyām	vṛtrahābhis
D.	vṛtraghné		} vṛtrahābhyas
Ab.	} vṛtraghnās	} vṛtraghnós	
G.		vṛtraghnām	
L.	vṛtraghní, -háṇi	} vṛtrahāpāu	vṛtrahāsu
V.	vṛtrahan		vṛtrahanas.

a. As to the change of *n* to *ṇ*, see 193, 195.

b. A feminine is made by adding *ī* to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases; thus, *vṛtraghnī*.

c. An accus. pl. -hānas (like the nom.) also occurs. *Vṛtrahābhis* (RV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. Transitions to the *a*-declension begin already in the Veda: thus, to -há (RV. AV.), -ghná (RV.), -hana.

403. The root *vah* *carry* at the end of a compound is said by the grammarians to be lengthened to *vāh* in both the strong and middle cases, and contracted in the weakest cases to *ūh*, which with a preceding *a*-vowel becomes *āu* (137 c): thus, from *havyavāh* *sacrifice-bearing* (epithet of Agni), *havyavāt*, *havyavāham*, *havyāūhā*, etc.; *havyavāhau*, *havyavādbhyām*, *havyāūhos*; *havyavāhas*, *havyāūhas*, *havyavādbhis*, etc. And *çvetavāh* (not quotable) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in *vās* and the vocative in *vas* or *vās*.

a. In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with *vah* have been found to occur: namely, -vāt, -vāham, -vāhau or -vāhā, and -vāhas. But feminines in *ī*, from the weakest stem — as *turyāūhī*, *dityāūhī*, *paṣṭhāūhī* — are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. *paṣṭhavāt*.

404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of *vah*, namely *anaḍvāh* (*anas* + *vah* *burden-bearing* or *cart-drawing*, i. e. *ox*). Its stem-form in the strong cases is *anaḍvāh*, in the weakest *anaḍūh*, and in the middle *anaḍūd* (perhaps by dissimilation from *anaḍūd*). Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in *vān* and *van* (as if from a *vant*-stem). Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	anaḍvān	} anaḍvāhau	anaḍvāhas
A.	anaḍvāham		anaḍūhas
I.	anaḍūhā	} anaḍūdbhyām	anaḍūdbhis
D.	anaḍūhe		} anaḍūdbhyas
Ab.	} anaḍūhas	} anaḍūhos	
G.		anaḍūhām	anaḍūtsu
L.	anaḍūhi	} anaḍvāhau	anaḍūtsu
V.	anaḍvan		anaḍvāhas

a. *Anaḍūdbhyas* (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. But compounds showing the middle stem — as *anaḍucchata*, *anaḍudarha* — are met with in *Brāhmaṇas* etc.

b. The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either *anaḍuhī* (QB.) or *anaḍvāhī* (K. MS.).

405. The root *sah* *overcome* has in the Veda a double irregularity: its *s* is changeable to *ṣ* even after an *a*-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., *tvām ṣāt*) — while it sometimes remains unchanged after an *i* or *u*-vowel; and its *a* is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are: *-ṣāt*, *-ṣāham* or *-sāham* or *-sāham*, *-sāhā*, *-sāhe* or *-sāhe*, *-ṣāhas* or *-sāhas* or *-sāhas*; *-sāhā* (du.); *-ṣāhas* or *-sāhas*.

406. The compound *avayāj* (√*ya* *make offering*) a certain priest or (BR.) a certain sacrifice is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. *avayās*, and to make its middle cases from *avayās*.

a. Its only quotable form is *avayās*, f. (RV. and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from *ava* + √*ya* *conciliate*, *avayās* is very probably from *ava* + √*yā*, which has the same meaning. But *sadhamās* (RV., once) and *purodās* (RV. twice) show a similar apparent substitution in nom. sing. of the case-ending *s* after long *ā* for a final root-consonant (*d* and *ṣ* respectively). Compare also the alleged *ṣvetavās* (above, 403).

407. Compounds with *añc* or *ac*. The root *ac* or *añc* makes, in combination with prepositions and other words, a considerable class of familiarly used adjectives, of quite irregular formation and inflection, in some of which it almost loses its character of root, and becomes an ending of derivation.

a. A part of these adjectives have only two stem-forms: a strong in *añc* (yielding *añ*, from *añks*, in nom. sing. masc.), and a weak in *ac*; others distinguish from the middle in *ac* a weakest stem in *c*, before which the *a* is contracted with a preceding *i* or *u* into *i* or *ū*.

b. The feminine is made by adding *ī* to the stem-form used in the weakest cases, and is accented like them.

408. As examples of inflection we may take *prāñc* *forward, east*, *pratyāñc* *opposite, west*, *viṣvañc* *going apart*.

Singular:

N. V.	prāñ	prāk	pratyāñ	pratyāk	viṣvañ	viṣvak
A.	prāñcam	prāk	pratyāñcam	pratyāk	viṣvañcam	viṣvak
I.	prāñcā		pratyāñcā		viṣvañcā	
D.	prāñce		pratyāñce		viṣvañce	
Ab. G.	prāñcas		pratyāñcas		viṣvañcas	
L.	prāñci		pratyāñci		viṣvañci	

Dual:

N. A. V.	prāñcāu	prāñci	pratyāñcāu	pratyāñci	viṣvañcāu	viṣvañci
I. D. Ab.	prāñgbhyām		pratyāñgbhyām		viṣvañgbhyām	
G. L.	prāñcos		pratyāñcos		viṣvañcos	

Plural:

N. V.	prāñcas	prāñci	pratyāñcas	pratyāñci	viśvañcas	viśvañci
A.	prācas	prāñci	praticās	pratyāñci	viśucās	viśvañci
I.	prāgbhis		pratyāgbhis		viśvāgbhis	
D. Ab.	prāgbhyas		pratyāgbhyas		viśvāgbhyas	
G.	prācām		praticām		viśucām	
L.	prākṣu		pratyākṣu		viśvākṣu	

a. The feminine stems are *prāci*, *praticī*, *viśuci*, respectively.

b. No example of the middle forms excepting the nom. etc. sing. neut. (and this generally used as adverb) is found either in RV. or AV. In the same texts is lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in *ñci*; but of this a number of examples occur in the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *prāñci*, *pratyāñci*, *arvāñci*, *samyāñci*, *sadhryāñci*, *anvāñci*.

409. a. Like *prāñc* are inflected *āpāñc*, *āvañc*, *pārañc*, *arvāñc*, *adharāñc*, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like *pratyāñc* are inflected *nyāñc* (i. e. *nīāñc*), *samyāñc* (*sam* + *añc*, with irregularly inserted *i*), and *ūdañc* (weakest stem *ūdīc*: *ud* + *añc*, with *i* inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.

c. Like *viśvañc* is inflected *anvāñc*, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.

d. Still more irregular is *tiryāñc*, of which the weakest stem is *tirāq* (*tirās* + *ac*: the other stems are made from *tir* + *añc* or *ac*, with the inserted *i*).

410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to *i* or *ū*: thus, *prācā*, *arvācā*, *adharācās*, but *praticā*, *anūcās*, *samīcī*. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, *praticī*, *samīcī*, *anūcī* (RV. has *praticīm* once). The shift of accent to the endings, and even in polysyllable stems, is against all usual analogy.

B. Derivative stems in *as*, *is*, *us*.

411. The stems of this division are prevailingly neuter; but there are also a few masculines, and one or two feminines.

412. The stems in *घञ्* *as* are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix *घञ्* *as* (a small number also

with तन् tas and नन् nas, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes इन् is and उन् us.

413. Their inflection is almost entirely regular. But masculine and feminine stems in अस् as lengthen the vowel of the ending in nom. sing.; and the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. make the same prolongation (of अ a or इ i or उ u) before the inserted nasal (anusvāra).

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनस् mānas n. *mind*; अङ्गिरस् āṅgiras m. *Angiras*; रुविन् havis n. *oblation*.

Singular:

N.	मनस् mānas	अङ्गिरान् āṅgīrās	रुविन् havis
A.	मनस् mānas	अङ्गिरसम् āṅgirasam	रुविन् havis
I.	मनसा mānasā	अङ्गिरसा āṅgirasā	रुविषा haviṣā
D.	मनसे mānase	अङ्गिरसे āṅgirase	रुविषे haviṣe
Ab. 3.	मनसम् mānasas	अङ्गिरसम् āṅgirasas	रुविषम् haviṣas
L.	मनसि mānasi	अङ्गिरसि āṅgirasi	रुविषि haviṣi
V.	मनस् mānas	अङ्गिरस् āṅgiras	रुविन् havis

Dual:

N. A. V.	मनसौ mānasī	अङ्गिरसौ āṅgirasāu	रुविषौ haviṣī
I. D. Ab.	मनोभ्याम् mānobhyām	अङ्गिरोभ्याम् āṅgirobhyām	रुविर्भ्याम् haviṛbhyām
G. L.	मनसोस् mānasos	अङ्गिरसोस् āṅgirasos	रुविषोस् haviṣos

Plural:

N. A. V.	मनांसि	घङ्गिरसम्	हवींषि
	mānāṁsi	āṅgirasas	haviṁṣi
I.	मनोभिम्	घङ्गिरोभिम्	हविर्भिम्
	mānobhis	āṅgirobhis	havīrbhis
D. Ab.	मनोभ्यम्	घङ्गिरोभ्यम्	हविर्भ्यम्
	mānobhyas	āṅgirobhyas	havīrbhyas
G.	मनसाम्	घङ्गिरसाम्	हविषाम्
	mānasām	āṅgirasām	haviṣām
L.	मनःसु	घङ्गिरःसु	हविःसु
	mānaḥsu	āṅgiraḥsu	haviḥsu

In like manner, चक्षुस् *cākṣus* n. *eye* forms चक्षुषा *cākṣuṣā*, चक्षुर्ग्राम् *cākṣurbhṛyām*, चक्षूषि *cākṣūṁṣi*, and so on.

415. Vedic etc. Irregularities. a. In the older language, the endings *-asām* (acc. sing.) and *-asas* (generally nom.-acc. pl.; once or twice gen.-abl. sing.) of stems in *as* are not infrequently contracted to *-ām*, *-ās* — e. g. *āçām*, *vedhām*; *surādhas*, *ānāgās* — and out of such forms grow, both earlier and later, substitute-stems in *ā*, as *āçā*, *jarā*, *medhā*. So from other forms grow stems in *a* and in *asa*, which exchange more or less with those in *as* through the whole history of the language.

b. More scattering irregularities may be mentioned, as follows: 1. The usual masc. and fem. du. ending in *ā* instead of *āu*; — 2. *uṣās* f. *daen* often prolongs its *a* in the other strong cases, as in the nom. sing.: thus, *uṣāsam*, *uṣāsā*, *uṣāsas* (and once in a weak case, *uṣāsas*); and in its instr. pl. occurs once (RV.) *uṣādbhis* instead of *uṣōbhis*; — 3. from *toçās* is once (RV.) found a similar dual, *toçāsā*; — 4. from *svāvas* and *svātavas* occur in RV. a nom. sing. masc. in *vān*, as if from a stem in *vant*; and in the Brāhmaṇas is found the dat.-abl. pl. *o* like formation *svātavadbhyas*.

c. The stems in *is* and *us* also show transitions to stems in *i* and *u*, and in *iṣa* and *uṣa*. From *janūs* is once (RV.) made the nom. sing. *janūs*, after the manner of an *as*-stem (cf. also *janūrvāsas* (B.)).

416. The grammarians regard *uçānas* m. as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355 a), but give it the irregular nom. *uçānā* and the voc. *uçanas* or *uçanā* or *uçanan*. Forms from the *as*-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.

a. As to forms from *as*-stems to *āhan* or *āhar* and *ūdhan* or *ūdhar*, see below, 430.

Adjectives.

417. a. A few neuter nouns in *as* with accent on the radical syllable have corresponding adjectives or appellatives in *ās*, with accent on the ending: thus, for example, *āpas work*, *apās active*; *tāras quickness*, *tarās quick*; *yāças glory*, *yaças glorious*. A few other similar adjectives — as *tavās mighty*, *vedhās pious* — are without corresponding nouns.

b. Original adjectives in *is* do not occur (as to alleged desiderative adjectives in *is*, see 392 d). But in *us* are found as many adjectives as nouns (about ten of each class); and in several instances adjective and noun stand side by side, without difference of accent such as appears in the stems in *as*: e. g. *tāpus heat and hot*; *vāpus wonder and wonderful*.

418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as final member are very common: thus, *sumānas favorably minded*; *dirghāyus long-lived*; *çukrāçocis having brilliant brightness*. The stem-form is the same for all genders, and each gender is inflected in the usual manner, the stems in *as* making their nom. sing. masc. and fem. in *ās* (like *āṅgiras*, above). Thus, from *sumānas*, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

	Singular.			Dual.			Plural.						
	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.	m.	f.	n.				
N. <i>sumānās</i>			-nas	}	}	}	}	}	}				
A. <i>sumānasam</i>			-nas										
				<i>sumānasāu</i>			<i>-naśi</i>						
							<i>sumānasas</i>						
							<i>-nāśi</i>						

and the other cases (save the vocative) are alike in all genders.

a. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, the neut. nom. sing. is in a considerable number of instances made in *ās*, like the other genders.

b. From *dirghāyus*, in like manner:

N.	dirghāyus	}	}	
A.	dirghāyuṣam			
	-yuṣ			
L.	dirghāyuṣa	dirghāyurbhyām		dirghāyurbhis
	etc.	etc.		etc.

419. The stem *anehās unrecalled* (defined as meaning *time* in the later language) forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. *anehā*.

C. Derivative stems in *an*.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes *अन् an*, *मन् man*, and *वन् van*, together with a few of more questionable etymology which are inflected like them. They are almost exclusively masculine and neuter.

421. The stem has a triple form. In the strong cases

of the masculine, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to *ā*; in the weakest cases it is in general struck out altogether; in the middle cases, or before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, the final *n* is dropped. The *n* is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving *ā* as final in the masculine, *a* in the neuter).

a. The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (311 b): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to *ā*, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of *a* — but this only optionally, not necessarily.

b. In the loc. sing., also, the *a* may be either rejected or retained (compare the corresponding usage with *r*-stems: 373). And after the *m* or *v* of *man* or *van*, when these are preceded by another consonant, the *a* is always retained, to avoid a too great accumulation of consonants.

422. The vocative sing. is in masculines the pure stem; in neuters, either this or like the nominative. The rest of the inflection requires no description.

423. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that when, in the weakest cases, an acute *ā* of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown forward upon the ending.

424. Examples of declension. As such may be taken *राज्ञन्* *rājān* m. *king*; *आत्मन्* *ātmān* m. *soul, self*; *नामन्* *nāman* n. *name*. Thus:

Singular:			
N.	राज्ञा <i>rājā</i>	आत्मा <i>ātmā</i>	नाम <i>nāma</i>
A.	राज्ञानम् <i>rājānam</i>	आत्मानम् <i>ātmānam</i>	नाम <i>nāma</i>
I.	राज्ञा <i>rājñā</i>	आत्मना <i>ātmānā</i>	नाम्ना <i>nāmñā</i>
D.	राज्ञे <i>rājñe</i>	आत्मने <i>ātmāne</i>	नाम्ने <i>nāmne</i>

Ab. G.	राज्ञम् rājñas	घात्मनम् ātmānas	नाम्नम् nāmnas
L.	राज्ञि, राजनि rājñi, rājani	घात्मनि ātmāni	नाम्नि, नामनि nāmni, nāmani
V.	राज्ञन् rājān	घात्मन् ātman	नामन्, नाम nāman, nāma

Dual:

N. A. V.	राज्ञानौ rājānāu	घात्मानौ ātmānāu	नाम्नी, नामनी nāmni, nāmani
I. D. Ab.	राज्ञभ्याम् rājabhyām	घात्मभ्याम् ātmabhyām	नामभ्याम् nāmaphyām
G. L.	राज्ञोस् rājños	घात्मनोस् ātmānos	नाम्नोस् nāmnos

Plural:

N.	राज्ञानम् rājānas	घात्मानम् ātmānas	नामानि nāmāni
A.	राज्ञम् rājñas	घात्मनम् ātmānas	नामानि nāmāni
I.	राज्ञभिम् rājabhis	घात्मभिम् ātmabhis	नामभिम् nāmaphis
D. Ab.	राज्ञभ्यम् rājabhyas	घात्मभ्यम् ātmabhyas	नामभ्यम् nāmaphyas
G.	राज्ञाम् rājñām	घात्मनाम् ātmānām	नाम्नाम् nāmnām
L.	राज्ञसु rājāsū	घात्मसु ātmāsū	नामसु nāmasū

a. The weakest cases of mūrdhān m. *head*, would be accented mūrdhnā, mūrdhnā, mūrdhnós, mūrdhnás (acc. pl.), mūrdhnām, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., mūrdhni or mūrdhāni).

425. Vedic Irregularities. a. Here, as elsewhere, the ending of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. masc. is usually ā instead of āu.

b. The briefer form (with ejected a) of the loc. sing., and of the neut. nom.-acc.-voc. du., is quite unusual in the older language. RV. writes once *ṣatadāṇni*, but it is to be read *ṣatadāṇani*; and similar cases occur in AV. (but also several times -mni). In the Brāhmaṇas, too, such forms as *dhāmani* and *sāmani* are very much more common than such as *shni* and *lomni*.

c. But throughout both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, an abbreviated form of the loc. sing., with the ending *i* omitted, or identical with the stem, is of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form: thus, *mūrdhān*, *kārman*, *ādhvan*, beside *mūrdhāni* etc. The *n* has all the usual combinations of a final *n*: e. g. *mūrdhann asya*, *mūrdhant sa*, *mūrdhañs tvā*.

d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in *ā* or (twice as often) *a*, instead of *āni*: thus, *brāhma* and *brāhmā*, beside *brāhmāni*: compare the similar series of endings from *a*-stems, 329 c.

e. From a few stems in *man* is made an abbreviated instr. sing., with loss of *m* as well as of *n*: thus, *mahinā*, *prathinā*, *variṇā*, *dānā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, for *mahimnā* etc. And *drāghmā* and *raçmā* (RV., each once) are perhaps for *drāghmānā*, *raçmānā*.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the *a* of the suffix retained: thus, for example, *bhūmanā*, *dāmane*, *yāmanas*, *ukṣānas* (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives (970 d) — *trāmaṇe*, *vidmāne*, *dāvāne*, etc. — the *a* always remains. About as numerous are the instances in which the *a*, omitted in the written form of the text, is, as the metre shows, to be restored in reading.

g. The voc. sing. in *vas*, which is the usual Vedic form from stems in *vant* (below, 454 b) is found also from a few in *van*, perhaps by a transfer to the *vant*-declension: thus, *ṛtāvas*, *evayāvas*, *khidvas* (?), *prātaritvas*, *mātariçvas*, *vibhāvas*.

h. For words of which the *a* is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph.

426. A few stems do not make the regular lengthening of *a* in the strong cases (except the nom. sing.). Thus:

a. The names of divinities, *pūṣān*, *aryamān*: thus, *pūṣā*, *pūṣānam*, *pūṣpā*, etc.

b. In the Veda, *ukṣān*, *bull* (but also *ukṣānam*); *yóṣan* *maiden*; *vṛṣan* *virile, bull* (but *vṛṣānam* and *vṛṣānas* are also met with); *tmān*, abbreviation of *ātmān*; and two or three other scattering forms: *anarvānam*, *jēmanā*. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand a where *ā* is written.

427. The stems *çvān* *m. dog* and *yūvan* *young* have in the weakest cases the contracted form *çūn* and *yūn* (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, *çvā*, *çvānam*, *çūnā*, *çūne*, etc., *çvābhyām*, *çvābhis*, etc.; *yūvā*, *yūvānam*, *yūnā*, *yūvabhis*, etc.

a. In dual, RV. has once *yūnā* for *yūvānā*.

428. The stem *maghāvan* *generous* (later, almost exclusively a name of Indra) is contracted in the weakest cases to *maghōn*: thus, *maghāvā*, *maghāvānam*, *maghōnā*, *maghōne*, etc.

a. The RV. has once the weak form *maghōnas* in nom. pl.

b. Parallel with this is found the stem *maghāvant* (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, *maghavadbhis*, *maghavatsu*, etc. (not *maghavabhis* etc.).

429. a. Stems in *a*, *ma*, *va*, parallel with those in *an*, *man*, *van*, and doubtless in many cases derived from them through transitional forms, are frequent in both the earlier and the later language, particularly as final members of compounds.

b. A number of *an*-stems are more or less defective, making a part of their forms from other stems. Thus:

430. a. The stem *āhan* n. *day* is in the later language used only in the strong and weakest cases, the middle (with the nom. sing., which usually follows their analogy) coming from *āhar* or *āhas*: namely, *āhar* nom.-acc. sing., *āhobhyām*, *āhobhis*, etc. (PB. has *aharbhis*); but *āhnā* etc., *āhni* or *āhani* (or *āhan*), *āhni* or *āhani*, *āhāni* (and, in V., *āhā*).

b. In the oldest language, the middle cases *āhabhis*, *āhabhyas*, *āhasu* also occur.

c. In composition, only *ahar* or *ahas* is used as preceding member; as final member, *ahar*, *ahas*, *ahan*, or the derivatives *aha*, *ahna*.

d. The stem *ūdhan* n. *udder* exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with *ūdhar* and *ūdhas*, but has become later an *as*-stem only (except in the fem. *ūdhni* of adjective compounds): thus, *ūdhar* or *ūdhas*, *ūdhnas*, *ūdhan* or *ūdhani*, *ūdhabbhis*, *ūdhasu*. As derivatives from it are made both *ūdhanyā* and *ūdhasya*.

431. The neuter stems *akṣān* *eye*, *asthān* *bone*, *dadhān* *curds*, *sakthān* *thigh*, form in the later language only the weakest cases, *akṣānā*, *asthnā*, *dadhnās*, *sakthni* or *sakthāni*, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in *i*, *ākṣi* etc.: see above, 343 i.

a. In the older language, other cases from the *an*-stems occur: thus, *akṣāni*, *akṣābhis*, and *akṣasu*; *asthāni*, *asthābhis*, and *asthābhyas*; *sakthāni*.

432. The neuter stems *asān* *blood*, *yakān* *liver*, *ṣakān* *ordure*, *āsān* *mouth*, *udān* *water*, *doṣān* *fore-arm*, *yūṣān* *broth*, are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems *āsrj*, *yākr̥t*, *ṣākr̥t*, *āsya*, *ūdaka* (in older language *udakā*), *dōs*, *yūṣā*, which are fully inflected.

a. Earlier occurs also the dual *doṣāpi*.

433. The stem *pānthan* m. *road* is reckoned in the later language as making the complete set of strong cases, with the irregularity that the nom.-voc. sing. adds a *s*. The corresponding middle cases are made from *pathi*, and the weakest from *path*. Thus:

from *pánthan* — *pánthās*, *pánthānam*; *pánthānāu*; *pánthānas*;
 from *pathí* — *pathíbhyām*; *pathíbhīa*, *pathíbhyas*, *pathíḡu*;
 from *path* — *pathā*, *pathé*, *pathās*, *pathí*; *pathós*; *pathās* or
páthas (accus.), *pathām*.

a. In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only *pánthā*: thus, *pánthās*, nom. sing.; *pánthām*, acc. sing.; *pánthās*, nom. pl.; and even in AV., *pánthānam* and *pánthānas* are rare compared with the others. From *pathí* occur also the nom. pl. *pathāyas* and gen. pl. *pathinām*. RV. has once *pāthās*, acc. pl., with long ā.

434. The stems *mánthan* m. *stirring-stick*, and *ṛbhukṣān* m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with *pánthan*; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from the former the acc. sing. *mánthām*, and gen. pl. *mathinām* (like the corresponding cases from *pánthan*); from the latter, the nom. sing. *ṛbhukṣās* and voc. pl. *ṛbhukṣās*, like the corresponding Vedic forms of *pánthan*; but also the acc. sing. *ṛbhukṣānam* and nom. pl. *ṛbhukṣānas*, which are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in *an* are almost exclusively those made with the suffix *van*, as *yájvan* *sacrificing*, *sútvan* *pressing the soma*, *jítvan* *conquering*. The stem is masc. and neut. only (but sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV.); the corresponding fem. stem is made in *varī*: thus, *yájvarī*, *jítvarī*.

436. Adjective compounds having a noun in *an* as final member are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine forms are sometimes used also as feminine; but usually a special feminine is made by adding *ī* to the weakest form of the masculine stem: thus, *sómarājñī*, *kílálodhnī*, *ékamūrdhnī*, *durṣāmnī*.

437. But (as was pointed out above: 420 a) nouns in *an* occurring as final members of compounds often substitute a stem in *a* for that in *an*: thus, *-rāja*, *-janma*, *-adhva*, *-aha*; their feminine is in *ā*. Occasional exchanges of stems in *van* and in *vant* also occur: thus, *vivásvan* and *vivásvant*.

a. The remaining divisions of the consonantal declension are made up of adjective stems only.

D. Derivative stems (adjective) in *in*.

438. The stems of this division are those formed with the suffixes *इन् in*, *मिन् min*, and *विन् vin*. They are mas-

culine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ई i.

a. The stems in in are very numerous, since almost any noun in a in the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, *bāla strength*, *balin m. n. balīni f. possessing strength, strong*. Stems in vin (1232), however, are very few, and those in min (1231) still fewer.

439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final न् n in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the ई i by way of compensation. The voc. sing. is in the masculine the bare stem; in the neuter, either this or like the nominative.

a. In all these respects, it will be noticed, the in-declension agrees with the an-declension; but it differs from the latter in never losing the vowel of the ending.

440. Example of inflection. As such may be taken बलिन् *balin strong*. Thus:

	Singular.		Dual.		Plural.	
	m.	n.	m.	n.	m.	n.
N.	बली balī	बलि balī	बलिनौ balīnāu	बलिनी balīnī	बलिनम् balīnas	बलीनि balīni
A.	बलिनम् balīnam	बलि balī				
I.	बलिना balīnā		बलिभ्याम् balībhyām		बलिभिम् balībhis	
D.	बलिने balīne				बलिभ्यम् balībhyas	
Ab.	बलिनम् balīnas		बलिनोम् balīnos		बलिनाम् balīnām	
G.					बलिषु balīṣu	
L.	बलिनि balīni		बलिनौ balīnāu	बलिनी balīnī	बलिनम् balīnas	
V.	बलिन् बलिन् बलि balin balin, balī					बलीनि balīni

a. The derived feminine stem in *inī* is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative I (384).

441. a. There are no irregularities in the inflection of *in*-stems, in either the earlier language or the later — except the usual Vedic dual ending in *ā* instead of *āu*.

b. Stems in *in* exchange with stems in *i* throughout the whole history of the language, those of the one class being developed out of those of the other often through transitional forms. In a much smaller number of cases, stems in *in* are expanded to stems in *ina*: e. g. *çākinā* (RV.), *çuamīṇa* (B.), *barhiṇa*, *bhajina*.

E. Derivative stems (adjective) in *ant* (or *at*).

442. These stems fall into two sub-divisions: 1. those made by the suffix *अन्त* *ant* (or *अत्* *at*), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes *मन्* *mant* and *वन्* *vant* (or *मत्* *mat* and *वत्* *vat*). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding *ई* *ī*.

1. Participles in *ant* or *at*.

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in *अन्त* *ant* and *अत्* *at*. The former is taken in the strong-cases of the masculine, with, as usual, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neuter; the latter is taken by all the remaining cases.

a. But, in accordance with the rule for the formation of the feminine stem (below, 449), the future participles, and the present participles of verbs of the tud-class or accented ā-class (752), and of verbs of the ad-class or root-class ending in *ā*, are by the grammarians allowed to make the nom.-acc.-voc. du. neut. from either the stronger or the weaker stem; and the present participles from all other present-stems ending in *a* are required to make the same from the strong stem.

444. Those verbs, however, which in the 3d pl. pres. active lose *न्* *n* of the usual ending *न्ति* *nti* (550 b), lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.

a. Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added *a*: namely, those of the reduplicating or *hu*-class (855) and the intensives (1012): thus, from *yhu*, present-stem *juhu*, participle-stem *júhvat*; intensive-stem *johu*, intensive participle-stem *jóhvat*. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, *cákṣat*, *dāṣat*, *dāsat*, *çāsat*, *sāçcat*; the aorist participle *dhákṣat*, and *vāghát* (?). *Vāvṛdhánt* (RV., once), which has the *n* notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in *a*: compare *vāvṛdhánta*, *vāvṛdhásva*.

b. Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. in *anti*.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in *अन्* *an* by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form *अत्स्* *ants*. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.

446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).

a. In the dual neut. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is *ánti* if the *n* is retained, *atí* if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve *भवत्* *bhávant* *being*, *अदत्* *adánt* *eating*, *बुधत्* *júhvat* *sacri-ficing*. Thus:

Singular:						
N.	भवन्	भवत्	अदन्	अदत्	बुधत्	बुधत्
	bhāvan	bhāvat	adān	adāt	júhvat	júhvat
A.	भवन्तम्	भवत्	अदन्तम्	अदत्	बुधन्तम्	बुधत्
	bhāvāntam	bhāvat	adāntam	adāt	júhvatam	júhvat
I.	भवता		अदता		बुधता	
	bhāvātā		adatā		júhvatā	
D.	भवते		अदते		बुधते	
	bhāvate		adaté		júhvate	
Ab. G.	भवतम्		अदतम्		बुधतम्	
	bhāvatas		adatás		júhvas	
L.	भवति		अदति		बुधति	
	bhāvati		adatí		júhvati	

V.	भवन् bhāvan	भवत् bhāvat	अदन् ādan	अदत् ādat	जुहत् jūhvat
Dual:					
N. A. V.	भवन्तौ bhāvantāu	भवन्ति bhāvanti	अदन्तौ adāntāu	अदन्ति adānti	जुहन्तौ jūhvātāu
I. D. Ab.	भवद्भ्याम् bhāvadbhyām		अदद्भ्याम् adādbhyām		जुहद्भ्याम् jūhvadbhyām
G. L.	भवतोम् bhāvatos		अदतोम् adātós		जुहतोम् jūhvatos
Plural:					
N. V.	भवन्तम् bhāvantas	भवन्ति bhāvanti	अदन्तम् adāntas	अदन्ति adānti	जुहन्तम् jūhventas
A.	भवतम् bhāvatās	भवन्ति bhāvanti	अदतम् adatās	अदन्ति adānti	जुहतम् jūhventas
I.	भवादिम् bhāvadbhis		अदादिम् adādbhis		जुहदिम् jūhvadbhis
D. Ab.	भवद्भ्याम् bhāvadbhyas		अदद्भ्याम् adādbhyas		जुहद्भ्याम् jūhvadbhyas
G.	भवताम् bhāvatām		अदताम् adatām		जुहताम् jūhvatām
L.	भवत्सु bhāvatsu		अदत्सु adātsu		जुहत्सु jūhvatsu

a. The future participle *bhaviṣyánt* may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either *bhaviṣyāntī* or *bhaviṣyati*; *tudánt*, either *tudāntī* or *tudatī*; *yānt* (*yā*), either *yāntī* or *yāti*. And *jūhvat*, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also *jūhvanti* (beside *jūhvati*, as given in the paradigm above).

b. But these strong forms (as well as *bhāvanti*, *du.*, and its like from present-stems in unaccented *a*) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No example of them is quotable, either from the older or from the later language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic derivations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending *āu* is only one sixth as common as *ā*. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: *acódāte*, *rathirāyātām*, and *vāghādbhis* (if this is a participle). The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. in *ānti*, with lengthened *ā* (compare the forms in *ānti*, below, 451 a, 454 c); one or two examples in *anti* are quotable from B.

449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding $\tilde{\text{f}}$ $\bar{\text{i}}$ to either the strong or the weak stem-form of the masc.-neut. The rules as to which of the two forms shall be taken are the same with those given above respecting the nom. etc. dual neuter; namely:

a. Participles from tense-stems ending in unaccented $\bar{\text{a}}$ add $\bar{\text{i}}$ to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in $\bar{\text{anti}}$.

b. Such are the bhū or unaccented $\bar{\text{a}}$ -class and the div or ya -class of present-stems (chap. IX.), and the desideratives and causatives (chap. XIV.): thus, from $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ (stem bhāva), bhāvanti ; from $\sqrt{\text{div}}$ (stem divya), divyanti ; from būbhūṣa and bhāvāya (desid. and caus. of $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$), būbhūṣanti and bhāvāyanti .

c. Exceptions to this rule are now and then met with, even from the earliest period. Thus, RV. has jāratī , and AV. the desiderative śiṣāsatī ; in B. occur vadatī , ṣocatī , tṛpyatī , and in S. further tiṣṭhatī , and the causative namayatī ; while in the epics and later such cases (including desideratives and causatives) are more numerous (about fifty are quotable), though still only sporadic.

d. Participles from tense-stems in accented $\bar{\text{a}}$ may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in $\bar{\text{anti}}$ or in atī (with accent as here noted).

e. Such are the present-stems of the tud or accented $\bar{\text{a}}$ -class (751 ff.), the $\bar{\text{a}}$ -futures (932 ff.), and the denominatives (1053 ff.): thus, from $\sqrt{\text{tud}}$ (stem tudā), tudanti or tudatī ; from bhaviṣyā (fut. of $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$), bhaviṣyanti or bhaviṣyatī ; from devayā (denom. of devā), devayanti or devayatī .

f. The forms in $\bar{\text{anti}}$ from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in atī is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in $\bar{\text{a}}$ are found there rājatī and śiṣcatī (RV.), tudatī and pinvatī (AV.). From denominatives, devayatī (RV.), durasyatī and ṣatrūyatī (AV.). In BhP. occurs dhakṣyatī .

g. Verbs of the ad or root-class (811 ff.) ending in $\bar{\text{a}}$ are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle: thus, from $\sqrt{\text{yā}}$, yāntī or yātī . The older language affords no example of the former, so far as noted.

h. From other tense-stems than those already specified—that is to say, from the remaining classes of present-stems and from the intensives—the feminine is formed in atī (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in atī only).

i. Thus, adatī from $\sqrt{\text{ad}}$; jūhvatī from $\sqrt{\text{hu}}$; yūñjatī from $\sqrt{\text{yuj}}$; sunvatī from $\sqrt{\text{su}}$; kurvatī from $\sqrt{\text{kṛ}}$; kṛṣatī from $\sqrt{\text{kṛi}}$; dēdīṣatī from dēdīṣ (intens. of $\sqrt{\text{diṣ}}$).

j. Feminine stems of this class are occasionally (but the case is much less frequent than its opposite: above, c) found with the nasal: thus, *yāntī* (AV., once), *undāntī* (QB.; but probably from the secondary *ā*-stem), *gr̥h̥nāntī* (S.), and, in the epics and later, such forms as *bruvāntī*, *rudāntī*, *cinvāntī*, *kurvāntī*, *jānāntī*, *muṣpāntī*.

450. A few words are participial in form and inflection, though not in meaning. Thus:

a. *bṛhānt* (often written *vṛhānt*) *great*; it is inflected like a participle (with *bṛhatī* and *bṛhāntī* in *du.* and *pl. neut.*).

b. *mahānt* *great*; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the *a* of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, *mahān*, *mahāntam*; *mahāntāu* (*neut. mahatī*); *mahāntas*, *mahāntī*; *inetr. mahatā* etc.

c. *pṛṣant* *speckled*, and (in Veda only) *rūṣant* *shining*.

d. *jāgat* *movable, lively* (in the later language, as neuter noun, *world*), a reduplicated formation from *γgam* *go*; its *nom. etc. neut. pl.* is allowed by the grammarians to be only *jāgāntī*.

e. *ṛhānt* *small* (only once, in RV., *ṛhatē*).

f. All these form their feminine in *atī* only: thus, *bṛhatī*, *mahatī*, *pṛṣatī* and *rūṣatī* (contrary to the rule for participles), *jāgatī*.

g. For *dānt* *tooth*, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 398.

451. The pronominal adjectives *īyant* and *kīyant* are inflected like adjectives in *mant* and *vant*, having (452) *īyān* and *kīyān* as *nom. masc. sing.*, *īyatī* and *kīyatī* as *nom. etc. du. neut.* and as feminine stems, and *īyanti* and *kīyanti* as *nom. etc. plur. neut.*

a. But the *neut. pl. īyāntī* and the *loc. sing. (?) kīyāti* are found in RV.

2. Possessives in *mant* and *vant*.

452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in *ant*. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the *ā* in the *nom. sing. masc.*

a. The *voc. sing.* is in *an*, like that of the participle (in the later language, namely: for that of the oldest, see below, 454 b). The *neut. nom. etc.* are in the dual only *atī* (or *ātī*), and in the plural *anti* (or *āntī*).

b. The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus *matī*, *vatī* (or *mātī*, *vātī*). One or two cases of *nī* instead of *ī* are met with: thus, *antārvatnī* (B. and later), *pativatnī* (C.).

c. The accent, however, is never thrown forward (as in the participle) upon the case-ending or the feminine ending.

453. To illustrate the inflection of such stems, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of पशुमन्त् paṣumānt *possessing cattle*, and भगवन्त् bhāgavant *fortunate, blessed*. Thus:

Singular:			
	m.	n.	
N.	पशुमान् paṣumān	पशुमत् paṣumāt	भगवान् bhāgavān
A.	पशुमन्तम् paṣumāntam	पशुमत् paṣumāt	भगवन्तम् bhāgavantam
I.	पशुमता paṣumātā etc.		भगवता bhāgavatā etc.
V.	पशुमन् paṣuman	पशुमत् paṣumat	भगवन् bhāgavan
Dual:			
N. A. V.	पशुमन्तौ paṣumāntāu	पशुमन्तौ paṣumānti	भगवन्तौ bhāgavantāu
	etc.		etc.
Plural:			
N. V.	पशुमन्तस् paṣumāntas	पशुमन्ति paṣumānti	भगवन्तस् bhāgavantas
A.	पशुमन्तस् paṣumāntas	पशुमन्ति paṣumānti	भगवन्तस् bhāgavantas
I.	पशुमद्भिस् paṣumādbhis etc.		भगवद्भिस् bhāgavadbhis etc.

454. Vedic Irregularities. a. In dual masc. nom. etc., ā (for āu) is the greatly prevailing ending.

b. In voc. sing. masc., the ending in the oldest language (RV.) is almost always in as instead of an (as in the perfect participle: below, 462 a): thus, *adriṣas*, *harivas*, *bhānumas*, *haviṣmas*. Such vocatives in RV. occur more than a hundred times, while not a single unquestionable instance of one in an is to be found. In the other Vedic texts, vocatives in as are extremely rare (but *bhagavaś* and its contraction *bhagoś* are met with, even in the later language); and in their production of RV.

passages the *as* is usually changed to *an*. It was pointed out above (425 g) that the RV. makes the voc. *in as* also apparently from a few *an*-stems.

c. In RV., the nom. etc. pl. neut., in the only two instances that occur, ends in *ānti* instead of *anti*: thus, *ghṛtāvānti*, *paçumānti*.

No such forms have been noted elsewhere in the older language: the SV. reads *anti* in its version of the corresponding passages, and a few examples of the same ending are quotable from the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *tāvanti*, *etāvanti*, *yāvanti*, *ghṛtāvanti*, *pravanti*, *ṛtumanti*, *yugmanti*. Compare 448, 451.

d. In a few (eight or ten) more or less doubtful cases, a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem is made; they are too purely sporadic to require reporting. The same is true of a case or two where a masculine form appears to be used with a feminine noun.

455. The stem *ārvant* *ruining*, *steed*, has the nom. sing. *arvā*, from *ārvan*; and in the older language also the voc. *arvan* and accus. *ārvāṇam*.

456. Besides the participle *bhāvant*, there is another stem *bhāv*, frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix *vant*, and so declined, having in the nom. sing. *bhāvān*; and the contracted form *bhoṣ* of its old-style vocative *bhavas* is a common exclamation of address: *you, sir!* Its origin has been variously explained; but it is doubtless a contraction of *bhāgavant*.

457. The pronominal adjectives *tāvant*, *etāvant*, *yāvant*, and the Vedic *ivant*, *māvant*, *tvāvant*, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in *vāns*.

458. The active participles of the perfect tense-system are quite peculiar as regards the modifications of their stem. In the strong cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut., the form of their suffix is *वांस्* *vāns*, which becomes, by regular process (150), *vān* in the nom. sing., and which is shortened to *वन्* *van* in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into *उप्* *uṣ*. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to *वत्* *vat*.

a. A union-vowel *i*, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before *uṣ*.

459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding \tilde{r} \tilde{r} to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in उयी úṣī.

460. The accent is always upon the suffix, whatever be its form.

461. Examples of inflection. To show the inflection of these participles, we may take the stems विद्वांस् vidvāns *knowing* (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from √विद् vid, and तस्थिवांस् tasthivāns *having stood* from √स्था sthā.

Singular:

	m.	n.	m.	n.
N.	विद्वान् vidvān	विद्वत् vidvāt	तस्थिवान् tasthivān	तस्थिवत् tasthivāt
A.	विद्वांसम् vidvānsam	विद्वत् vidvāt	तस्थिवांसम् tasthivānsam	तस्थिवत् tasthivāt
I.	विदुया vidúṣā		तस्युया tasthúṣā	
D.	विदुषे vidúṣe		तस्युषे tasthúṣe	
Ab. G.	विदुषम् vidúṣas		तस्युषम् tasthúṣas	
L.	विदुषि vidúṣi		तस्युषि tasthúṣi	
V.	विद्वन् vidvan	विद्वत् vidvat	तस्थिवन् tasthivan	तस्थिवत् tasthivat

Dual:

N. A. V.	विद्वांसौ vidvānsāu	विदुषी vidúṣi	तस्थिवांसौ tasthivānsāu	तस्युषी tasthúṣi
I. D. Ab.	विद्वद्भ्याम् vidvādbhyām		तस्थिवद्भ्याम् tasthivādbhyām	
G. L.	विदुषोस् vidúṣos		तस्युषोस् tasthúṣos	

	Plural:			
N. V.	विद्वांसम् vidvāṃsas	विद्वांसि vidvāṃsi	तस्थिवांसम् tasthivāṃsas	तस्थिवांसि tasthivāṃsi
A.	विदुषम् viduṣas	विद्वांसि vidvāṃsi	तस्थुषम् tasthuṣas	तस्थिवांसि tasthivāṃsi
I.	विद्वद्भिस् vidvādbhis		तस्थिवद्भिस् tasthivādbhis	
D.	विद्वद्भ्यस् vidvādbhyas		तस्थिवद्भ्यस् tasthivādbhyas	
Ab. G.	विदुषाम् viduṣām		तस्थुषाम् tasthuṣām	
L.	विद्वत्सु vidvātsu		तस्थिवत्सु tasthivātsu	

a. The feminine stems of these two participles are विदुषी *viduṣī* and तस्थुषी *tasthuṣī*.

b. Other examples of the different stems are:

from *ṛkṛ* — *cakṛvāns*, *cakṛvāt*, *cakṛuḥ*, *cakṛuṣī*;

from *ṛnī* — *ninivāns*, *ninivāt*, *ninyuḥ*, *ninyuṣī*;

from *ṛbhū* — *babhūvāns*, *babhūvāt*, *babhūvuḥ*, *babhūvuṣī*;

from *ṛtan* — *tenivāns*, *tenivāt*, *tenuḥ*, *tenuṣī*.

482. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the vocative sing. masc. (like that of *vant* and *mant*-stems; above, 454 b) has the ending *vas* instead of *van*: thus, *cikitvas* (changed to *-van* in a parallel passage of AV.), *titirvas*, *didivas*, *miḍhvas*.

b. Forms from the middle stem, in *vāt*, are extremely rare earlier: only three (*tatanvāt* and *vavytvāt*, neut. sing., and *jāgrvādbhis*, instr. pl.), are found in RV., and not one in AV. And in the Veda the weakest stem (not, as later, the middle one) is made the basis of comparison and derivation: thus, *viduṣṭara*, *ādaṣṭara*, *miḍhuṣṭama*, *miḍhuṣmant*.

c. An example or two of the use of the weak stem-form for cases regularly made from the strong are found in RV.: they are *cakṛuṣam*, acc. sing., and *ābibhyuṣas*, nom. pl.; *emuṣām*, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem *emuṣā*; and QB. has *proṣuṣam*. Similar instances, especially from *vidvāns*, are now and then met with later (see BR., under *vidvāns*).

d. The AV. has once *bhaktivāṃsas*, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage *bhaktivānas*; *cakhvāṃsam* (RV., once) is of doubtful character; *okivāṃsā* (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of *ṛuc*, elsewhere unknown.

G. Comparatives in yāns or yas.

463. The comparative adjectives of primary formation (below, 467) have a double form of stem for masculine and neuter: a stronger, ending in यान् yāns (usually ईयान् īyāns), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यन् yas (or ईयन् īyas), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यन् yan (but for the older language see below, 465 a).

a. The feminine is made by adding ई ī to the weak masc.-neut. stem.

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of अयन् ṛéyas *better*, and of गरीयन् gáriyas *heavier*. Thus:

Singular:				
N.	अयान् ṛéyān	अयम् ṛéyas	गरीयान् gáriyān	गरीयम् gáriyas
A.	अयांसम् ṛéyāṅsam	अयम् ṛéyas	गरीयांसम् gáriyāṅsam	गरीयम् gáriyas
I.	अयसा ṛéyasā etc.		गरीयसा gáriyasā etc.	
V.	अयन् ṛéyan	अयम् ṛéyas	गरीयन् gáriyan	गरीयम् gáriyas
Dual:				
N. A. V.	अयांसौ ṛéyāṅsāu etc.	अयसी ṛéyasī etc.	गरीयांसौ gáriyāṅsāu etc.	गरीयसी gáriyasī etc.
Plural:				
N. V.	अयांसम् ṛéyāṅsas	अयांसि ṛéyāṅsi	गरीयांसम् gáriyāṅsas	गरीयांसि gáriyāṅsi
A.	अयसम् ṛéyasas	अयांसि ṛéyāṅsi	गरीयसम् gáriyasas	गरीयांसि gáriyāṅsi
I.	अयोभिम् ṛéyobhis etc.		गरीयोभिम् gáriyobhis etc.	

a. The feminine stems of these adjectives are *श्रेयसी* *śreyasī* and *गरीयसी* *gāriyasī*.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions; 454 b, 462 a) is in *yas* instead of *yan*: thus, *oḷiyas*, *jyāyas* (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).

b. No example of a middle case occurs in RV. or AV.

c. In the later language are found a very few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, *kaniyasam* and *yaviyasam* acc. masc., *kaniyasān* da., *yaviyasas* nom. pl.

Comparison.

466. Derivative adjective stems having a comparative and superlative meaning — or often also (and more originally) a merely intensive value — are made either directly from roots (by primary derivation), or from other derivative or compound stems (by secondary derivation).

a. The subject of comparison belongs more properly to the chapter of derivation; but it stands in such near relation to inflection that it is, in accordance with the usual custom in grammars, conveniently and suitably enough treated briefly here.

467. The suffixes of primary derivation are *ईयस्* *īyas* (or *ईयान्* *īyāns*) for the comparative and *इष्ठ* *iṣṭha* for the superlative. The root before them is accented, and usually strengthened by gunating, if capable of it — or, in some cases, by nasalization or prolongation. They are much more frequently and freely used in the oldest language than later; in the classical Sanskrit, only a limited number of such comparatives and superlatives are accepted in use; and these attach themselves in meaning for the most part to other adjectives from the same root, which seem to be their corresponding positives; but in part also they are artificially connected with other words, unrelated with them in derivation.

a. Thus, from *क्वैप* *kṛīp* come *kṣēpīyas* and *kṣēpiṣṭha*, which belong in meaning to *kṣīprā* *quick*; from *वृत्* *vr̥t* *encompass* come *vārīyas* and *vārīṣṭha*, which belong to *urū* *broad*; while, for example,

kāñiyas and kāñiṣṭha are attached by the grammarians to yuvan *young*, or ālpa *small*; and vārṇiyas and vārṇiṣṭha to vṛddhā *old*.

468. From Veda and Brāhmaṇa together, considerably more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in iyas and iṣṭha (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted.

a. About half of these (in RV., the decided majority) belong, in meaning as in form, to the bare root in its adjective value, as used especially at the end of compounds, but sometimes also independently: thus, from ytap *burn* comes tāpiṣṭha *excessively burning*; from yyaj *offer* come yājiyas and yājiṣṭha *better and best (or very well) sacrificing*; from vyudh *fight* comes yōdhiyas *fighting better*; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, jū *hasty, rapid* with jāviyas and jāviṣṭha.

b. In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, āgamiṣṭha *especially coming hither*; vicayiṣṭha *best clearing away*; — in a couple of cases (āgramiṣṭha, āparāvapiṣṭha, āstheyas), the negative particle is prefixed; — in a single word (cāmbhaviṣṭha), an element of another kind.

c. The words of this formation sometimes take an accusative object (see 271 a).

d. But even in the oldest language appears not infrequently the same attachment in meaning to a derivative adjective which (as pointed out above) is usual in the later speech.

e. Besides the examples that occur also later, others are met with like vāriṣṭha *choicest* (vāra *choice*), bārhiṣṭha *greatest* (brhānt *great*), ōṣiṣṭha *quickest* (ōṣam *quickly*), and so on. Probably by analogy with these, like formations are in a few cases made from the apparently radical syllables of words which have no otherwise traceable root in the language: thus, kradhiyas and kradhiṣṭha (K.) from kṛdhū, sthāviyas and sthāviṣṭha from sthūrā, cāciyas (RV.) from cācvant, āñiyas (AV.) and āñiṣṭha (TS.) from anū; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes iyas and iṣṭha are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, āciṣṭha from ācū (RV.: only case), tikañiyas (AV.) from tikañā, brāhmīyas and brāhmiṣṭha (TS. etc.) from brāhman, dhārmīṣṭha (TA.) from dhārman, drāṇiṣṭha (TA.: instead of dārhiṣṭha) from drāṇā, rāghīyas (TS.) from raghu. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

f. In nāviyas or nāvīyas and nāviṣṭha, from nāva *new*, and in sānyas from sāna *old* (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.

469. The stems in iṣṭha are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, and make their feminines in ā; those in iyas have a peculiar declension which has been described above (463 ff.).

470. Of peculiarities and irregularities of formation, the following may be noticed:

a. The suffix *īyas* has in a few instances the briefer form *yas*, generally as alternative with the other: thus, *tāviyas* and *tāvyas*, *nāviyas* and *nāvyas*, *vāsiyas* and *vāsyas*, *pāniyas* and *pānyas*; and so from *rabh* and *sah*; *sānyas* occurs alone. From *bhū* come *bhūyas* and *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside which RV. has also *bhāvīyas*.

b. Of roots in *ā*, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to *e*: thus, *sthéyas*, *dhēṣṭha*, *yēṣṭha*; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as *dhāiṣṭha*, *yāiṣṭha*. The root *iyā* forms *iyēṣṭha*, but *iyāyas* (like *bhūyas*).

c. The two roots in *ī*, *prī* and *qri*, form *préyas* and *prēṣṭha* and *qréyas* and *qrēṣṭha*.

d. From the root of *ṛjū* come, without strengthening, *ṛjiyas* and *ṛjiṣṭha*; but in the older language also, more regularly, *rājiyas* and *rājiṣṭha*.

471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are *तार* *tara* and *तम* *tama*. They are of almost unrestricted application, being added to adjectives of every form, simple and compound, ending in vowels or in consonants — and this from the earliest period of the language until the latest. The accent of the primitive remains (with rare exceptions) unchanged; and that form of stem is generally taken which appears before an initial consonant of a case-ending (weak or middle form).

a. Examples [of older as well as later occurrence] are: from vowel-stems, *priyātara*, *vāhñitama*, *rathītara* and *rathītama* (RV.), *cārutara*, *potṭtama*, *saṃraktatara*; — from consonant-stems, *qāñitama*, *qāqṽattama*, *mṛdayāttama*, *tavāstara* and *tavāstama*, *tuviṣṭama*, *vāpuṣṭara*, *tapasvītara*, *yaqasvītama*, *bhāqavattara*, *hiraṇyavāqimattama*; — from compounds, *ratnadhātama*, *abhibhūtara*, *sukṭtara*, *pūrbhītama*, *bhūyiṣṭhabhāktama*, *bhūridāvattara*, *qūcivratatama*, *striqāmatama*.

b. But in the Veda the final *n* of a stem is regularly retained; thus, *madñtara* and *madñtama*, *vṛṣāñtama*; and a few stems even add a nasal: thus, *surabhñtara*, *rayñtama*, *madhñtama*. In a case or two, the strong stem of a present participle is taken: thus, *vṛādhantama*, *sāhantama*; and, of a perfect participle, the weakest stem: thus, *vidhēṣṭara*, *miqdhūṣṭama*. A feminine final-*ī* is shortened: thus, *devitamā* (RV.), *tejasvinitamā* (K.).

c. In the elder language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in tara and tama are to those in iyas and iṣṭha as three to two; in AV., only as six to five: but later the former win a great preponderance.

472. These comparatives and superlatives are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, forming their feminine in ā.

473. a. That (especially in the Veda) some stems which are nouns rather than adjectives form derivatives of comparison is natural enough, considering the uncertain nature of the division-line between substantive and adjective value. Thus, we have virātara, virātama, vāhṇitama, mātṛtama, nṛtama, marūtṭama, and so on.

b. The suffixes tara and tama also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as ka, ya, i (see below, 520); and from certain of the prepositions, as ud; and the adverbially used accusative (older, neuter, -taram; later, feminine, -tarām) of a comparative in tara from a preposition is employed to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, 1110); while -tarām and -tamām make degrees of comparison from a few adverbs: thus, natarām, natamām, kathamtarām, kutāstarām, addhastamām, nicāistarām, etc.

c. By a wholly barbarous combination, finding no warrant in the earlier and more genuine usages of the language, the suffixes of comparison in their adverbial feminine form, -tarām and tamām, are later allowed to be added to personal forms of verbs: thus, sīdatetarām (R.: the only case noted in the epics) is *more despondent*, vyathayatitarām *disturbs more*, alabhatatarām *obtained in a higher degree*, hasiṣyatitarām *will laugh more*. No examples of this use of -tamām are quotable.

d. The suffixes of secondary comparison are not infrequently added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, gariyastara, çreṣṭhatara and çreṣṭhatama, pāpiyastara, pāpiṣṭhatara and -tama, bhūyastaram, etc.

e. The use of tama as ordinal suffix is noted below (487f); with this value, it is accented on the final, and makes its feminine in ī: thus, çatata mā n., çatata ī, *hundredth*.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes ra and ma: thus, ādhara and adhamā, āpara and apamā, āvara and avamā, ūpara and upamā, āntara, āntama, paramā, madhyamā, caramā, antima, ādima, paçcima. And ma is also used to make ordinals (below, 487).

CHAPTER VI.

NUMERALS.

475. The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers (which are the foundation of the whole class), with their derivatives, the tens, and with some of the higher members of the decimal series, are as follows:

1 एक éka	10 दश dáśa	100 शत śatá
2 द्व dvā	20 विंशति viñśatí	मरुन्न sahasra
3 त्रि trí	30 त्रिंशत् triñśát	अयुत ayúta
4 चतुर catúr	40 चत्वारिंशत् catvāriñśát	लक्ष lakṣá
5 पञ्च pañca	50 पञ्चाशत् pañcāśát	प्रयुत prayúta
6 षष् ṣaṣ	60 षष्टि ṣaṣṭí	कोटि kóṭi
7 सप्त saptá	70 सप्तति saptatí	अर्बुद arbudá
8 अष्ट aṣṭá	80 अशीति aṣití	महार्बुद mahārbuda
9 नव náva	90 नवति navatí	खर्व kharvá
10 दश dáśa	100 शत śatá	निकर्व ^o nikharva

a. The accent *saptá* and *aṣṭá* is that belonging to these words in all accentuated texts; according to the grammarians, they are *sáp̄ta* and *áṣ̄ta* in the later language. See below, 483.

b. The series of decimal numbers may be carried still further; but there are great differences among the different authorities with

regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from *ayūta* on.

c. Thus, in the TS. and MS. we find *ayūta*, *niyūta*, *prayūta*, *ārbuda*, *nyārbuda*, *samudrā*, *mādhya*, *ānta*, *parārdhā*; K. reverses the order of *niyūta* and *prayūta*, and inserts *badva* after *nyarbudha* (reading *nyarbudha*): these are probably the oldest recorded series.

d. In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above *thousand* are *lakṣa* (*lac* or *lakh*) and *koti* (*crore*); and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify 123 *crores*, 45 *lakhs*, 67 *thousand*, eight hundred and ninety.

e. As to the alleged stem-forms *pañcan* etc., see below, 484. As to the form *ṣakṣ* instead of *ṣaṣ*, see above, 146 b. The stem *dva* appears in composition and derivation also as *dvā* and *dvi*; *catur* in composition is accented *cātur*. The older form of *aṣṭa* is *aṣṭā*: see below, 483. Forms in *-cat* and *-cati* for the tens are occasionally interchanged: e. g. *viñcat* (MBh. R.), *triñcati* (AB.), *pañcācati* (KT.).

f. The other numbers are expressed by the various composition and syntactical combination of those given above. Thus:

476. The odd numbers between the even tens are made by prefixing the (accented) unit to the ten to which its value is to be added: but with various irregularities. Thus:

a. *eka* in 11 becomes *ekā*, but is elsewhere unchanged;

b. *dva* becomes everywhere *dvā*; but in 42-72 and in 92 it is interchangeable with *dvi*, and in 52 *dvi* alone is used;

c. for *tri* is substituted its nom. pl. masc. *trāyas*; but *tri* itself is also allowed in 43-73 and in 93, and in 83 *tri* alone is used;

d. *ṣaṣ* becomes *ṣo* in 16, and makes the initial *d* of *daṣa* lingual (199 d); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226 b, 196 b) to *ṭ* or *ḍ* or *ṇ*; and in 96 the *n* of *navati* is assimilated to it (199 c);

e. *aṣṭa* becomes *aṣṭā* (483) in 18-38, and has either form in the succeeding combinations.

f. Thus:

11 <i>ekādaṣa</i>	31 <i>ekatriñcat</i>	61 <i>ekaṣaṣṭi</i>	81 <i>ekāṣṭi</i>
12 <i>dvādaṣa</i>	32 <i>dvātriñcat</i>	62 <i>dvāṣaṣṭi</i> <i>dvīṣaṣṭi</i>	82 <i>dvyāṣṭi</i>
13 <i>trāyodaṣa</i>	33 <i>trāyastriñcat</i>	63 <i>trāyaṣaṣṭi</i> <i>trīṣaṣṭi</i>	83 <i>tryāṣṭi</i>
14 <i>cāturdaṣa</i>	34 <i>cāustriñcat</i>	64 <i>cātuhṣaṣṭi</i>	84 <i>cāturaṣṭi</i>
15 <i>pañcadaṣa</i>	35 <i>pañcatriñcat</i>	65 <i>pañcaṣaṣṭi</i>	85 <i>pañcāṣṭi</i>
16 <i>ṣoḍaṣa</i>	36 <i>ṣaṭtriñcat</i>	66 <i>ṣaṭṣaṣṭi</i>	86 <i>ṣaḍaṣṭi</i>
17 <i>saptādaṣa</i>	37 <i>saptātriñcat</i>	67 <i>saptāṣaṣṭi</i>	87 <i>saptāṣṭi</i>
18 <i>aṣṭādaṣa</i>	38 <i>aṣṭātriñcat</i>	68 <i>aṣṭāṣaṣṭi</i> <i>aṣṭāṣaṣṭi</i>	88 <i>aṣṭāṣṭi</i>
19 <i>nāvadaṣa</i>	39 <i>nāvatriñcat</i>	69 <i>nāvaṣaṣṭi</i>	89 <i>nāvāṣṭi</i>

g. The numbers 21-29 are made like those for 31-39; the numbers 41-49, 51-59, 71-79, and 91-99 are made like those for 61-69.

h. The forms made with *dvā* and *trayas* are more usual than those with *dvi* and *tri*, which are hardly to be quoted from the older literature (V. and Br.). The forms made with *aṣṭā* (instead of *aṣṭa*) are almost exclusively used in the older literature (483), and are not infrequent in the later.

477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:

a. By use of the adjectives *ūna* *deficient* and *adhika* *redundant*, in composition with lesser numbers which are to be subtracted or added, and either independently qualifying or (more usually) in composition with larger numbers which are to be increased or diminished by the others: thus, *tryūnaṣaṣṭiḥ* *sixty deficient by three* (l. c. 57); *aṣṭādhikanavatiḥ* *ninety increased by eight* (l. c. 98); *ekādhikam ṣaṭam* *a hundred increased by one* (l. c. 101); *pañconam ṣaṭam* *100 less 5* (l. c. 95). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as *ekonaviṇṣatiḥ* *20 less 1*, or *19*, are not uncommon; and later the *eka* *1* is left off, and *ūnaviṇṣati* etc. have the same value.

b. A case-form of a smaller number, generally *ēka* *one* is connected by *nā* *not* with a larger number from which it is to be deducted; thus, *ēkayā nā triṇṣat* (QB. PB. KB.) *not thirty by one* (29); *dvābhyām nā 'ṣṭim* (QB.) *not eighty by two* (78); *pañcābhir nā catvāri ṣaṭāni* (QB.) *not four hundred by five* (395); *ēkasman nā pañcāṣat* (in ordinal) *49* (TS.); *ēkasyāi* (abl. fem.: 307 h) *nā pañcāṣat* *49* (TS.); most often, *ēkān* (i. e. *ēkāt*, irregular abl. for *ēkasmat*) *nā viṇṣatiḥ* *19*; *ēkān nā ṣaṭām* *99*. This last form is admitted also in the later language; the others are found in the Brāhmaṇas.

c. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, *triṣaptā* *thrice seven*; *triṣavā* *thrice nine*; *tridaṣā* *thrice ten*.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting *and*: thus, *nāva ca navatiḥ ca*, or *nāva navatiḥ ca* *ninety and nine*; *dvāu ca viṇṣatiḥ ca* *two and twenty*. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, *navatīr nāva* *99*; *triṇṣatām trin* *33*; *aṣṭīr aṣṭāu* *88*.

478. The same methods are also variously used for forming the odd numbers above 100. Thus:

a. The added number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent: for example, *ēkaṣaṭam* *101*; *aṣṭāṣaṭam* *108*; *triṇṣaṣaṭam* *130*; *aṣṭaviṇṣatiṣaṭam* *128*; *cātuṣsahasram* (RV.: unless the accent is wrong) *1004*; *aṣṭisahasram* *1080*.

b. Or, the number to be added is compounded with *adhika redundant*, and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it; thus, *pañcādhikaṃ śatam* or *pañcādhikaśatam* 105. Of course, *ūna deficient* (as also other words equivalent to *ūna* or *adhika*) may be used in the same way: thus, *pañconam śatam* 95, *ṣaṣṭiḥ pañcavarjita* 55; *śatam abhyadhikaṃ ṣaṣṭitaḥ* 160.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example *dāṣa śatām* ca 110; *śatām ēkaṃ* ca 101.

479. Another usual method (beginning in the *Brāhmaṇas*) of forming the odd numbers above 100 is to qualify the larger number by an adjective derived from the smaller, and identical with the briefer ordinal (below, 488): thus, *dvādaśam śatām*, 112 (litly *a hundred of a 12-sort*, or *characterised by 12*); *catuṣcatvāriṃśam śatām* 144; *ṣaṣṣaśam śatām* 166.

480. To multiply one number by another, among the higher or the lower denominations, the simplest and least ambiguous method is to make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be; and this method is a common one in all ages of the language. For example: *pañca pañcāśatas* five fifties (250); *nāva navatāyas* nine nineties (810); *aṣṭiḥ triṣṭiḥ* with three eighties (240); *pañca śatāni* five hundreds; *triṇi sahasrāni* three thousands; *ṣaṣṭiḥ sahasrāni* 60,000; *dāṣa ca sahasrāṇy aṣṭau ca śatāni* 10,800: and, combined with addition, *triṇi śatāni trayastriṃśatām* ca 333; *sahasre dve pañconam śatam eva* ca 2095.

a. In an exceptional case or two, the ordinal form appears to take the place of the cardinal as multiplicand in a like combination: thus, *ṣaṭtriṃśadḥ ca catuṣaḥ* (RV.) 36×4 (lit. *four of the thirty-six kind*); *triṇi ekādaśān* (RV.) or *traya ekādaśasaḥ* (QṢ. viii. 21. 1) 11×3 .

b. By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as *triṇi ṣaṣṭiśatāni*, which ought to signify 480 ($3 \times 100 + 60$), is repeatedly used in the *Brāhmaṇas* to mean 360 ($3 \times 100 + 60$); so also *dve catustriṃśe śate* 234 (not 269); *dvāṣaṣṭāni triṇi śatāni* 362; and other like cases. And even R. has *trayaḥ śataśatārdhāḥ* 350.

481. But the two factors, multiplier and multiplied, are also, and in later usage more generally, combined into a compound (accented on the final); and this is then treated as an adjective, qualifying the numbered noun; or else its neuter or feminine (in *ī*) singular is used substantively: thus, *daśaśatās* 1000; *ṣaṭśatāḥ padātibhiḥ* (MBh.) with 600 foot-soldiers; *trāyastriṃśat triśatāḥ ṣaṣṭasaśāḥ* (AV.) 6333; *dviśatām* or *dviśatī* 200; *aṣṭadaśaśatī* 1800.

a. In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether *aṣṭaśatam*, for example, is *aṣṭaśatam* 108 or *aṣṭaśatām* 800, and the like.

482. Inflection. The inflection of the cardinal numerals is in many respects irregular. Gender is distinguished only by the first four.

a. *Eka* one is declined after the manner of a pronominal adjective (like *sārva*, below, 524); its plural is used in the sense of *some*, *certain ones*. Its dual does not occur.

b. Occasional forms of the ordinary declension are met with: thus, *éke* (loc. sing.), *ékāt* (477 b).

c. In the late literature, *eka* is used in the sense of a *certain* or even sometimes almost of *a*, as an indefinite article. Thus, *eko vyāghraḥ* (H.) *a certain tiger*; *ekasmin dine* *on a certain day*; *haste daṇḍam ekam ādāya* (H.) *taking a stick in his hand*.

d. *Dva* two is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N. A. V. *dvāu* (dvā, Veda) m., *dvē* f. n.; I. D. Ab. *dvābhyām*; G. L. *dvāyos*.

e. *Tri* three is in masc. and neut. nearly regular, like an ordinary stem in *i*; but the genitive is as if from *trayá* (only in the later language: the regular *trīṇām* occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem *tiś*, which is inflected in general like an *r*-stem; but the nom. and accus. are alike, and show no strengthening of the *r*; and the *r* is not prolonged in the gen. (excepting in the Veda). Thus:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	trāyas	trīṇi	tiśās
A.	trīn	trīṇi	tiśās
I.	tribhīs		tiśbhis
D. Ab.	tribhyās		tiśbhyas
G.	trayāpām		tiśṇām
L.	triṣū		tiśṣu

f. The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. *trī*. The accentuation *tiśbhis*, *tiśbhyās*, *tiśṇām*, and *tiśṣū* is said to be also allowed in the later language. The stem *tiś* occurs in composition in *tiśḍhanvā* (B.) *a bow with three arrows*.

g. *Catūr* four has *catvār* (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem *cātas*, apparently akin with *tiś*, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483). Thus:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	catvāras	catvāri	cātasas
A.	catūras	catvāri	cātasas
I.	catūrbhis		cātasbhis
D. Ab.	catūrbhyas		cātasbhyas
G.	caturṇām		cātasṇām
L.	catūrṣu		cātasṣu.

b. The use of *n* before *ām* of the gen. masc. and neut. after a final consonant of the stem is (as in *ṣaṣ*: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. *catasraṇām* also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is said to be allowed in instr., dat.-abl., and loc.

483. The numbers from 5 to 19 have no distinction of gender, nor any generic character. They are inflected, somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom.-acc., where they have no proper plural form, but show the bare stem instead. Of *śaṣ* (as of *catūr*), *nām* is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (198 b) of stem-final and initial of the termination. *Aṣṭā* (as accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, *aṣṭā*, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and B.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with *aṣṭa* are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is *aṣṭā* (usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV.), or *aṣṭā* (RV.), or *aṣṭāu* (most usual in RV.; also in AV., B., and later).

a. The accent is in many respects peculiar. In all the accented texts, the stress of voice lies on the penult before the endings *bhis*, *bhyas*, and *su*, from the stems in *a*, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, *pañcābhis* from *pañca*, *navābhyas* from *nāva*, *daśasu* from *dāṣa*, *nava-daśābhis* from *nāvadaṣa*, *ekādaśābhyas* from *ekādaṣa*, *dvādaśasu* from *dvādaṣa* (according to the grammarians, either the penult or the final is accented in these forms in the later language). In the gen. pl., the accent is on the ending (as in that of *i*-, *u*-, and *r*-stems): thus, *pañcādaśānām*, *saptadaśānām*. The cases of *ṣaṣ*, and those made from the stem-form *aṣṭā*, have the accent throughout upon the ending.

b. Examples of the inflection of these words are as follows:

N. A.	<i>pañca</i>	<i>ṣaṣ</i>	<i>aṣṭāu</i>	<i>aṣṭā</i>
I.	<i>pañcābhis</i>	<i>ṣaṣbhis</i>	<i>aṣṭābhis</i>	<i>aṣṭābhis</i>
D. Ab.	<i>pañcābhyas</i>	<i>ṣaṣbhyas</i>	<i>aṣṭābhyas</i>	<i>aṣṭābhyas</i>
G.	<i>pañcānām</i>	<i>ṣaṣnām</i>		<i>aṣṭānām</i>
L.	<i>pañcāsu</i>	<i>ṣaṣsu</i>	<i>aṣṭāsu</i>	<i>aṣṭāsu</i>

c. *Saptā* (in the later language *sāpta*, as *aṣṭa* for *aṣṭā*) and *nāva* and *dāṣa*, with the compounds of *dāṣa* (11-19), are declined like *pañca*, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings, as pointed out above).

484. The Hindu grammarians give to the stems for 3 and 7-19 a final *n*: thus, *pañcan*, *saptan*, *aṣṭan*, *navan*, *daṣan*, and *ekādaṣan* etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of 7, 9, and 10 (compare *septem*, *novem*, *decem*; *seven*, *nine*, *ten*); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in *an*, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. pl. in *an*: compare *nāma*, *nāmabhis*, *nāma-*

bhyas, nāmasu — the gen. alone being, rather, like that of an a-stem: compare daçānām with indrāpām and nāmnām or ātmānām. No trace whatever of a final n is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words (though ÇB. has twice daçamdaçin, for the usual daçadaçin).

485. a. The tens, viñcatī and triñçāt etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.

b. Çatā and sahasra are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in all numbers.

c. The like is true of the higher numbers — which have, indeed, no proper numeral character, but are ordinary nouns.

486. Construction. As regards their construction with the nouns enumerated by them —

a. The words for 1 to 18 are in the main used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, daçābhir virāṣi with ten heroes; yé devā divy ékadaça sthā (AV.) what eleven gods of you are in heaven; pañcāsu jāneṣu among the five tribes; catasṣbhir girbhīṣi with four songs. Rarely occur such combinations as dāça kalāçānām (RV.) ten pitchers, ṛtūnām ṣaṭ (R.) six seasons.

b. The numerals above 19 are construed usually as nouns, either taking the numbered noun as a dependent genitive, or standing in the singular in apposition with it: thus, çatām dāsiṁ or çatām dāsīnām a hundred slaves or a hundred of slaves; viñcatyā hāribhīṣi with twenty bays; ṣaṣṭyām qarātsu in 60 autumns; çatena pāçāṣi with a hundred fetters; çatām sahasram ayutam nyārbudam jaghāna çakro dāsyūnām (AV.) the mighty [Indra] slew a hundred, a thousand, a myriad, a hundred million, of demons. Occasionally they are put in the plural, as if used more adjectively: thus, pañcāçadbhir bāpāṣi with fifty arrows.

c. In the older language, the numerals for 5 and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form (or as if indeclinably) with other cases also: thus, pāñca kṛtṣiṣu among the five races; sapta rṣiṇām of seven bards; sahasram ṣṣibhīṣi with a thousand bards; çatām pūrbhīṣi with a hundred strongholds. Sporadic instances of a like kind are also met with later.

487. Ordinals. Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.

Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus,

a. *ēka* 1 forms no ordinal; instead is used *prathamā* (i. e. *pratama foremost*); *ādya* (from *ādi beginning*) appears first in the *Sūtras*, and *ādima* much later;

b. from *dvā* 2, and *trī* 3, come *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya* (secondarily, through *dvita* and abbreviated *trita*);

c. *catur* 4, *śāṣ* 6, and *saptā* 7, take the ending *tha*: thus, *caturthā*, *ṣaṣthā*, *saptātha*; but for *fourth* are used also *turiya* and *tūrya*, and *saptātha* belongs to the older language only; *pañcatha*, for *fifth*, is excessively rare;

d. the numerals for 5 and 7 usually, and for 8, 9, 10, add *ma*, forming *pañcamā*, *saptamā*, *aṣṭamā*, *navamā*, *daṣamā*;

e. for 11th to 19th, the forms are *ekādaśā*, *dvādaśā*, and so on (the same with the cardinals, except change of accent); but *ekadaśama* etc. occasionally occur also;

f. for the tens and intervening odd numbers from 20 onward, the ordinal has a double form—one made by adding the full (superlative) ending *tamā* to the cardinal: thus, *viṅśatitamā*, *triṅśattamā*, *aṣṭititamā*, etc.; the other, shorter, in a, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, *viṅśā* 20th; *triṅśā* 30th; *caturviṅśā* 40th; *pañcāśā* 50th; *ṣaṣṭā* 60th; *saptatā* 70th; *aṣṭā* 80th; *navatā* 90th; and so likewise *ekaviṅśā* 21st; *caturtriṅśā* 34th; *aṣṭacaturviṅśā* 48th; *dvāpañcāśā* 52d; *ekasṣaṣṭā* 61st; and *ekānaviṅśā* and *ūnaviṅśā* and *ekonaviṅśā* 19th;—and so on. Of these two forms, the latter and briefer is by far the more common, the other being not quotable from the *Veda*, and extremely rarely from the *Brāhmaṣas*. From 50th on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odd numbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with, even in the later language, from the simple ten.

g. Of the higher numbers, *śatā* and *sahasra* form *śatatamā* and *sahasratamā*; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, *ekaśatā* or *ekaśatatama* 101st.

h. Of the ordinals, *prathamā* (and *ādya*), *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, and *turiya* (with *tūrya*) form their feminine in *ā*; all the rest make it in *i*.

488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordinal offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractionals, as signifying *composed of so many parts* or *so-many-fold*, or *containing so many*, or (as was seen above, 479) *having so many added*.

a. In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent be shifted to the first syllable: thus, *dvitīya* *half*; *tṛtīya* *third part*; *caturtha* *quarter*; and so on. But in accented texts only *tṛtīya* *third*, and *caturtha* (CB.) and *tūrya* *quarter*, are found so treated; for *half* occurs

only *ardhā*; and *caturthā* (MS. etc.), *pañcamā*, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

488. There are other numeral derivatives: thus—

a. multiplicative adverbs, as *dvīs* *twice*, *trīs* *thrice*, *cātus* *four times*;

b. adverbs with the suffixes *dhā* (1104) and *ṣas* (1106): for example, *ekadhā* *in one way*, *ṣatadhā* *in a hundred ways*; *ekaṣas* *one by one*, *ṣataṣas* *by hundreds*;

c. collectives, as *dvītaya* or *dvayā* *a pair*, *dāṣataya* or *daṣāt* *a decade*;

d. adjectives like *dvika* *composed of two*, *pañcaka* *consisting of five or fives*;

and so on; but their treatment belongs rather to the dictionary, or to the chapter on derivation. ✓

CHAPTER VII.

PRONOUNS.

490. THE pronouns differ from the great mass of nouns and adjectives chiefly in that they come by derivation from another and a very limited set of roots, the so-called pronominal or demonstrative roots. But they have also many and marked peculiarities of inflection—some of which, however, find analogies in a few adjectives; and such adjectives will accordingly be described at the end of this chapter.

Personal Pronouns.

491. The pronouns of the first and second persons are the most irregular and peculiar of all, being made up of fragments coming from various roots and combinations of roots. They have no distinction of gender.

a. Their inflection in the later language is as follows:

Singular:

	1st pers.	2d pers.
N.	अहम् ahám	त्वम् tvám
A.	माम्, मा mām, mā	त्वाम्, त्वा tvām, tvā
I.	मया māyā	तया tvāyā
D.	मम्यम्, मे māhyam, me	तुभ्यम्, ते tūbhyam, to
Ab.	मत् māt	तत् tvāt
G.	मम, मे māma, me	तव, ते tāva, te
L.	मयि māyi	त्वयि tvāyi

Dual:

N. A. V.	घात्वाम् āvām	युवाम् yuvām
I. D. Ab.	घावाभ्याम् āvābhyām	युवाभ्याम् yuvābhyām
G. L.	घावयोन् āvāyos	युवयोन् yuvāyos
and A. D. G.	नौ nāu	वाम् vām

Plural:

N.	वयम् vayām	यूयम् yūyām
A.	वस्मान्, नम् asmān, nas	युष्मान्, वस् yuṣmān, vas
I.	वस्माभिस् asmābhis	युष्माभिस् yuṣmābhis
D.	वस्मभ्यम्, नम् asmābhyam, nas	युष्मभ्यम्, वस् yuṣmābhyam, vas

Ab.	अस्मत् asmāt	युष्मत् yuṣmāt
G.	अस्माकम्, नम् asmākam, naś	युष्माकम्, वम् yuṣmākam, vaś
L.	अस्मासु asmāsu	युष्मासु yuṣmāsu

b. The briefer second forms for accus., dat., and gen., in all numbers, are accentless; and hence they are not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence, or elsewhere where any emphasis is laid.

c. But they may be qualified by accented adjuncts, as adjectives: e. g. *te jāyatah of thee when a conqueror, vo vṛtābhyah for you that were confined, naś tribhyāh to us three* (all RV.).

d. The ablative *mat* is accentless in one or two AV. passages.

492. Forms of the older language. All the forms given above are found also in the older language; which, however, has also others that afterward disappear from use.

a. Thus, we find a few times the instr. sing. *tvā* (only RV.: like *manīṣā* for *manīṣāyā*); further, the loc. or dat. sing. *mé* (only VS.) and *tvé*, and the dat. or loc. pl. *asmé* (which is by far the commonest of these e-forms) and *yuṣmé*: their final e is uncombinable (or *pragrhya*: 138b). The VS. makes twice the acc. pl. fem. *yuṣmās* (as if *yuṣmān* were too distinctively a masculine form). The datives in *bhyam* are in a number of cases written, and in yet others to be read as if written, with *bhya*, with loss of the dual nasal; and in a rare instance or two we have in like manner *asmāka* and *yuṣmāka* in the gen. plural. The usual resolutions of semivowel to vowel are made, and are especially frequent in the forms of the second person (*tuām* for *tvām* etc.).

b. But the duals, above all, wear a very different aspect earlier. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra the nominatives are (with occasional exceptions) *āvām* and *yuvām*, and only the accusatives *āvām* and *yuvām* (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in *vām*?, once, for *āvām*); the instr. in RV. is either *yuvābhyām* (occurs also once in AṢ.) or *yuvābhyām*; an abl. *yuvāt* appears once in RV., and *āvāt* twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) *yuvós* instead of *yuvāyos*. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases, by endings in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending *am*, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The *bhyam* (or *hyam*) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the *bhyām*, *bhyas*, *bhis* of the ordinary declension is palpable. The *t* (or

d) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the *a*-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier du. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element *sma* appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem *asma* which underlies the plural of *aham* seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of *ayam* (501), and its value of *we* to be a specialisation of the meaning *these persons*. The genitives singular, *māma* and *tāva*, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives *māmaka* and *tāvaka* (below, 516 b) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., *asmākam* and *yuṣmākam*, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. caseforms of the adjective stems *asmāka* and *yuṣmāka*, other cases of which are found in the Veda.

494. Stem-forms. To the Hindu grammarians, the stems of the personal pronouns are *mad* and *asmad*, and *tvad* and *yuṣmad*, because these are forms used to a certain extent, and allowed to be indefinitely used, in derivation and composition (like *tad*, *kad*, etc.: see below, under the other pronouns). Words are thus formed from them even in the older language—namely, *mātkṛta* and *mātsakhi* and *asmātsakhi* (RV.), *tvādyoni* and *mattās* (AV.), *tvātpitr* and *tvādvivācana* (TS.), *tvātprasūta* and *tvaddevatyā* and *yuvaddevatyā* and *yuṣmaddevatyā* (ÇB.), *asmaddevatyā* (PB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in *a*, or with the *a* lengthened to *ā*: thus, *māvant*; *asmatrā*, *asmadrūh*, etc.; *tvāyata*, *tvāvant*, *tvādatta*, *tvānid*, *tvāvasu*, *tvāhata*, etc.; *yuṣmāddatta*, *yuṣmēṣita*, etc.; *yuvāvant*, *yuvāku*, *yuvādhita*, *yuvāddatta*, *yuvānita*, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as *mādrç*.

a. The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, *tvāṅhkāma*, *tvāmāhuti*, *māmpaṇyā*, *mamasatyā*, *asmēhiti*, *ahampūrvā*, *ahamuttarā*, *ahamṇyū*, *ahamāsana*.

b. From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives *madiya*, *tvadiya*, *asmadiya* *yuṣmadiya*, having a possessive value: see below, 516 a.

c. For *sva* and *svayām*, see below, 513.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, *ṛ ta*, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in.

so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

a. But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. it has *sás* (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see 178a,b) and *sá*, instead of *tás* and *tá* (compare Gr. *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τό*, and Goth. *sa*, *so*, *thata*). Thus:

Singular:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	सम् <i>sás</i>	तत् <i>tát</i>	ता <i>sá</i>
A.	तम् <i>tám</i>	तत् <i>tát</i>	ताम् <i>tām</i>
I.	तेन <i>téna</i>		तया <i>táyā</i>
D.	तस्मै <i>tásmāi</i>		तस्यै <i>tásyāi</i>
Ab.	तस्मात् <i>tásmāt</i>		तस्याम् <i>tásyāṃ</i>
G.	तस्य <i>tásya</i>		तस्याम् <i>tásyāṃ</i>
L.	तस्मिन् <i>tásmīn</i>		तस्याम् <i>tásyām</i>

Dual:

N. A. V.	तौ <i>tāú</i>	ते <i>té</i>	ते <i>té</i>
I. D. Ab.	ताभ्याम् <i>tābhyām</i>		ताभ्याम् <i>tābhyām</i>
G. L.	तयोस् <i>táyos</i>		तयोस् <i>táyos</i>

Plural:

N.	ते <i>té</i>	तानि <i>tāni</i>	ताम् <i>tās</i>
A.	तान् <i>tān</i>	तानि <i>tāni</i>	ताम् <i>tās</i>
L.	तेभ्यस् <i>tāis</i>		ताभिन् <i>tābhis</i>

D. Ab.	तेभ्यम् tēbhyaś	ताभ्यम् tābhyaś
G.	तेयाम् tēṣām	ताताम् tāṣām
L.	तेषु tēṣu	तासु tāsu

b. The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in a and ā: namely, *tēnā* sometimes; usually *tā* for *tāū*, du.; often *tā* for *tāni*, pl. neut.; usually *tēbhis* for *tāis*, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root *sa*, namely *sāmin* (occurring nearly half as often as *tāmin*); and ChU. has once *sasmāt*.

496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:

a. In the singular, the use of *t* (properly *d*) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination of another element *ama* with the root in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of *ay* in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending *in*, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous *yādīṣmin*, RV., once). The substitution in B. of *āi* for *ās* as fem. ending (307h) was illustrated at 365d.

b. The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in a and ā.

c. In the plural, the irregularities are limited to *tē* for *tās* in nom. masc., and the insertion of *s* instead of *n* before *ām* of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before *su* of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as *tad*; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective *tadiya*, with *tattvā*, *tadvat*, *tanmaya*; and numerous compounds, such as *tacehīla*, *tajjñā*, *tatkara*, *tadanantara*, *tanmātra*, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so *tādanna*, *tadvid*, *tadvaçā*, etc. But derivatives from the true root *ta* are also many: especially adverbs, as *tātas*, *tātra*, *tāthā*, *tadā*; the adjectives *tāvāt* and *tāti*; and the compound *tādīç* etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root *ta* is prevaillingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, *sō 'hām*, *this I*, or *I here*; *sā* or *sā tvām* *thou there*; *te vāyam*, *we here*; *tasya mama* *of me here*, *tasmitās tvayī* *in thee there*, and so on.

499. Two other demonstrative stems appear to contain *ta* as an element; and both, like the simple *ta*, substitute *sa* in the nom. sing. masc. and fem.

a. The one, *tya*, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later, its nom. sing., in the three genders, is *syās*, *syā*, *tyāt*, and it makes the accusatives *tyām*, *tyām*, *tyāt*, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as *ta*. It has in RV. the instr. fem. *tyā* (for *tyāyā*). Instead of *syā* as nom. sing. fem. is also found *tyā*.

b. The other is the usual demonstrative of nearer position, *this* *here*, and is in frequent use through all periods of the language. It prefixes *e* to the simple root, forming the nominatives *eṣās*, *eṣā*, *etāt*—and so on through the whole inflection.

c. The stem *tya* has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from *eta* are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple *ta*, only much less numerous: thus, *etaddā* (CB.), *etadārtha*, etc., from the so-called stem *etad*; and *etādīc* and *etāvāt* from *eta*. And *eṣa*, like *sa* (498), is used to qualify pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons: e. g. *eṣā 'ham*, etc. *vayam*.

500. There is a defective pronominal stem, *ena*, which is accentless, and hence used only in situations where no emphasis falls upon it. It does not occur elsewhere than in the accusative of all numbers, the instr. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual: thus.

	m.	n.	f.
Sing. A.	<i>enam</i>	<i>enāt</i>	<i>enām</i>
I.	<i>enena</i>		<i>enayā</i>
Du. A.	<i>enāu</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>ene</i>
G. L.	<i>enayos</i>		<i>enayos</i>
Pl. A.	<i>enān</i>	<i>enāni</i>	<i>enās</i>

a. The RV. has *enos* instead of *enayos*, and in one or two instances accents a form: thus, *enām*, *enās* (?). AB. uses *enāt* also as nom. neut.

b. As *ena* is always used substantively, it has more nearly than *ta* the value of a third personal pronoun, unemphatic. Apparent examples of its adjectival use here and there met with are doubtless the result of confusion with *eta* (499b).

c. This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.

501. The declension of two other demonstratives is so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, *अयम्* *ayām* etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, *this* or *that*; the other, *असौ* *asāu* etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, *yon* or *yonder*.

a. They are as follows:

Singular:						
	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
N.	अयम् ayam	इदम् idam	इयम् iyam	असौ asau	अदस् adas	असौ asau
A.	इमम् imam	इदम् idam	इमाम् imam	अमुम् amum	अदस् adas	अमूम् amum
I.	अनेन anena	अनया anayā		अमुना amunā	अमुया amúyā	
D.	अस्मै asmāi	अस्त्यै asyāi		अमुस्मै amúsmāi	अमुष्यै amúsyāi	
Ab.	अस्मात् asmāt	अस्यात् asyās		अमुस्मात् amúsmāt	अमुष्यात् amúsyās	
G.	अस्य asyā	अस्याम् asyām		अमुष्य amúsyā	अमुष्याम् amúsyām	
L.	अस्मिन् asmín	अस्याम् asyām		अमुष्मिन् amúsmín	अमुष्याम् amúsyām	
Dual:						
N. A.	इमौ imāu	इमे imé	इमे imé	अम् amū		
I. D. Ab.	आभ्याम् ābhyām			अमूभ्याम् amūbhyām		
G. L.	अनयोस् anāyos			अमुयोस् amúyos		
Plural:						
N.	इमे imé	इमानि imāni	इमाम् imāś	अमी amī	अमूनि amūni	अमूस् amūś
A.	इमान् imān	इमानि imāni	इमाम् imāś	अमून् amūn	अमूनि amūni	अमूस् amūś
I.	एभिस् ebhís	आभिस् ābhís		अमीभिस् amībhis	अमूभिस् amūbhis	
D. Ab.	एभ्यस् ebhyās	आभ्यस् ābhyās		अमीभ्यस् amībhyas	अमूभ्यस् amūbhyas	
G.	एषाम् eṣām	आसाम् āsām		अमीषाम् amīṣām	अमूषाम् amūṣām	
L.	एषु eṣu	आसु āsu		अमीषु amīṣu	अमूषु amūṣu	

b. The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that (as usual) *imā* occurs for *imāu* and *imāni*, and *amū* for *amūni*; *amuyā* when used adverbially is accented on the final, *amuyā*; *asāu* (with accent, of course, on the first, *āsāu*, or without accent, *asāu*: 314) is used also as vocative; *amī*, too, occurs as vocative.

502. a. The former of these two pronouns, *ayām* etc., plainly shows itself to be placed together from a number of defective stems. The majority of forms come from the root *a*, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension, *sma* (f. *sy*) is combined in the singular. All these forms from *a* have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accented, as in the paradigm, or accentless (like *ena* and the second forms from *ahām* and *tvām*). The remaining forms are always accented. From *anā* come, with entire regularity, *anēna*, *anāyā*, *anāyoa*. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem *imā*. And *ayām*, *iyām*, *idām* are evidently to be referred to a simple root *i* (*idām* being apparently a double form: *id*, like *tad* etc., with ending *am*).

b. The Veda has from the root *a* also the instrumentals *enā* and *ayā* (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. *ayōs*; from *ima*, *imāya* occurs once in RV., *imasmāi* in AA., and *imāis* and *inegu* later. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation *āsmāi*, *āya*, *ābhis*.

c. In analogy with the other pronouns, *idām* is by the grammarians regarded as representative stem of this pronominal declension; and it is actually found so treated in a very small number of compounds (*idammāya* and *idāmrūpa* are of Brāhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, *ana* furnishes nothing further; from *ima* comes only the adverb *imāthā* (RV., once); but *a* and *i* furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, *ātas*, *ātra*, *ātha*, *ad-dhā* (?); *itās*, *id* (Vedic particle); *idā*, *ihā*, *itara*, *im* (Vedic particle), *idṛṣ*, perhaps *evā* and *evām*, and others.

503. The other pronoun, *asāu* etc., has *amu* for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the *a*-stems, the element *sma* (f. *sy*), and which shifts to *amī* in part of the masc. and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective *u*-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen. sing. *amūṣya* is the only example in the language of the ending *ya* added to any other than an *a*-stem. The nom. pl. *amī* is unique in form; its *i* is (like that of a dual) *pragṛhya*, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138b). *Asāu* and *adās* are also without analogies as regards their endings.

a. The grammarians, as usual, treat *adās* as representative stem of the declension, and it is found in this character in an extremely small number of words, as *adomūla*; *adomāya* is of Brāhmaṇa age. The ÇB. has also *asāunāman*. But most of the derivatives, as of

the cases, come from *amu*: thus, *amútas*, *amútra*, *amúthā*, *amudā*, *amúrhī*, *amuvát*, *amuka*.

b. In the older language occurs the root *tra* (accentless), meaning *one, many a one*; it is oftenest found repeated, as *one* and *another*. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension. From it is made the (also accentless) adverb *tvadānīm* (MS.).

c. Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with: thus, *āmas* &c. occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brāhmanas etc.; *avós* as gen.-loc. dual is found in RV.; the particle *u* points to a root *u*.

Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pronominal root is क् *k*; it has the three forms क *ka*, कि *ki*, कु *ku*; but the whole declensional inflection is from क *ka*, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from कि *ki*, and has the anomalous form किम् *kim* (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter 1-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	कम् kās	किम् kīm	का kā
A.	कम् kām	किम् kīm	काम् kām

and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of त *ta* (above, 495).

a. The Veda has its usual variations, *kā* and *kēbhis* for *kāni* and *kāis*. It also has, along with *kīm*, the pronominally regular neuter *kād*; and *kām* (or *kam*) is a frequent particle. The masc. form *kis*, corresponding to *kim*, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations *nākis* and *mākis*.

505. The grammarians treat *kim* as representative stem of the interrogative pronoun; and it is in fact so used in a not large number of words, of which a few — *kimmāya*, *kiñkarā*, *kiñkāmyā*, *kīmdevata*, *kiñçilā*, and the peculiar *kiñyū* — go back even to the Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form *kad*, a couple of times in the Veda (*katpayā*, *kādartha*), and not infrequently later, is found as first member of compounds. Then, from the real roots *ka*, *ki*, *ku* are made many derivatives; and from *ki* and *ku*, especially the latter, many compounds: thus, *kāti*,

kathā, kathām, kadā, katarā, katamā, kārhi; kiyañt, kidṛç; kūtas, kūtra, kūha, kvā, kuarā, kukarman, kumantrin, etc.

506. Various forms of this pronoun, as *ka*, *kim*, and *ku* (and rarely, *ko*), at the beginning of compounds, have passed from an interrogative meaning, through an exclamatory, to the value of pre-fixes signifying an unusual quality — either something admirable, or, oftener, something contemptible. This use begins in the *Veda*, but becomes much more common in later time.

507. The interrogative pronoun, as in other languages, turns readily in its independent use also to an exclamatory meaning. Moreover, it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by *ca*, *canā*, *cīd*, *āpi*, *vā*, either alone or with the relative *ya* (below, 511) prefixed: thus, *kāç canā any one*; *nā kō 'pi not any one*; *yāni kāni cit whatsoever*; *yatamāt katamāc ca whatever one*. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is *y* *ya*, which from the earliest period of the language has lost all trace of the demonstrative meaning originally (doubtless) belonging to it, and is used as relative only.

509. It is inflected with entire regularity according to the usual pronominal declension: thus,

	Singular.			Dual.			Plural.		
	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
N.	यम्	यत्	या	यौ	यै	ये	ये	यानि	याम्
	yās	yāt	yā				yé	yāni	yās
A.	यम्	यत्	याम्	यौ	यै	ये	यान्	यानि	याम्
	yām	yāt	yām	yāu	yē	yé	yān	yāni	yās
I.	येन		यया	यान्-याम् yābhyām			यैम्		यामिन्
	yēna		yāyā				yāis		yābhis
D.	यस्मै		यस्यै	यै-याम् yābhyas			येभ्यन्		यान्-याम्
	yāsmāi		yāsyāi				yēbhyas		yābhyas
	etc.		etc.	etc.			etc.		etc.

a. The *Veda* shows its usual variations of these forms: *yā* for *yāu* and for *yāni*, and *yābhis* for *yāis*; *yōs* for *yāyos* also occurs once; *yēnā*, with prolonged final, is in *RV.* twice as common as *yēna*. Reso-

lutions occur in *yābhias*, and *yēṣaam* and *yāsaam*. The conjunction *yāt* is an ablative form according to the ordinary declension.

510. The use of *yāt* as representative stem begins very early: we have *yātkāma* in the Veda, and *yatkārīn*, *yaddevatyā* in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: *yātas*, *yāti*, *yātra*, *yāthā*, *yādā*, *yādi*, *yārhi*, *yāvant*, *yatarā*, *yatamā*; and the compound *yādīq*.

511. The combination of *ya* with *ka* to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition—as *yād-yat*—gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.

512. One or two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:

a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, *yāḥ sunvatāḥ sākḥā tāsāṃ indrāya gāyata* (RV.) *who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye*; *yām yajñām paribhūr āsi sā īd devēṣu gacchati* (RV.) *what offering thou protectest, that in truth goest to the gods*; *yē triṣaptāḥ pariyānti bālā tēṣāṃ dadhātu me* (AV.) *what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me*; *asāu yō adharād gṛhās tātra santv arāyyāḥ* (AV.) *what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be*; *sabā yān me āsti tēna* (TB.) *along with that which is mine*; *haṁsānām vacanam yat tu tan mām dahati* (MBh.) *but what the words of the swans were, that burns me*; *sarvasya locanam cāstram yasya nā 'sty andha eva saḥ* (H.) *who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he*. The other arrangement, though frequent enough, is notably less usual.

b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, *mé 'mām prā 'pat pāu-ruṣeṇo vadho yāḥ* (AV.) *may there not reach him a human deadly weapon* (lit'y, *what is such a weapon*); *pāri ṇo pāhi yād dhānam* (AV.) *protect of us what wealth [there is]*; *apāmārgō 'pa māreṣu kṣettriyaṁ cāpāthaḥ ca yāḥ* (AV.) *may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse*; *puṣkareṇa hṛtaṁ rājyaṁ yac cā 'nyad vasu kīmcana* (MBh.) *by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was]*.

Other Pronouns: Emphatic, Indefinite.

513. a. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word स्वयम् *svayam* (from the root *sva*) signifies *self*, *own self*. By its form it appears to be a nom. sing., and it is often-

est used as nominative, but along with words of all persons and numbers; and not seldom it represents other cases also.

b. *Svayam* is also used as a stem in composition: thus, *svayamjā*, *svayambhū*. But *sva* itself (usually adjective: below, 516e) has the same value in composition; and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.

c. In RV. alone are found a few examples of two indefinite pronouns, *sama* (accentless) *any, every*, and *simā* *every, all*.

Nouns used pronominally.

514. a. The noun *ātman* *soul* is widely employed, in the singular (extremely rarely in other numbers), as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.

b. The noun *tanū* *body* is employed in the same manner (but in all numbers) in the Veda.

c. The adjective *bhavant*, *f. bhavati*, is used (as already pointed out: 456) in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person. Its construction with the verb is in accordance with its true character, as a word of the third person.

Pronominal Derivatives.

515. From pronominal roots and stems, as well as from the larger class of roots and from noun-stems, are formed by the ordinary suffixes of adjective derivation certain words and classes of words, which have thus the character of pronominal adjectives.

Some of the more important of these may be briefly noticed here.

516. Possessives. a. From the representative stems *mad* etc. are formed the adjectives *madīya*, *asmadīya*, *tvadīya*, *yusmadīya*, *tadīya*, and *etadīya*, which are used in a possessive sense: *relating to me, mine, and so on*.

b. Other possessives are *māmakā* (also *māmaka*, RV.) and *tāvakā*, from the genitives *māma* and *tāva*. And RV. has once *mākina*.

c. An analogous derivative from the genitive *amūṣya* is *āmūṣyā-yapā* (AV. etc.) *descendant of such and such a one*.

d. It was pointed out above (493) that the "genitives" *asmākam* and *yusmākam* are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.

e. Corresponding to *svayām* (513) is the possessive *svā*, meaning *own*, as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, *tvā thy*.

f. For the use of *sva* as reflexive pronoun, see above, 513b.

g. All these words form their feminines in *ā*.

h. Other derivatives of a like value have no claim to be mentioned here. But (excepting *sva*) the possessives are so rarely used as to make but a small figure in the language, which prefers generally to indicate the possessive relation by the genitive case of the pronoun itself.

517. By the suffix *vant* are formed from the pronominal roots, with prolongation of their final vowels, the adjectives *māvant*, *tvāvant*, *yugmāvant*, *yuvāvant*, *tāvant*, *etāvant*, *yāvānt*, meaning of *my sort*, *like me*, etc. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language, in the sense of *tantus* and *quantus*. They are inflected like other adjective stems in *vant*, making their feminines in *vati* (452).

a. Words of similar meaning from the roots *i* and *ki* are *īyant* and *kīyant*, inflected in the same manner: see above, 461.

518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root *dr̥ṣ* see, look, and its derivatives *-dr̥ṣa* and (quite rarely) *dr̥kṣa*: thus, *mādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *tvādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *yugmādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *tādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *dr̥kṣa*; *etādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*, *-dr̥kṣa*; *yādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *īdr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*, *-dr̥kṣa*; *kidr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*, *-dr̥kṣa*. They mean of *my sort*, *like or resembling me*, and the like, and *tādr̥ṣ* and the following are not uncommon, with the sense of *talīs* and *qualīs*. The forms in *dr̥ṣ* are unvaried for gender; those in *dr̥ṣa* (and *dr̥kṣa*?) have feminines in *i*.

519. From *ta*, *ka*, *ya* come *tāti* so many, *kāti* how many? *yāti* as many. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals *pāñca* etc.: above, 483) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. *tāti*; I. etc. *tātibhis*, *tātibhyas*, *tātīnām*, *tātīṇu*.

520. From *ya* (in V. and B.) and *ka* come the comparatives and superlatives *yatarā* and *yatamā*, and *katarā* and *katamā*; and from *i*, the comparative *ītara*. For their inflection, see below, 523.

521. Derivatives with the suffix *ka*, sometimes conveying a diminutive or a contemptuous meaning, are made from certain of the pronominal roots and stems (and may, according to the grammarians, be made from them all): thus, from *ta*, *takām*, *takāt*, *takās*; from *sa*, *sakā*; from *ya*, *yakās*, *yakā*, *yaké*; from *asāu*, *asakāu*; from *amu*, *amuka*.

a. For the numerous and frequently used adverbs formed from pronominal roots, see Adverbs (below, 1097 ff.).

Adjectives declined pronominally.

522. A number of adjectives — some of them coming from pronominal roots, others more or less analogous with pronouns in use — are inflected, in part or wholly, according to the pronominal declension (like त्व ता, 495), with feminine stems in ई. Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, *katará* and *katamá*, *yatará* and *yatamá*, and *ítara*; also *anyá* *other*, and its comparative *anyatará* — are declined like *ta* throughout.

a. But even from these words forms made according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e. g. *itarāyām* K.).

b. *Anya* takes occasionally the form *anyat* in composition: thus, *anyatkāma*, *anyatsthāna*.

524. Other words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form *am*, instead of the pronominal *at* (*ad*). Such are *sārva* *all*, *viśva* *all*, *every*, *ēka* *one*.

a. These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e. g. *viśvāya*, *viśvāt*, *viśve* RV.; *ēka* loc. sing., AV.).

525. Yet other words follow the same model usually, or in some of their significations, or optionally; but in other senses, or without known rule, lapse into the adjective inflection.

a. Such are the comparatives and superlatives from prepositional stems: *ādhara* and *adhamá*, *ántara* and *ántama*, *āpara* and *apamá*, *āvāra* and *avamá*, *úttara* and *uttamá*, *ūpara* and *upamá*. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

b. Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) *paramá*, *caramá*, *madhyamá*; and also *anyatama* (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 522).

c. Further, the words *pāra* *distant, other*; *pūṛva* *prior, east*; *dākṣiṇa* *right, south*; *paścima* *behind, western*; *ubháya* (f. *ubháyī* or *ubhayī*) *of both kinds or parties*; *nēma* *the one, half*; and the possessive *svá*.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e. g. *prathamāsyās*, *trītyasyām*; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, *ālpa* *few*; *ardhá* *half*; *kēvala* *all*; *dvīṭaya* *of the two kinds*; *bāhya* *outside* — and others. RV. has once *saṁānāsmāt*.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONJUGATION.

527. THE subject of conjugation or verbal inflection involves, as in the other languages of the family, the distinctions of voice, tense, mode, number, and person.

a. Further, besides the simpler or ordinary conjugation of a verbal root, there are certain more or less fully developed secondary or derivative conjugations.

528. Voice. There are (as in Greek) two voices, active and middle, distinguished by a difference in the personal endings. This distinction is a pervading one: there is no active personal form which does not have its corresponding middle, and *vice versa*; and it is extended also in part to the participles (but not to the infinitive).

529. An active form is called by the Hindu grammarians *paramāi padam* a word for another, and a middle form is called *ātmane padam* a word for one's self: the terms might be best paraphrased by *transitive* and *reflexive*. And the distinction thus expressed is doubtless the original foundation of the difference of active and middle forms; in the recorded condition of the language, however, the antithesis of transitive and reflexive meaning is in no small measure blurred, or even altogether effaced.

a. In the epics there is much effacement of the distinction between active and middle, the choice of voice being very often determined by metrical considerations alone.

530. Some verbs are conjugated in both voices, others in one only; sometimes a part of the tenses are inflected only in one voice, others only in the other or in both; of a verb usually inflected in one voice sporadic forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice differs according as the verb is compounded with certain prepositions.

531. The middle forms outside the present-system (for which there is a special passive inflection: see below, 768 ff.), and sometimes also within that system, are liable to be used likewise in a passive sense.

532. Tense. The tenses are as follows: 1. a present, with 2. an imperfect, closely related with it in form, having a prefixed augment; 3. a perfect, made with reduplication (to which in the Veda is added, 4. a so-called pluperfect, made from it with prefixed augment); 5. an aorist, of three different formations: a. simple; b. reduplicated; c. sigmatic or sibilant; 6. a future, with 7. a conditional, an augment-tense, standing to it in the relation of an imperfect to a present; and 8. a second, a periphrastic, future (not found in the Veda).

a. The tenses here distinguished (in accordance with prevailing usage) as imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist receive those names from their correspondence in mode of formation with tenses so called in other languages of the family, especially in Greek, and not at all from differences of time designated by them. In no period of the Sanskrit language is there any expression of imperfect or pluperfect time — nor of perfect time, except in the older language, where the "aorist" has this value; later, imperfect, perfect, and aorist are so many indiscriminated past tenses or preterits: see below, under the different tenses.

533. Mode. In respect to mode, the difference between the classical Sanskrit and the older language of the Veda — and, in a less degree, of the Brāhmanas — is especially great.

a. In the Veda, the present tense has, besides its indicative inflection, a subjunctive, of considerable variety of formation, an optative, and an imperative (in 2d and 3d persons). The same three modes are found, though of much less frequent occurrence, as belonging to the perfect; and they are made also from the aorists, being of especial frequency from the simple aorist. The future has no modes (an occasional case or two are purely exceptional).

b. In the classical Sanskrit, the present adds to its indicative an optative and an imperative — of which last,

moreover, the first persons are a remnant of the old subjunctive. And the aorist has also an optative, of somewhat peculiar inflection, usually called the precative (or benedictive).

534. The present, perfect, and future tenses have each of them, alike in the earlier and later language, a pair of participles, active and middle, sharing in the various peculiarities of the tense-formations; and in the Veda are found such participles belonging also to the aorist.

535. Tense-systems. The tenses, then, with their accompanying modes and participles, fall into certain well-marked groups or systems:

I. The present-system, composed of the present tense with its modes, its participle, and its preterit which we have called the imperfect.

II. The perfect-system, composed of the perfect tense (with, in the Veda, its modes and its preterit, the so-called pluperfect) and its participle.

III. The aorist-system, or systems, simple, reduplicated, and sibilant, composed of the aorist tense along with, in the later language, its "precative" optative (but, in the Veda, with its various modes and its participle).

IV. The future-systems: 1. the old or sibilant future, with its accompanying preterit, the conditional, and its participle; and 2. the new periphrastic future.

536. Number and Person. The verb has, of course, the same three numbers with the noun: namely, singular, dual, and plural; and in each number it has the three persons, first, second, and third. All of these are made in every tense and mode—except that the first persons of the imperative numbers are supplied from the subjunctive.

537. Verbal adjectives and nouns: Participles. The participles belonging to the tense-systems have been already spoken of above (534). There is besides, coming directly from the root of the verb, a participle, prevailing of past and passive (or sometimes neuter) meaning. Future passive participles, or gerundives, of several different formations, are also made.

538. Infinitives. In the older language, a very considerable variety of derivative abstract nouns — only in a few sporadic instances having anything to do with the tense-systems — are used in an infinitive or quasi-infinitive sense; most often in the dative case, but sometimes also in the accusative, in the genitive and ablative, and (very rarely) in the locative. In the classical Sanskrit, there remains a single infinitive, of accusative case-form, having nothing to do with the tense-systems.

539. Gerunds. A so-called gerund (or absolutive) — being, like the infinitive, a stereotyped case-form of a derivative noun — is a part of the general verb-system in both the earlier and later language, being especially frequent in the later language, where it has only two forms, one for simple verbs, and the other for compound. Its value is that of an indeclinable active participle, of indeterminate but prevailing past tense-character.

a. Another gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.

540. Secondary conjugations. The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: 1. the passive; 2. the intensive; 3. the desiderative; 4. the causative. In these, a conjugation-stem, instead of the simple root, underlies the whole system of inflection. Yet there is clearly to be seen in them the character of a present-system, expanded into a more or less complete conjugation; and the passive is

so purely a present-system that it will be described in the chapter devoted to that part of the inflection of the verb.

a. Under the same general head belongs the subject of denominative conjugation, or the conversion of noun and adjective-stems into conjugation-stems. Further, that of compound conjugation, whether by the prefixion of prepositions to roots or by the addition of auxiliary verbs to noun and adjective-stems. And finally, that of periphrastic conjugation, or the looser combination of auxiliaries with verbal nouns and adjectives.

541. The characteristic of a proper (finite or personal) verb-form is its personal ending. By this alone is determined its character as regards number and person — and in part also as regards mode and tense. But the distinctions of mode and tense are mainly made by the formation of tense and mode-stems, to which, rather than to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.

a. In this chapter will be given a general account of the personal endings, and also of the formation of mode-stems from tense-stems, and of those elements in the formation of tense-stems — the augment and the reduplication — which are found in more than one tense-system. Then, in the following chapters, each tense-system will be taken up by itself, and the methods of formation of its stems, both tense-stems and mode-stems, and their combination with the endings, will be described and illustrated in detail. And the complete conjugation of a few model verbs will be exhibited in systematic arrangement in Appendix C.

Personal Endings.

542. The endings of verbal inflection are, as was pointed out above, different throughout in the active and middle voices. They are also, as in Greek, usually of two somewhat varying forms for the same person in the same voice: one fuller, called primary; the other briefer, called secondary. There are also less pervading differences, depending upon other conditions.

a. In the epics, exchanges of primary and secondary active endings, (especially the substitution of *ma*, *va*, *ta*, for *mas*, *vas*, *tha*) are not infrequent.

b. A condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.

543. Singular: First person. a. The primary ending in the active is *mi*. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has *ni* instead; and in the oldest Veda this *ni* is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in *ā* (as if the *ni* of *āni* were dropped). The secondary ending is properly *m*; but to this *m* an *a* has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing regularly where the tense-stem does not itself end in *a* (*vam* for *varm* or *varam* in RV., once, and *abhūm* MS., *avadhīm* TS. etc., *sanem* TB., are rare anomalies), that it is convenient to reckon *am* as ending, rather than *m*. But the perfect tense has neither *mi* nor *m*; its ending is simply *a* (sometimes *ā*: 248 c); or, from *ā*-roots, *āu*. 1

b. The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly *me*. But no tense or mode, at any period of the language, shows any relic whatever of a *m* in this person; the primary ending, present as well as perfect, from *a*-stems and others alike, is *e*; and to it corresponds *i* as secondary ending, which blends with the final of an *a*-stem to *e*. The optative has, however, *a* instead of *i*; and in the subjunctive (later imperative) appears *ai* for *e*.

544. Second person. a. In the active, the primary ending is *si*, which is shortened to *s* as secondary; as to the loss of this *s* after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably *tha* (or *thā*: 248 c). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is *dhi*; which, however, is more often reduced to *hi*; and in the great majority of verbs (including all *a*-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (722-3), *āna* is the ending. There is also an alternative ending *tāt*; and this is even used sporadically in other persons of the imperative (see below, 570-1).

b. In the middle voice, the primary ending, both present and perfect, is *se*. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being *thās*; and in the imperative is found only *ava* (or *avā*: 248 c), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as *sua*. In the older language, *se* is sometimes strengthened to *sāi* in the subjunctive.

545. Third person. a. The active primary ending is *ti*; the secondary, *t*; as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending *tu*; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.

b. The primary middle ending is *te*, with *ta* as corresponding secondary. In the older language, *te* is often strengthened to *tāi* in

the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like the active, the same ending with the first, namely *e* simply; and in the older language, the third person present also often loses the distinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with the first (and MS. has *aduha* for *adugdha*). To this *e* perhaps corresponds, as secondary, the *i* of the aorist 3d pers. passive (542 ff.). The imperative has *tām* (or, in the Veda, rarely *ām*) for its ending.

546. Dual: First person. Both in active and in middle, the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corresponding plural, only with substitution of *v* for the *m* of the latter: thus, *vas* (no *vasi* has been found to occur), *va*, *vahe*, *vahi*, *vahāi*. The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the Veda no form in *vas*, even, is quotable.

547. Second and Third persons. *a*. In the active, the primary ending of the second person is *thas*, and that of the third is *tas*; and this relation of *th* to *t* appears also in the perfect, and runs through the whole series of middle endings. The perfect endings are primary, but have *u* instead of *a* as vowel; and an *a* has become so persistently prefixed that their forms have to be reckoned as *athus* and *atus*. The secondary endings exhibit no definable relation to the primary in these two persons; they are *tam* and *tām*; and they are used in the imperative as well.

b. In the middle, a long *ā*—which, however, with the final *a* of *a*-stems becomes *e*—has become prefixed to all dual endings of the second and third persons, so as to form an inseparable part of them (*dīdhithām* AV., and *jīhithām* QB., are isolated anomalies). The primary endings, present and perfect, are *āthe* and *āte*; the secondary (and imperative) are *āthām* and *ātām* (or, with stem-final *a*, *ethe* etc.).

c. The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in *āithe* and *āite*, apparently from *ethe* and *ete* with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043).

548. Plural: First person. *a*. The earliest form of the active ending is *maai*, which in the oldest language is more frequent than the briefer *mas* (in RV., as five to one; in AV., however, only as three to four). In the classical Sanskrit, *mas* is the exclusive primary ending; but the secondary abbreviated *ma* belongs also to the perfect and the subjunctive (imperative). In the Veda, *ma* often becomes *mā* (248 c), especially in the perfect.

b. The primary middle ending is *mahe*. This is lightened in the secondary form to *mahi*; and, on the other hand, it is regularly (in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to *mahāi* in the subjunctive (imperative).

549. Second person. *a*. The active primary ending is *tha*. The secondary, also imperative, ending is *ta* (in the Veda, *tā* only

once in impv.). But in the perfect any characteristic consonant is wanting, and the ending is simply *a*. In the Veda, the syllable *na*, of problematic origin, is not infrequently added to both forms of the ending, making *thana* (rarely *thanā*) and *tana*. The forms in which this occurs will be detailed below, under the different formations; the addition is very rarely made excepting to persons of the first general conjugation.

b. The middle primary ending is *dhve*, which belongs to the perfect as well as to the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to *dhvāi*. The secondary (and imperative) ending is *dhvam* (in RV., once *dhva*); and *dhvāt* is once met with in the imperative (571 d). In the Veda, the *v* of all these endings is sometimes to be resolved into *u*, and the ending becomes dissyllabic. As to the change of *dh* of these endings to *qh*, see above, 226 c.

550. Third person. *a*. The full primary ending is *anti* in the active, with *ante* as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is *anta*, to which should correspond an active *ant*; but of the *t* only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final *n* (207); the ending is *an*. In the imperative, *antu* and *antām* take the place of *anti* and *ante*. The initial *a* of all these endings is like that of *am* in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final *a* of a tense-stem.

b. Moreover, *anti*, *antu*, *ante*, *antām*, *anta* are all liable to be weakened by the loss of their nasal, becoming *ati* etc. In the active, this weakening takes place only after reduplicated non-*a*-stems (and after a few roots which are treated as if reduplicated: 639 ff.); in the middle, it occurs after all tense-stems save those ending in *a*.

c. Further, for the secondary active ending *an* there is a substitute *us* (or *ur*: 189 b; the evidence of the Avestan favors the latter form), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change *anti* to *ati* etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of *an*. The same *us* is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (not in the subjunctive), in those forms of the aorist whose stem does not end in *a*, and in the imperfect of root-stems ending in *ā*, and a few others (621).

d. The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending *re*, and the optative has the allied *ran*, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a *r* as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, *re* (and *ire*) and *rate* in the present; *rata* in the optative (both of present and of aorist); *rire* in the perfect; *ranta*, *ran*, and *ram* in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); *rām* and *ratām* in the imperative; *ra* in the imperfect of *duh* (MS.). The three *rate*, *ratām*, and *rata* are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (620).

551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language: namely, a. the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and b. the regular secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist, the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special schemes, c. the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the middle); and d. the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the *ā* which is practically a part of them, though really containing the mode-sign of the subjunctive from which they are derived.

552. Further, a part of the endings are marked with an accent, and a part are left unaccented. The latter are those which never, under any circumstances, receive the accent; the former are accented in considerable classes of verbs, though by no means in all. It will be noticed that, in general, the unaccented endings are those of the singular active; but the 2d sing. imperative has an accented ending; and, on the other hand, the whole series of 1st persons imperative, active and middle, have unaccented endings (this being a characteristic of the subjunctive formation which they represent).

553. The schemes of normal endings, then, are as follows:

a. Primary Endings.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	mī	vās	mās	ś	vāhe	māhe
2	sī	thās	thā	sé	āthe	dhvé
3	ti	tās	ānti, āti	té	āte	ānte, āte

b. Secondary Endings.

1	am	vā	mā	í, ā	vāhi	māhi
2	s'	tām	tā	thās	āthām	dhvām
3	t	tām	án, ús	tā	ātām	ānta, āta, rán

c. Perfect Endings.

1	a	vā	mā	é	vāhe	māhe
2	tha	āthus	ā	sé	āthe	dhvé
3	a	ātus	ús	é	āte	ré

d. Imperative Endings.

1	āni	āva	āma	āi	āvahāi	āmahāi
2	dhí, hí, —	tām	tā	svā	āthām	dhvām
3	tu	tām	āntu, ātu	tām	ātām	āntām, átām

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if dissyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the

3d pl. ending *ate* of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent *até* in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 699, 719); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, *mahé* (see 719, 735).

555. The secondary endings of the second and third persons singular, as consisting of an added consonant without vowel, should regularly (150) be lost whenever the root or stem to which they are to be added itself ends in a consonant. And this rule is in general followed; yet not without exceptions. Thus:

a. A root ending in a dental mute sometimes drops this final mute instead of the added *s* in the second person; and, on the other hand, a root or stem ending in *s* sometimes drops this *s* instead of the added *t* in the third person—in either case, establishing the ordinary relation of *s* and *t* in these persons, instead of *s* and *s*, and *t* and *t*. The examples noted are: 2d sing. *aves* (to 3d sing. *avet*), *y'vid*, AB.; 3d sing. *akat*, *y'kr*, QB.; *aghat*, *y'ghas*, JB. AÇS.; *acakât*, *y'oakâs*, RT.; *açât*, *y'çâs*, AB. MBh. R.; *asarat*, *y'aras*, VS.; *ahinat*, *y'hiâs*, QB. TB. GB. Compare also the *s*-acrist forms *ayâs* and *srâs* (148 a), in which the same influence is to be seen; and further, *njâit* etc. (869 a), and preceptive *yât* for *yâs* (837). A similar loss of any other final consonant is excessively rare; AV. has once *abhanas*, for *-nak*, *y'bhañj*. There are also a few cases where a 1st sing. is irregularly modeled after a 3d sing.: thus, *atṛṇam* (to *atṛṇat*), *y'tṛd*, KU., *acchinam* (to *acchinat*), *y'chid*, MBh.: compare further the 1st sing. in *m* instead of *am*, 543 a.

b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either *a* or *i* or *ī*: see below, 621 b, 631, 619, 680, 1004 a, 1068 a.

c. In a few isolated cases in the older language, this *ī* is changed to *ai*: see below, 904 b, 936, 1068 a.

556. The changes of form which roots and stems undergo in their combinations with these endings will be pointed out in detail below, under the various formations. Here may be simply mentioned in advance, as by far the most important among them, a distinction of stronger and weaker form of stem in large classes of verbs, standing in relation with the accent—the stem being of stronger form when the accent falls upon it, or before an accentless ending, and of weaker form when the accent is on the ending.

a. Of the endings marked as accented in the scheme, the *ta* of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccented, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the *tam* of 2d du. is treated in the same way; other endings, only sporadically. Details are given under the various formations below.

Subjunctive Mode.

557. Of the subjunctive mode (as was pointed out above) only fragments are left in the later or classical language: namely, in the

so-called first persons imperative, and in the use (579) of the imperfect and aorist persons without augment after *mā* prohibitive. In the oldest period, however, it was a very frequent formation, being three or four times as common as the optative in the Rîg-Veda, and nearly the same in the Atharvan; but already in the Brâhmaṇas it becomes comparatively rare. Its varieties of form are considerable, and sometimes perplexing.

558. In its normal and regular formation, a special mode-stem is made for the subjunctive by adding to the tense-stem an *a* — which combines with a final *a* of the tense-stem to *ā*. The accent rests upon the tense-stem, which accordingly has the strong form. Thus, from the strong present-stem *doh* (y'duh) is made the subjunctive-stem *dôha*; from *juhô* (y'hu), *juháva*; from *yunáj* (y'yuj), *yunája*; from *sunô* (y'su), *sunáva*; from *bháva* (y'bhū), *bháva*; from *tudá* (y'tud), *tudá*; from *ucyá* (pass., y'vao), *ucyá*; and so on.

559. The stem thus formed is inflected in general as an *a*-stem would be inflected in the indicative, with constant accent, and *ā* for *a* before the endings of the first person (733 i) — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. a. In the active, the 1st sing. has *ni* as ending: thus, *dôhāni*, *yunājāni*, *bhāvāni*. But in the Rîg-Veda sometimes *ā* simply: thus, *āyā*, *brāvā*.

b. In 1st du., 1st pl., and 2d pl., the endings are the secondary: thus, *dôhāva*, *dôhāma*, *dôhan*; *bhāvāva*, *bhāvāma*, *bhāvān*.

c. In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are primary: thus, *dôhathas*, *dôhatas*, *dôhatha*; *bhāvāthas*, *bhāvātas*, *bhāvātha*.

d. In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, *dôhasi* or *dôhas*, *dôhati* or *dôhat*; *bhāvāsi* or *bhāvās*, *bhāvāti* or *bhāvāt*.

e. Occasionally, forms with double mode-sign *ā* (by assimilation to the more numerous subjunctives from tense-stems in *a*) are met with from non-*a*-stems: thus, *āsātha* from *as*; *āyās*, *āyāt*, *āyān* from *e* (y'i).

561. In the middle, forms with secondary instead of primary endings are very rare, being found only in the 3d pl. (where they are more frequent than the primary), and in a case or two of the 3d sing. (and AB. has once *asyāthās*).

a. The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of *e* to *āi* in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., *āi* alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only *āvahāi* is met with. In 1st pl., *āmahāi* prevails in RV. and AV. (*āmahe* is found a few times); and is alone known later. In 2d sing., *sāi* for *se* does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brâhmaṇas. In 3d sing., *tāi* for *te* occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form

in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., *dhvāi* for *dhve* is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., *ntāi* for *nte* is the Brāhmaṇa form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such dual endings as *thāi* and *tāi*, for *the* and *te*, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (nine: above, 547 c) *āithe* and *āite*, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of *ethe* and *ete* (although found in one indicative form, *kṛṇvāite*). Before the *āi*-endings, the vowel is regularly long *ā*; but *antāi* instead of *āntāi* is two or three times met with, and once or twice (TS. AB.) *atāi* for *ātāi*.

582. The subjunctive endings, then, in combination with the subjunctive mode-sign, are as follows:

	active.				middle.	
	s.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
1	āni	āva	āma	āi	{āvahāi {āvabe	{āmahāi {āmahe
2	{asi {as	athas	atha	{ase {āsai	āithe	{adhve {adhvāi
3	{ati {at	atas	an	{ate {ātai	āite	{ante, anta {āntai

a. And in further combination with final *a* of a tense-stem, the initial *a* of all these endings becomes *ā*: thus, for example, in 2d pers., *āsī* or *ās*, *āthas*, *ātha*, *āse*, *ādhive*.

583. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings — the name of subjunctive, in the forms "imperfect subjunctive" and "improper subjunctive", has been also given to the indicative forms of imperfect and aorist when used, with the augment omitted, in a modal sense (below, 587): such use being quite common in RV., but rapidly dying out, so that in the Brāhmaṇa language and later it is hardly met with except after *mā* prohibitive.

a. As to the general uses of the subjunctive, see below, 574 ff.

Optative Mode.

584. a. As has been already pointed out, the optative is of comparatively rare occurrence in the language of the Vedas; but it gains rapidly in frequency, and already in the Brāhmaṇas greatly outnumbers the subjunctive, and still later comes almost entirely to take its place.

b. Its mode of formation is the same in all periods of the language.

585. a. The optative mode-sign is in the active voice a different one, according as it is added to a tense-stem ending in *a*, or

to one ending in some other final. In the latter case, it is *yā*, accented; this *yā* is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and takes the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., *us* instead of *an*, and loss of the *ā* before it. After an *a*-stem, it is *ī*, unaccented; this *ī* blends with the final *a* to *e* (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the *a*); and the *e* is maintained unchanged before a vowel-ending (*am*, *us*), by means of an interposed euphonic *y*.

b. In the middle voice, the mode-sign is *ī* throughout, and takes the secondary endings, with *a* in 1st sing., and *an* in 3d pl. After an *a*-stem, the rules as to its combination to *e*, the accent of the latter, and its retention before a vowel-ending with interposition of a *y*, are the same as in the active. After any other final, the weaker form of stem is taken, and the accent is on the ending (except in one class of verbs, where it falls upon the tense-stem: see 845); and the *ī* (as when combined to *e*) takes an inserted *y* before the vowel-endings (*a*, *āthām*, *ātām*).

c. It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether *i* or *ī* is combined with the final of an *a*-stem to *e*; but no good reason appears to exist for assuming *i*, rather than the *ī* which shows itself in the other class of stems in the middle voice.

566. The combined mode-sign and endings of the optative, then, are as follows, in their double form, for *a*-stems and for others:

a. for non-*a*-stems.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	yām	yāva	yāma	īyā	īvāhi	īmāhi
2	yās	yātām	yāta	īthās	īyāthām	īdhvām
3	yāt	yātām	yūs	ītā	īyātām	īrān

b. combined with the final of *a*-stems.

1	eyam	eva	ema	eya	evahi	emahi
2	es	etām	eta	ethās	eyāthām	edhvām
3	et	etām	eyus	eta	eyātām	eran

c. The *yā* is in the Veda not seldom resolved into *iā*.

d. The contracted *sanem*, for *saneyam*, is found in TB. and Āpast. Certain Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in *rata* will be mentioned below, under the various formations.

567. Precative. Precative forms are such as have a sibilant inserted between the optative-sign and the ending. They are made almost only from the aorist stems, and, though allowed by the grammarians to be formed from every root—the active precative from the simple aorist, the middle from the sibilant aorist—are

practically of rare occurrence at every period of the language, and especially later.

a. The inserted *s* runs in the active through the whole series of persons; in the middle, it is allowed only in the 2d and 3d persons sing. and du. and the 2d pl. and is quotable only for the 2d and 3d sing. In the 2d sing. act., the precative form, by reason of the necessary loss of the added *s*, is not distinguishable from the simple optative; in the 3d sing. act., the same is the case in the later language, which (compare 555 a) saves the personal ending *t* instead of the precative-sign *s*; but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending *yā* (for *yāst*). As to *ḍh* in the 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

b. The accent is as in the simple optative.

568. The precative endings, then, accepted in the later language (including, in brackets, those which are identical with the simple optative), are as follows:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	yāsam	yāsva	yāsma	[iyá]	[iváhi]	[imáhi]
2	[yās]	yāstam	yāsta	iṣthās	iyāsthām	iḍhvām
3	[yāt]	yāstām	yāsus	iṣṭá	iyāstām	[irān]

a. Respecting the precative, see further 921 ff.

b. As to the general uses of the optative, see below, 573 ff.

Imperative Mode.

569. The imperative has no mode-sign; it is made by adding its own endings directly to the tense-stem, just as the other endings are added to form the indicative tenses.

a. Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment omitted.

b. The rules as to the use of the different endings — especially in 2d sing., where the variety is considerable — will be given below, in connection with the various tense-systems. The ending *tāt*, however, has so much that is peculiar in its use that it calls for a little explanation here.

570. The Imperative in *tāt*. An imperative form, usually having the value of a 2d pers. sing., but sometimes also of other persons and numbers, is made by adding *tāt* to a present tense-stem — in its weak form, if it have a distinction of strong and weak form.

a. Examples are: *brūtāt*, *hatāt*, *vittāt*; *pipṛtāt*, *jāhītāt*, *dhattāt*; *kṛpūtāt*, *kurūtāt*; *grhṇītāt*, *jānitāt*; *ávatāt*, *rákṣātāt*, *vasātāt*; *viçatāt*, *açjatāt*; *asvatāt*, *naçyatāt*, *chyatāt*; *kṛiyatāt*;

gamayatāt, cyāvayatāt, vārayatāt; ipsatāt; jāgrtāt. No examples have been found from a nasal-class verb (३९०), nor any other than those here given from a passive, intensive, or desiderative. The few accented cases indicate that the formation follows the general rule for one made with an accented ending (552).

b. The imperative in *tāt* is not a very rare formation in the older language, being made (in V., B., and S.) from about fifty roots, and in toward a hundred and fifty occurrences. Later, it is very unusual: thus, only a single example has been noted in MBh., and one in B.; and correspondingly few in yet more modern texts.

571. As regards its meaning, this form appears to have pre-vaillingly in the Brāhmaṇas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value — as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in *to* and *tote*) a posterior or future imperative.

a. Examples are: *ihāi 'vá mā tiṣṭhantam abhyēhi 'ti brūhi tām tū na āgatāṁ pratiprābrūtāt* (ÇB.) *say to her "come to me as I stand just here," and [afterward] announce her to us as having come*; *yād ūrdhvās tiṣṭhā draviṣe 'hā dhattāt* (RV.) *when thou shalt stand upright, [then] bestow riches here* (and similarly in many cases); *utkulām udvahō bhavo 'dúhya prāti dhāvatāt* (AV.) *be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up, run back again*; *vānaspátir āchi tvā sthāsyati tāsya vittāt* (TS.) *the tree will ascend thee, [then] take note of it*.

b. Examples of its use as other than 2d sing. are as follows: 1st sing., *avyuṣāṁ jāgrtād aham* (AV.; only case) *let me watch till day-break*; as 3d sing., *pūnar mā 'vīqatād rayiṁ* (TS.) *let wealth come again to me*, *ayāṁ tyāsya rājā mūrdhānam ví pātayatāt* (ÇB.) *the king here shall make his head fly off*; as 2d du., *nēatyāṅ abruvan dāvāḥ pūnar ā vahatād iti* (RV.) *the gods said to the two Aśvins "bring them back again"*; as 2d pl., *āpaḥ . . . devēṣu naḥ sukṛto brūtāt* (TS.) *ye waters, announce us to the gods as well-doers*. In the later language, the prevailing value appears to be that of a 3d sing.; thus, *bhavān prasādam kuratāt* (MBh.) *may your worship do the favor*, *enam bhavān abhirakṣatāt* (DKC.) *let your excellency protect him*.

c. According to the native grammarians, the imperative in *tāt* is to be used with a benedictive implication. No instance of such use appears to be quotable.

d. In a certain passage repeated several times in different Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, and containing a number of forms in *tāt* used as 2d pl., *vārayadhvāt* is read instead of *vārayatāt* in some of the texts (K. AB. AÇS. ÇÇS.). No other occurrence of the ending, *dhvāt* has been anywhere noted.

Uses of the Modes.

572. Of the three modes, the imperative is the one most distinct and limited in office, and most unchanged in use throughout the whole history of the language. It signifies a command or injunction — an attempt at the exercise of the speaker's will upon some one or something outside of himself.

a. This, however (in Sanskrit as in other languages), is by no means always of the same force; the command shades off into a demand, an exhortation, an entreaty, an expression of earnest desire. The imperative also sometimes signifies an assumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construction, it becomes the expression of something conditional or contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in dependent-clause-making.

b. The imperative is now and then used in an interrogative sentence: thus, *bravihi ko 'dyai 'va mayā viyujyatām* (R.) *speak! who shall now be separated by me?* *katham ete guṇavantaḥ kriyantām* (H.) *how are they to be made virtuous?* *kaśmāi piṇḍaḥ pradīyatām* (Vet.) *to whom shall the offering be given?*

573. The optative appears to have as its primary office the expression of wish or desire; in the oldest language, its prevailing use in independent clauses is that to which the name "optative" properly belongs.

a. But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and, on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is. —

b. Further, the optative in dependent clauses, with relative pronouns and conjunctions, becomes a regular means of expression of the conditional and contingent, in a wide and increasing variety of uses.

c. The so-called precative forms (567) are ordinarily used in the proper optative sense. But in the later language they are occasionally met with in the other uses of the optative: thus, *na hi prapaçyāmi mamā 'panudyād yac chokam* (BhG.) *for I do not perceive what should dispel my grief;* *yad bhūyāsaur vibhūtayāḥ* (BhP.) *that there should be changes.* Also rarely with *mā*: see 570 b.

574. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics: the use of its first persons in an imperative sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of unaugmented forms (579), with the negative particle न माँ, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.

a. And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.

575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish; and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coördinate clauses.

a. Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: *çatām jīva çarādāḥ do thou live a hundred autumns; ubhāu tāu jivatām jarādāṣṭi let them both live to attain old age*;—in subj., *adyā jīvāmi let me live this day; çatām jīvāti çarādāḥ he shall live a hundred autumns*;—in opt., *jīvema çarādām çatāni may we live hundreds of autumns; sārvaṃ āyur jīvyāsam (prec.) I would fain live out my whole term of life*. Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.

b. Examples, again, of different modes in coördinate construction are: *iyām agne nārī pātīm videsṭa . . . sūvānā putrān māhiṣī bhavāti gatvā pātīm subhāgā vī rājatu (AV.) may this woman, O Agni! find a spouse: giving birth to sons she shall become a chiefness; having attained a spouse let her rule in happiness; gopāyā naḥ avastāye prabūdhe naḥ pūnar dadāḥ (TS.) watch over us for*

our welfare; grant unto us to wake again; *syān naḥ sūnūḥ . . . sâ te sumatir bhûtv asmé* (RV.) *may there be to us a son; let that favor of thine be ours.* It is not very seldom the case that versions of the same passage in different texts show different modes as various readings.

c. There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialized uses of forms originally equivalent—having, for instance, a general future meaning.

576. As examples of the less characteristic use of subjunctive and optative in the older language, in independent clauses, may be quoted the following: *â ghâ tâ gacchān ūttarā yugāni* (RV.) *those later ages will doubtless come; yâd . . . nâ marā iti mānyase* (RV.) *if thou thinkest "I shall not die"; nâ tâ naçanti nâ dabhāti tâkaraḥ* (RV.) *they do not become lost; no thief can harm them; kâsmâi devâya havîṣâ vidhema* (RV.) *to what god shall we offer oblation? agnînâ rayim aṇavat . . . divê-dive* (RV.) *by Agni one may gain wealth every day; utai 'nām brahmāne dadyāt tâthâ syonâ çivâ syât* (AV.) *one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable; âhar-âhar dadyāt* (ÇB.) *one should give every day.*

577. The uses of the optative in the later language are of the utmost variety, covering the whole field occupied jointly by the two modes in earlier time. A few examples from a single text (MBh.) will be enough to illustrate them: *ucchiṣṭam nâi 'va bhuñjyam na kuryam pādadhāvanam* *I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation; jñātīn vrajet* *let her go to her relatives; nâi 'yam sâ karhicit kuryāt* *she should not act thus at any time; katham vidyam nalam nṛpam* *how can I know king Nala? utsarge saṁçayaḥ syāt tu vindetâ 'pi sukham kvacit* *but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere; katham vâso vikarteyam na ca budhyeta me priyâ* *how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wake?*

578. The later use of the first persons subjunctive as so-called imperative involves no change of construction from former time, but only restriction to a single kind of use: thus, *dīvyāva* *let us two play; kim karayāni te* *what shall I do for thee?*

579. The imperative negative, or prohibitive, is from the earliest period of the language regularly and usually expressed by the particle *mâ* with an augmentless past form, prevailingly aorist.

a. Thus, *prâ pata mē 'hâ ramsthāḥ* (AV.) *fly away, do not stay here; diviṣāṇç ca māmham radhyatu mâ cā 'hām diviṣatē radham* (AV.) *both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe; urv āçyām ābhayam jyōtir indra mâ no dīrghā abhi naçan tamisrāḥ* (RV.) *I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us; mâ na āyuh prâ moçih* (RV.) *do not*

steal away our life; samāṇvasihi mā ṇcaḥ (MBh.) *be comforted; do not grieve; mā bhāṣiḥ or bhāṣi* (MBh. R.) *do not be afraid; mā bhūt kālaśya paryayaḥ* (R.) *let not a change of time take place.* Examples with the imperfect are: *mā bibher nā marigyaṣi* (RV.) *do not fear; thou wilt not die; mā amāi 'tānt sākhiṇ kuruthāḥ* (AV.) *do not make friends of them; mā putram anutapyathāḥ* (MBh.) *do not sorrow for thy son.* The relation of the imperfect to the aorist construction, in point of frequency, is in RV. about as one to five, in AV. still less, or about one to six; and though instances of the imperfect are quotable from all the older texts, they are exceptional and infrequent; while in the epics and later they become extremely rare.

b. A single optative, *bhujema*, is used prohibitively with *mā* in RV.; the older language presents no other example, and the construction is very rare also later. In an example or two, also, the precativē (*bhūyāt*, R. Pañc.) follows *mā*.

c. The RV. has once apparently *mā* with an imperative; but the passage is probably corrupt. No other such case is met with in the older language (unless *arpa*, TA. I. 14; doubtless a bad reading for *arpas*); but in the epics and later the construction begins to appear, and becomes an ordinary form of prohibition: thus, *mā prayacche 'ṇvare dhanam* (H.) *do not bestow wealth on a lord; sakhi māi 'vaṁ vada* (Vet.) *friend, do not speak thus.*

d. The ÇB. (xi. 5. 11) appears to offer a single example of a true subjunctive with *mā*, *nī padyāsāi*; there is perhaps something wrong about the reading.

e. In the epics and later, an aorist form not deprived of augment is occasionally met with after *mā*: thus, *mā tvāṁ kālo 'tyagāt* (MBh.) *let not the time pass thee; mā vālipatham anv agāḥ* (R.) *do not follow Vālī's road.* But the same anomaly occurs also two or three times in the older language: thus, *vyāpaptat* (ÇB.), *agās* (TA.), *anaṇat* (KS.).

580. But the use also of the optative with *nā* not in a prohibitive sense appears in the Veda, and becomes later a familiar construction: thus, *nā riṣyema kadā canā* (RV.) *may we suffer no harm at any time; nā cā 'tiṣṭjēn nā juhuyāt* (AV.) *and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice; tād u tāthā nā kuryāt* (ÇB.) *but he must not do that so; na divā ṇayita* (ÇS.) *let him not sleep by day; na tvāṁ vidyur janāḥ* (MBh.) *let not people know thee.* This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in *Maṇu*).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a definite distinction between subjunctive and optative; a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent—

and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: *yā vyūṣūr yāc ca nūnāṁ vyuoohān* (RV.) *which have shone forth [hitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth*; *yō 'to jāyātā samākāṁ sá ēko 'sat* (TS.) *whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us*; *yō vāi tām vidyāt pratyákṣaṁ sá brahmā véditā syāt* (AV.) *whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest*; *putráṇāṁ . . . jātānāṁ janāyāc ca yān* (AV.) *of sons born and whom thou mayest bear*; *yāsyā . . . ātithir gṛhān āgāochet* (AV.) *to whose-soever house he may come as guest*; *yatamāthā kāmāyeta tāthā kuryāt* (ÇB.) *in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it*; *yārhi hótā yājāmānasya nāma gṛhṇīyāt tārhi brūyāt* (TS.) *when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak*; *avarūpaṁ yadā draṣṭum icchethāṅ* (MBh.) *when thou shalt desire to see thine own form*.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: *yājāma devān yadi caknāvāma* (RV.) *we will offer to the gods if we shall be able*; *yād agne syām ahām tvām tvām vā ghā syā ahām syūṣ te satyā ihā 'ciṣaṅ* (RV.) *if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot*; *yō dyām atisārpāt parastān nā sá mucyātāi vāruṇasya rājñāṅ* (AV.) *though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna*; *yād ānāqvān upavāset kaṇḍhukaṅ syād yād aṇṇīyād rudrō 'sya paçūn abhī manyeta* (TS.) *if he should continue without eating, he would starve; if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle*; *prārthayed yadi mām kaçoid danḍyaṅ sa me puṁnān bhavet* (MBh.) *if any man soever should desire me, he should suffer punishment*. These and the like constructions, with the optative, are very common in the Brāhmanas and later.

c. In final clauses: *yāthā 'hām çatruho 'sani* (AV.) *that I may be a slayer of my enemies*; *gṛhṇāṁ yāthā pibātho āndhaṅ* (RV.) *that being praised with song ye may drink the draught*; *urāu yāthā tāva çārman mādema* (RV.) *in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection*; *ūpa jānīta yāthe 'yam pūnar āgāochet* (ÇB.) *contrive that she come back again*; *kṛpāṁ kuryād yathā mayi* (MBh.) *so that he may take pity on me*. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with *néd* in order that not or lest (always followed by an accented verb), it continues not rare in the Brāhmanas.

d. The indicative is also very commonly used in final clauses after *yathā*: thus, *yāthā 'yam pūruṣo 'ntāriḱṣam anucārati* (ÇB.) *in order that this man may traverse the atmosphere*; *yathā na vighnāṅ kriyate* (R.) *so that no hindrance may arise*; *yathā 'yam naçyati tathā vidheyam* (H.) *it must be so managed that he perish*.

e. With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further to be compared that of the so-called conditional tense: see below, 950.

f. As is indicated by many of the examples given above, it is usual in a conditional sentence, containing protasis and apodosis, to employ always the same mode, whether subjunctive or optative (or conditional), in each of the two clauses. For the older language, this is a rule well-nigh or quite without exception.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-stem and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

Participles.

583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems — except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the aorist (and aorist participles are rare from the beginning).

a. The participles unconnected with the tense-systems are treated in chap. XIII (952 ff.).

584. The general participial endings are घन् *ant* (weak form घत् *at*; fem. घत्ती *antī* or घती *atī*: see above, 449) for the active, and घान *āna* (fem. घाना *ānā*) for the middle. But—

a. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the active participial suffix is virtually *nt*, one of the two *a*'s being lost in the combination of stem-final and suffix.

b. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the middle participial suffix is *māna* instead of *āna*. But there are occasional exceptions to the rule as to the use of *māna* and *āna* respectively, which will be pointed out in connection with the various formations below. Such exceptions are especially frequent in the causative: see 1043 f.

c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix *vāns* (weakest form *uṣ*, middle form *vat*; fem. *uṣī*: see, for the inflection of this participle, above, 458 ff.).

d. For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions see the following chapters.

Augment.

585. The augment is a short *अ* *a*, prefixed to a tense-stem — and, if the latter begin with a vowel, combining with that vowel irregularly into the heavier or *vrddhi* diphthong

(136a). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.

a. In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long *ā*: thus, *ānaṭ*, *āvar*, *āvṛṇi*, *āvṛṇak*, *āvidhyat*, *āyunak*, *āyukta*, *āyukaṣātām*, *āripak*, *ārāik*, (and *yās ta āvidhat*, RV. II. 1. 7, 9?).

586. The augment is a sign of past time. And an augment-preterit is made from each of the tense-stems from which the system of conjugation is derived: namely, the imperfect, from the present-stem; the pluperfect (in the Veda only), from the perfect-stem; the conditional, from the future-stem; while in the aorist such a preterit stands without any corresponding present indicative.

587. In the early language, especially in the RV., the occurrence of forms identical with those of augment-tenses save for the lack of an augment is quite frequent. Such forms lose in general, along with the augment, the specific character of the tenses to which they belong; and they are then employed in part non-modally, with either a present or a past sense; and in part modally, with either a subjunctive or an optative sense — especially often and regularly after *mā* prohibitive (579); and this last mentioned use comes down also into the later language.

a. In RV., the augmentless forms are more than half as common as the augmented (about 2000 and 3300), and are made from the present, perfect, and aorist-systems, but considerably over half from the aorist. Their non-modal and modal uses are of nearly equal frequency. The tense value of the non-modally used forms is more often past than present. Of the modally used forms, nearly a third are construed with *mā* prohibitive; the rest have twice as often an optative as a proper subjunctive value.

b. In AV., the numerical relations are very different. The augmentless forms are less than a third as many as the augmented (about 475 to 1450), and are prevailingly (more than four fifths) aoristle. The non-modal uses are only a tenth of the modal. Of the modally used forms, about four fifths are construed with *mā* prohibitive; the rest are chiefly optative in value. Then, in the language of the Brāhmaṇas (not including the *mantra*-material which they contain), the loss of augment is, save in occasional sporadic cases, restricted to the prohibitive construction with *mā*; and the same continues to be the case later.

c. The accentuation of the augmentless forms is throughout in accordance with that of unaugmented tenses of similar formation. Examples will be given below, under the various tenses.

d. Besides the augmentless aorist-forms with *mā* prohibitive, there are also found occasionally in the later language augmentless imperfect-forms (very rarely aorist-forms), which have the same value as if they were augmented, and are for the most part examples of metrical license. They are especially frequent in the epics (whence some scores of them are quotable).

Reduplication.

588. The derivation of conjugational and declensional stems from roots by reduplication, either alone or along with other formative elements, has been already spoken of (259), and the formations in which reduplication appears have been specified: they are, in primary verb-inflection, the present (of a certain class of verbs), the perfect (of nearly all), and the aorist (of a large number); and the intensive and desiderative secondary conjugations contain in their stems the same element.

589. The general principle of reduplication is the prefixion to a root of a part of itself repeated — if it begin with consonants, the initial consonant and the vowel; if it begin with a vowel, that vowel, either alone or with a following consonant. The varieties of detail, however, are very considerable. Thus, especially, as regards the vowel, which in present and perfect and desiderative is regularly shorter and lighter in the reduplication than in the root-syllable, in aorist is longer, and in intensive is strengthened. The differences as regards an initial consonant are less, and chiefly confined to the intensive; for the others, certain general rules may be here stated, all further details being left to be given in connection with the account of the separate formations.

590. The consonant of the reduplicating syllable is in general the first consonant of the root: thus, पप्रक् *paprach* from प्रक् *prach*; गिग्री *gigri* from ग्री *gri*; बुबुध् *bubudh* from बुध् *budh*. But —

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दधा *dadhā* from दा; बिभ्र *bibhr* from भ्र.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for क् *h*:

thus, चकृ oakṛ from √कृ kr; चिखिद् cikhid from √खिद् khid; जग्रभ् jagrabh from √ग्रभ् grabh; जहृ jahṛ from √हृ hr.

c. The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (216, 1).

d. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, तस्तृ tastr from √स्तृ str; तस्थā tasthā from √स्था sthā; चस्कन्द caskand from √स्कन्द skand; चस्तल् caskhal from √स्तल् skhal; चुद्युत् cudyut from √द्युत् dyut; पस्पृध् pasprdh from √स्पृध् sprdh; पुष्फुट pusphut from √स्फुट sphut: — but सन्ना sanā from √न्ना nā; सस्मृ sasmr from √स्मृ smr; सुस्रु susru from √स्रु sru; शिञ्जिप् ṣiṣṣiṣ from √ञ्जिप् ṣiṣ.

Accent of the Verb.

591. The statements which have been made above, and those which will be made below, as to the accent of verbal forms, apply to those cases in which the verb is actually accented.

a. But, according to the grammarians, and according to the invariable practice in accentuated texts, the verb is in the majority of its occurrences unaccented or toneless.

b. That is to say, of course, the verb in its proper forms, its personal or so-called finite forms. The verbal nouns and adjectives, or the infinitives and participles, are subject to precisely the same laws of accent as other nouns and adjectives.

592. The general rule, covering most of the cases, is this: The verb in an independent clause is unaccented, unless it stand at the beginning of the clause — or also, in metrical text, at the beginning of a pāda.

a. For the accent of the verb, as well as for that of the vocative case (above, 314 c), the beginning of a pāda counts as that of a sentence, whatever be the logical connection of the pāda with what precedes it.

b. Examples of the unaccented verb are: agnīm iḍe purōhitam *Agni I praise, the house-priest*; sa id devēgu gacchati *that, truly, goes to the gods*; āgne sūpāyanō bhava *O Agni, be easy of access*; idām indra ṣṣruhi somapa *this, O Indra, soma-drinker, hear*; nāmas te rudra kṛpmaḥ *homage to thee, Rudra, we offer*; yājamānasya paçūn pāhi *the sacrificer's cattle protect thou*.

c. Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:

593. First, the verb is accented when it stands at the beginning of a clause—or, in verse, of a pāda.

a. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the sentence are, in prose, *çundhadvam dāivyāya kārmaṇe* *be pure for the divine ceremony*; *āpnōti 'mām lokām* *he wins this world*; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, *syāmē 'd indrasya çarmaṇi* *may we be in Indra's protection*; *darçāya mā yātudhānān* *show me the sorcerers*; *gāmad vājebhir ā sā naḥ* *may he come with good things to us*; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, *tēṣāṁ pāhi çrudhī hāvam* *drink of them, hear our call*; *sāstu mātā sāstu pitā sāstu çvā sāstu viçpātīḥ* *let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep*; *viçvakarman nāmas te pāhy asmān Viçvakarman,* *homage to thee; protect us!* *yuvām . . . rājā ūce duhitā pṛcobhē vām narā* *the king's daughter said to you "I pray you, ye men"*; *vayām te vāya indra viddhī su naḥ prā bharāmahe* *we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us.*

b. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the pāda when this is not the head of the sentence are: *āthā te āntamānām vidyāma sumatinām* *so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors*; *dhātā 'syā agrūvāi pātīm dādhatu pratikāmyām Dhātār* *bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish*; *yātudhānasya somapa jahī prajāṁ* *slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer.*

594. Certain special cases under this head are as follows:

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accented, as if it were itself initial in the clause or pāda: thus, *āçrutkarna çrudhī hāvam* *O thou of listening ears, hear our call!* *sīte vāndāmahe tvā O Sītā,* *we reverence thee*; *viçve devā vāsavo rākṣate 'mām* *all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man*; *utā "gaç cakruṣuḥ devā devā jivāyathā pūnaḥ* *likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again.*

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, *tarāṇir iḥ jayati kṣēti pūṣyati* *successful he conquers, rules, thrives*; *amitrān . . . pārāca indra prā mṛṇā jahī ca* *our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay*; *asmābhyām jeṣi yōtsi ca* *for us conquer and fight*; *agnīṣomā haviṣaḥ prāsthitasya vītām hāryataṁ vṛṣaṇā juṣēthām* *O Agni and Soma, of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure.*

c. In like manner (but much less often), an adjunct, as subject or object, standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is reckoned to the first alone, and the second has the initial accent: thus, *jahī prajāṁ nāyasva* *slay the progeny, and bring [it] hither*; *çṛṇōtu naḥ subhāgā bōdhatu tmānā* *may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard [us].*

d. It has even come to be a formal rule that a verb immediately following another verb is accented: thus, *sá yá etám evám upáste pūryáste prajāyā paçúbhiḥ* (ÇB.) *whoever worships him thus is filled with offspring and cattle.*

595. Second, the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause.

a. The dependency of a clause is in the very great majority of cases conditioned by the relative pronoun *ya*, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus: *yám yajñám paribhūr ási* *what offering thou protectest*; *ó tē yanti yé aparīṣu paçyān* *they are coming who shall behold her hereafter*; *sahá yān me ásti tēnā* *along with that which is mine*; *yātra naḥ pūrve pitāraḥ pareyúḥ* *whither our fathers of old departed*; *adyā muriya yádi yātudháno ásmi* *let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer*; *yáthā 'hāny anupūrvám bhāvanti* *as days follow one another in order*; *yávad idám bhūvanam víçvam ásti* *how great this whole creation is*; *yátkāmās te juhumāś tān no astu* *what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours*; *yatamās titṛpsāt* *whichever one desires to enjoy.*

b. The presence of a relative word in the sentence does not, of course, accent the verb, unless this is really the predicate of a dependent clause: thus, *āpa tyē tāyāvo yathā yanti* *they make off like thieves (as thieves do)*; *yát sthā jāgac ca rejate* *whatever [is] immovable and movable trembles*; *yathākāmam ní padyate* *he lies down at his pleasure.*

c. The particle *ca* when it means *if*, and *céd* (*on + id*) *if*, give an accent to the verb: thus, *brahmā céd dhāstam ágrahīt* *if a Brahman has grasped her hand*; *tvám ca soma no yāço jīvātum ná marāmahe* *if thou, Soma, wiltst us to live, we shall not die*; *ā ca gācchān mitráṁ enā dadhāma* *if he will come here, we will make friends with him.*

d. There are a very few passages in which the logical dependence of a clause containing no subordinating word appears to give the verb its accent: thus, *sám āçvaparnāç cārantī no náro 'smākam indra rathīno jayantu* *when our men, horse-winged, come into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory.* Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented: thus, *tūyam ā gahi kánveṣu sú sácā píba* *come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas (i. e. in order to drink).*

e. A few other particles give the verb an accent, in virtue of a slight subordinating force belonging to them: thus, especially *hi* (with its negation *nahí*), which in its fullest value means *for*, but shades off from that into a mere asseverative sense; the verb or verbs connected with it are always accented: thus, *ví té muñcantām vimūco hí sánti* *let them: release him, for they are releasers*; *yáo cid dhí . . . anāçastā iva smāsi* *if we, forsooth, are as it were unrenowned*; — also *néd* (*nā + id*), meaning *lest, that not*: thus, *nēt tvā tápāti súro arciṣā* *that the sun may not burn thee with his beam*; *virājan néd vicchinādānī 'ti* *saying to himself,*

"lest I cut off the *virāj*" (such cases are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas);— and the interrogative *kuvid* *whether?* thus, *ukthébhiḥ kuvíd āgámat* *will he come hither for our praises?*

596. But further, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently accented in antithetical construction.

a. Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those of ordinary coördination, the line between them appearing to be rather arbitrarily drawn.

b. In many cases, the antithesis is made distincter by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially *anya—anya*, *eka—eka*, *vā—vā*, *ca—ca*: thus, *prá-prā 'nyé yánti páry anyá āsate* *some go on and on, others sit about* (as if it were *while some go etc.*); *úd vā síñcádhvam úpa vā pṛṇádhvam* *either pour out, or fill up*; *sám ce 'dhyásvā 'gne prá ca vardhaye 'mām* *both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person*. But it is also made without such help: thus, *prā 'játāḥ prajā janáyati pári prájatā gṛhṇāti* *the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces*; *āpa yuṣmád ákra-mín ná 'smán upá-vartate* [*though*] *she has gone away from you, she does not come to us*; *ná 'ndhó 'dhvaryúr bhávati ná yajñám rákṣāñsi ghnanti* *the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy the sacrifice*; *kéna sómā gṛhyānte kéna hūyante* *by whom [on the one hand] are the somas dipped out? by whom [on the other hand] are they offered?*

597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expressions like *urví cā 'si vāsví cā 'si* *both thou art broad and thou art good*, occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like *agnír amúṣmín loká āsíd yamó 'smín* *Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this*; *asthnā 'nyāḥ prajāḥ pratitiṣṭhanti māñsénā 'nyāḥ* *by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others*; *dvipāc ca sárvaṁ no rákṣa cātuspād yāc ca naḥ svām* *both protect everything of ours that is biped, and also whatever that is quadruped belongs to us*.

a. Accentuation of the verb in the former of two antithetical clauses is a rule more strictly followed in the Brāhmaṇas than in the Veda, and least strictly in the RV.: thus, in RV., *abhi dyām mahinā bhuvam* (not *bhúvam*) *abhi 'mām pṛthivīm mahim* *I am superior to the sky in greatness, also to this great earth*; and even *indro vidur āngirasaḥ ca ghorāḥ* *Indra knows, and the terrible Angirases*. o

598. There are certain more or less doubtful cases in which a verb-form is perhaps accented for emphasis.

a. Thus, sporadically before *canā* *in any wise*, and in connection with asservative particles, as *kīla*, *āṅgá*, *evá*, and (in QB., regularly) *hanta*: thus, *hānte 'mām pṛthivīm vibhájāmahāi* *come on! let us share up this earth*.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRESENT-SYSTEM.

599. THE present-system, or system of forms coming from the present-stem, is composed (as was pointed out above) of a present indicative tense, together with a subjunctive (mostly lost in the classical language), an optative, an imperative, and a participle, and also a past tense, an augment-preterit, to which we give (by analogy with the Greek) the name of imperfect.

a. These forms often go in Sanskrit grammars by the name of "special tenses", while the other tense-systems are styled "general tenses" — as if the former were made from a special tense stem or modified root, while the latter came, all alike, from the root itself. There is no reason why such a distinction and nomenclature should be retained; since, on the one hand, the "special tenses" come in one set of verbs directly from the root, and, on the other hand, the other tense-systems are mostly made from stems — and, in the case of the aorist, from stems having a variety of form comparable with that of present-stems.

600. Practically, the present-system is the most prominent and important part of the whole conjugation, since, from the earliest period of the language, its forms are very much more frequent than those of all the other systems together.

b. Thus, in the Veda, the occurrences of personal forms of this system are to those of all others about as three to one; in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, as five to one; in the *Hitopadeśa*, as six to one; in the *Ākuntalā*, as eight to one; in *Manu*, as thirty to one.

601. And, as there is also great variety in the manner in which different roots form their present stem, this, as being their most conspicuous difference, is made the basis of their principal classification; and a verb is said to be of this or of that conjugation, or class, according to the way in which its present-stem is made and inflected.

802. In a small minority of verbs, the present-stem is identical with the root. Then there are besides (excluding the passive and causative) seven more or less different methods of forming a present-stem from the root, each method being followed by a larger or smaller number of verbs. These are the "classes" or "conjugation-classes", as laid down by the native Hindu grammarians. They are arranged by the latter in a certain wholly artificial and unsystematic order (the ground of which has never been discovered); and they are wont to be designated in European works according to this order, or else, after Hindu example, by the root standing at the head of each class in the Hindu lists. A different arrangement and nomenclature will be followed here, namely as below — the classes being divided (as is usual in European grammars) into two more general classes or conjugations, distinguished from one another by wider differences than those which separate the special classes.

803. The classes of the FIRST OR NON-a-CONJUGATION are as follows:

I. The root-class (second class, or ad-class, of the Hindu grammarians); its present-stem is coincident with the root itself: thus, *अद्* ad *eat*; *इ* i *go*; *आस्* ās *sit*; *या* yā *go*; *दिप्* dviṣ *hate*; *दुह्* duh *milk*.

II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, *जुह्* juhu from *√हु* hu *sacrifice*; *दद्* dadā from *√दा* dā *give*; *बिभृ* bibhṛ from *√भृ* bhṛ *bear*.

III. The nasal class (seventh or rudh-class); a nasal, extended to the syllable न na in strong forms, is inserted before the final consonant of the root: thus, *रुन्प्* rundh (or *रुणाप्* ruṇadh) from *√रुम्* rudh *obstruct*; *युञ्ज्* yuñj (or *युनञ्* yunañ) from *√युञ्ज्* yuj *join*.

IV. a. The *nu*-class (fifth or *su*-class); the syllable नु *nu* is added to the root: thus, मुनु *sunu* from √नु *su press out*; षाप्नु *āpnu* from √षाप् *āp obtain*.

b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in न् *n*, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending (कृ *kr make*), add उ *u* alone to form the present-stem. This is the eighth or *tan*-class of the Hindu grammarians; it may be best ranked by us as a sub-class, the *u*-class: thus, तनु *tanu* from √तन् *tan stretch*.

V. The *nā*-class (ninth or *krī*-class); the syllable ना *nā* (or, in weak forms, नी *nī*) is added to the root; thus, क्रीणा *krīṇā* (or क्रीणी *krīṇī*) from √क्री *krī buy*; स्तभा *stabhnā* (or स्तभी *stabhnī*) from √स्तभ् *stabh establish*.

804. These classes have in common, as their most fundamental characteristic, a shift of accent: the tone being now upon the ending, and now upon the root or the class-sign. Along with this goes a variation in the stem itself, which has a stronger or fuller form when the accent rests upon it, and a weaker or briefer form when the accent is on the ending: these forms are to be distinguished as the strong stem and the weak stem respectively (in part, both have been given above). The classes also form their optative active, their 2d sing. imperative, their 3d pl. middle, and their middle participle, in a different manner from the others.

805. In the classes of the SECOND or *a*-CONJUGATION, the present-stem ends in *a*, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., the 3d pl. middle, and the middle

participle, are (as just stated) unlike those of the other conjugation.

606. The classes of this conjugation are as follows:

VI. The a-class, or unaccented a-class (first or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is (if capable of it) strengthened by guṇa throughout: thus, भव bháva from √भू bhū *be*; नय náya from √नी nī *lead*; बोध bódha from √बुध् budh *wake*; वद váda from √वद् vad *speak*.

VII. The á-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is a, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुद् tudá from √तुद् tud *thrust*; स्रज् srjá from √सृज् srj *let loose*; सुव súvā from √सृ sū *give birth*.

VIII. The ya-class (fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, दीव्य dívya from √दिव् div (more properly दीव् dív: see 785) *play*; नह्य náhya from √नक् nah *bind*; क्रुध्य krúdhya from √क्रुध् krudh *be angry*.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the ya-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the á-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented yá to the root: thus, अद्य adyá from √अद् ad *eat*; रुध्य rudhyá from √रुध् rudh *obstruct*; बुध्य budhyá from √बुध् budh *wake*; तुद्य tudyá from √तुद् tud *thrust*.

807. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or *cur-class*, having a class-sign *āya* added to a strengthened root (thus, *corāya* from *your*), and an inflection like that of the other *a*-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-stem, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation — while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may be formed in that value from a large number of roots — it will be best treated in full along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV., 1041ff.).

808. A small number of roots add in the present-system a *ch*, or substitute a *ch* for their final consonant, and form a stem ending in *cha* or *chā*, which is then inflected like any *a*-stem. This is historically, doubtless, a true class-sign, analogous with the rest; but the verbs showing it are so few, and in formation so irregular, that they are not well to be put together into a class, but may best be treated as special cases falling under the other classes.

a. Roots adding *ch* are *ṛ* and *yu*, which make the stems *ṛcchā* and *yūccha*.

b. Roots substituting *ch* for their final are *iṣ*, *uṣ* (or *vas shine*), *gam*, *yam*, which make the stems *icchā*, *ucchā*, *gāccha*, *yāccha*.

c. Of the so-called roots ending in *ch*, several are more or less clearly stems, whose use has been extended from the present to other systems of tenses.

809. Roots are not wholly limited, even in the later language, to one mode of formation of their present-stem, but are sometimes reckoned as belonging to two or more different conjugation-classes. And such variety of formation is especially frequent in the Veda, being exhibited by a considerable proportion of the roots there occurring; already in the Brāhmaṇas, however, a condition is reached nearly agreeing in this respect with the classical language. The different present-formations sometimes have differences of meaning; yet not more important ones than are often found belonging to the same formation, nor of a kind to show clearly a difference of value as originally belonging to the separate classes of presents. If anything of this kind is to be established, it must be from the derivative conjugations, which are separated by no fixed line from the present-systems.

810. We take up now the different classes, in the order in which they have been arranged above, to describe more in detail, and with illustration, the formation of their present-stems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

I. Root-class (second, ad-class).

811. In this class there is no class-sign; the root itself is also present-stem, and to it are added directly the per-

sonal endings—but combined in subjunctive and optative with the respective mode-signs; and in the imperfect the augment is prefixed to the root.

a. The accented endings (552) regularly take the accent—except in the imperfect, where it falls on the augment—and before them the root remains unchanged; before the unaccented endings, the root takes the guṇa-strengthening.

b. It is only in the first three classes that the endings come immediately in contact with a final consonant of the root, and that the rules for consonant combination have to be noted and applied. In these classes, then, additional paradigms will be given, to illustrate the modes of combination.

1. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with घृते áte in 3d pl. mid.), added to the bare root. The root takes the accent, and has guṇa, if capable of it, in the three persons sing. act.

Examples of inflection: a. active, root इ i *go*; strong form of root-stem, ए é; weak form, इ i; middle, root ऌs *sít*, stem ऌs (irregularly accented throughout: 628).

active.			middle.		
a.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 एमि émi	इवम् ivám	इमम् imám	घासे āse	घास्वहे āsvahe	घास्महे āsmahe
2 एषि éṣi	इथम् ithám	इथ ithá	घास्ते āste	घासाथे āsāthe	घाद्धे āddhve
3 एति éti	इतम् itám	यन्ति yānti	घास्ते āste	घासाते āsāte	घासते āsate

b. root *dvīṣ* *hate*: strong stem-form, *dvēṣ*; weak, *dvīṣ*. For rules of combination for the final ṣ, see 226.

1 dvēṣmi	dvīṣvám	dvīṣmám	dvīṣé	dvīṣvāhe	dvīṣmāhe
2 dvēṣṣi	dvīṣṭhám	dvīṣṭhá	dvīṣṣé	dvīṣāthe	dvīṣḍhvé
3 dvēṣṭi	dvīṣṭám	dvīṣānti	dvīṣṭé	dvīṣāte	dvīṣāte

c. root *duh* *milk*: strong stem-form, *dóh*; weak, *duh*. For rules of combination for the final h, and for the conversion of the initial to dh, see 223a, 155, 160.

1 dōhmi	duhvám	duhmám	duhé	duhvāhe	duhmāhe
2 dhókṣi	dugdhám	dugdhá	dhukṣé	duhāthe	dhugdhvé
3 dōgdhi	dugdhám	duhānti	dugdhé	duhāte	duhāte

d. root *lih* *lick*; strong stem, *lénh*; weak, *lih*. For rules of combination of the final *h*, see 222 b.

1	<i>léhmi</i>	<i>lihvas</i>	<i>lihmas</i>	<i>lihé</i>	<i>lihváhe</i>	<i>lihmahe</i>
2	<i>lékṣi</i>	<i>liḥás</i>	<i>liḥá</i>	<i>likṣé</i>	<i>lihátthe</i>	<i>liḥvé</i>
3	<i>lédhi</i>	<i>liḥás</i>	<i>lihánti</i>	<i>liḥé</i>	<i>liháte</i>	<i>liháte</i>

613. Examples of the 3d sing. mid. coincident in form with the 1st sing. are not rare in the older language (both V. and B.); the most frequent examples are *íḡe*, *duhé*, *vidé*, *ḡaye*; more sporadic are *cíté*, *bruve*, *huvé*. To *tha* of the 2d pl. is added *na* in *sthána*, *pāthána*, *yāthána*. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in *rihaté*, *duhaté*. Examples of the same person in *re* and *rate* also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, 629-30, 635), *vidré*, and, with auxiliary vowel, *arhire* (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: 790 b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models (as above), for the active the root *i go*, and for the middle the root *ās sit*, from both of which numerous forms are met with (although neither for these nor for any others can the whole series be found in actual use).

a. The mode-stems are *āya* (*é + a*) and *āsa* (*ās + a*) respectively.

active.				middle.	
a.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 { <i>āyāni</i>	<i>āyāva</i>	<i>āyāma</i>	<i>āsāi</i>	{ <i>āsāvahāi</i>	{ <i>āsāmahāi</i>
{ <i>āyā</i>				{[<i>āsāvahe</i>]	{[<i>āsāmahe</i>]
2 { <i>āyasi</i>	<i>āyathas</i>	<i>āyatha</i>	{ <i>āsase</i>	[<i>āsāithe</i>]	{[<i>āsadhve</i>]
{ <i>āyas</i>			{ <i>āsāsāi</i>		{ <i>āsādihvāi</i>
3 { <i>āyati</i>	<i>āyatas</i>	<i>āyan</i>	{ <i>āsate</i>	<i>āsāite</i>	{[<i>āsante</i>]-nte
{ <i>āyat</i>			{ <i>āsātāi</i>		{ <i>āsāntāi</i>

615. The RV. has no middle forms in *āi* except those of the first person. The 1st sing. act. in *ā* occurs only in RV., in *ayā*, *bravā*, *stāvā*. The 2d and 3d sing. act. with primary endings are very unusual in the Brāhmaṇas. Forms irregularly made with long *ā*, like those from present-stems in *a*, are not rare in AV. and B.: thus, *ayās*, *ayāt*, *āyān*; *āsāt*, *brāvāt*; *bravāthas*; *asātha*, *ayāthā*, *bravātha*, *hanātha*; *ādān*, *dohān*. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found *hānanta*, 3d pl., and *īḡata*, 3d sing. (after *mā* prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in *āite* is *brāvāite*.

3. Present Optative.

616. The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode (या *yā* in act., ई *ī* in mid.) have been given in full above (586). The stem-form is the unaccented and unstrengthened root.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 इयाम् <i>iyām</i>	इयाव <i>iyāva</i>	इयाम् <i>iyāma</i>	आसीय <i>āsiya</i>	आसीवहि <i>āsivahi</i>	आसीमहि <i>āsimahi</i>
2 इयान् <i>iyās</i>	इयातम् <i>iyātam</i>	इयात <i>iyāta</i>	आसीयान् <i>āsithās</i>	आसीयाथाम् <i>āsīyāthām</i>	आसीधम् <i>āsīdhvam</i>
3 इयात् <i>iyāt</i>	इयातान् <i>iyātām</i>	इयुस् <i>iyūs</i>	आसीत <i>āsita</i>	आसीयातान् <i>āsīyātām</i>	आसीरन् <i>āsīran</i>

a. In the same manner, from *y/dviṣ*, *dviṣyām* and *dviṣiyā*; from *y/duh*, *duhyām* and *duhiyā*; from *y/lih*, *lihyām* and *lihiyā*. The inflection is so regular that the example above given is enough, with the addition of *dviṣiyā*, to show the normal accentuation in the middle: thus, sing. *dviṣiyā*, *dviṣīthās*, *dviṣītā*; du. *dviṣīvāhi*, *dviṣīyāthām*, *dviṣīyātām*; pl. *dviṣīmāhi*, *dviṣīdhvam*, *dviṣīrān*.

b. The RV. has once *tana* in 2d pl. act. (in *syātana*).

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with *यताम् atām* in 3d pl. mid.) directly to the root-stem. The stem is accented and strengthened in 3d sing. act.; elsewhere, the accent is on the ending and the root remains unchanged. The first persons, so called, of the later language are from the old subjunctive, and have its strengthened stem and accent; they are repeated here from where they were given above (614 a). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) धि *dhi* if the root end with a consonant, and हि *hi* if it end with a vowel. As examples we take the roots already used for the purpose.

a. Thus, from the roots इ i and आम् ās:

active.			middle.		
a.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
1 अयानि	अयाव	अयाम	आमे	आसावकै	आसामकै
áyāni	áyāva	áyāma	āsai	āsāvahāi	āsāmahāi
2 इति	इतम्	इत	आस्व	आसाथाम्	आदुम्
ihí	itám	itá	āsava	āsāthām	āddhvam
3 एतु	इताम्	यतु	आस्ताम्	आसाताम्	आसताम्
étu	itám	yāntu	āstām	āsātām	āsātām

b. From the roots द्विष् and दुह and लिह:

1 dvēṣāni	dvēṣāva	dvēṣāma	dvēṣai	dvēṣāvahāi	dvēṣāmahāi
2 dviḍḍhí	dviṣtām	dviṣtá	dviṣvā	dviṣāthām	dviḍḍhām
3 dvēṣtu	dviṣtām	dviṣāntu	dviṣtām	dviṣātām	dviṣātām
1 dōhāni	dōhāva	dōhāma	dōhāi	dōhāvahāi	dōhāmahāi
2 dugdhí	dugdhām	dugdhā	dhukvā	duhāthām	dhugdhvām
3 dōgdhu	dugdhām	duhāntu	dugdhām	duhātām	duhātām
1 lēhāni	lēhāva	lēhāma	lēhāi	lēhāvahāi	lēhāmahāi
2 liḍhí	liḍhām	liḍhā	likvā	lihāthām	liḍhām
3 lēḍhu	liḍhām	lihāntu	liḍhām	lihātām	lihātām

618. The 2d sing. act. ending *tāt* is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, *vittāt*, *vitāt*, *brūtāt*, *hatāt*, *yātāt*, *stutāt*. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending *ām*: thus, *duhām* (only RV. case), *vidām*, *ṣayām*; and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has *duhrām* and *duhratām*. The use of *tana* for *ta* in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, *itana*, *yātāna*, *attana*, etc. And in *stota*, *éta* *étana*, *bravītana*, *ṣastāna*, *hantana*, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. a. The active participle has the ending *यन्* *ánt* (weak stem-form *यन्* *at*) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final इ i. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are *यन्* *yānt*, *दुहन्* *duhánt*, *द्विषन्* *dviṣánt*, *लिहन्* *lihánt*. The feminine stem ends usually in *यती* *atī*: thus, *यती* *yatī*, *दुहती* *duhatī*, *द्विषती* *dviṣatī*, *लिहती* *lihātī*: but, from roots in ā, in *आती* *āntī* or *आती* *ātī* (449 g).

b. The middle participle has the ending आन ānā, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, इयान iyānā, दुहान duhānā, द्विषाण dviṣāṇā, लिहान lihānā.

c. The root ās forms the anomalous and isolated āsina (in RV. also āsānā).

d. But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, iḡānā and iḡāna, oḡānā and oḡāna, duḡānā and duḡāna (also duḡhāna), riḡāṇā and riḡāṇa, viḡānā and viḡāna, suvānā and suvāna, stavānā and stavānā and stāvāna — the last having in part also a strong form of the root.

8. Imperfect.

620. This tense adds the secondary endings to the root as increased by prefixion of the augment. The root has the guṇa-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of the singular active, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

a. From the roots इ i and घाम् ās:

active.			middle.		
a.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
1 आयम् āyam	ऐव āiva	ऐम āīma	आसि āsi	आस्वहि āsvahi	आस्महि āsmahi
2 ऐन् āis	ऐतम् āitam	ऐत āita	आस्थाम् āsthāas	आनाथाम् āsāthām	आद्भुम् ādḍhvam
3 ऐत् āit	ऐताम् āitām	आयन् āyan	आस्त āsta	आनाताम् āsātām	आसत āsata

b. From the roots द्विṣ and दुह and लिह:

1	ádveṣam	ádviṣva	ádviṣma	ádviṣi	ádviṣvahi	ádviṣmahi
2	ádveṣ	ádviṣtam	ádviṣta	ádviṣthās	ádviṣāthām	ádviṣḍhvam
3	ádveṣ	ádviṣtām	ádviṣan	ádviṣta	ádviṣātām	ádviṣata
1	ádoham	áduhva	áduhma	áduhi	áduhvahi	áduhmahi
2	ádhoek	ádugdham	ádugdha	ádugdhās	áduhāthām	ádugḍhvam
3	ádhoek	ádugdhām	áduhan	ádugdha	áduhātām	áduhata
1	āleham	ālihva	ālihma	ālihi	ālihvahi	ālihmahi
2	āleṣ	āliḡham	āliḡha	āliḡhās	āliḡāthām	āliḡḍhvam
3	āleṣ	āliḡhām	ālihan	āliḡha	āliḡātām	āliḡhata

621. a. Roots ending in ā may in the later language optionally take us instead of an in 3d pl. act. (the ā being lost before it); and

in the older they always do so: thus, *áyus* from *√yā*, *ápus* from *√pā* *protect*, *abhus* from *√bhā*. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely *vid* *know*, *cakṣ*, *divā*, *duh*, *mṛj*. RV. has *atviṣus*.

b. The ending *tana*, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in *áyātana*, *ásastana*, *áítana*, *ábravitana*. A strong stem is seen in the 1st pl. *homa*, and the 2d pl. *abravita* and *ábravitana*.

c. To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root *ad* inserts *a*: thus, *ádas*, *ádat*; the root *as* inserts *i*: thus, *ásis*, *ásit* (see below, 636); compare also 631-4.

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, has been noticed above (587). Augmentless imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, *hān*, *vés*, 2d sing.; *han*, *vet*, *stāut*, *dān* (?), 3d sing.; *bruvan*, *duhús*, *cakṣus*, 3d pl.; *vasta*, *sūta*, 3d sing. mid.

623. The first or root-form of aorist is identical in its formation with this Imperfect: see below, 629 ff.

624. In the Veda (but hardly outside of the RV.) are found certain 2d sing. forms, having an imperative value, made by adding the ending *ai* to the (accented and strengthened) root. In part, they are the only root-forms belonging to the roots from which they come: thus, *jóḡi* (for *jóḡai*, from *√juḡ*), *dhákai*, *pārṣi* (*√pr* *pass*), *prāsi*, *bhakai*, *ratsi*, *sātsi*, *hoḡi*; but the majority of them have forms (one or more) of a root-present, or sometimes of a root-aorist, beside them: thus, *kṣéḡi* (*√kṣi* *rule*), *jéḡi*, *dāḡi*, *nakṣi* (*√naḡ* *attain*), *néḡi*, *mātsi*, *māsi* (*√mā* *measure*), *yákai*, *yām̐si*, *yāsi*, *yótsi*, *rūsi*, *vákai* (*√vah*), *véḡi*, *gróḡi*, *sakai*. Their formal character is somewhat disputed; but they are probably indicative persons of the root-class, used imperatively.

625. Forms of this class are made from nearly 150 roots, either in the earlier language, or in the later, or in both: namely, from about 50 through the whole life of the language, from 80 in the older period (of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra) alone, and from a few (about 15) in the later period (epic and classical) only*. Not a few of these roots, however, show only sporadic root-forms, beside a more usual conjugation of some other class; nor is it in all cases possible to separate clearly root-present from root-aorist forms.

a. Many roots of this class, as of the other classes of the first conjugation, show transfers to the second or *a*-conjugation, forming a conjugation-stem by adding *a* to their strong or weak stem, or

* Such statements of numbers, with regard to the various parts of the system of conjugation, are in all cases taken from the author's Supplement to this grammar, entitled "Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language", where lists of roots, and details as to forms etc., are also given.

even to both: thus, from *ymrj*, both *mārja* (627) and *mrja*. Such transfers are met with even in the oldest language; but they usually become more frequent later, often establishing a new mode of present inflection by the side of, or in substitution for, the earlier mode.

b. A number of roots offer irregularities of inflection; these are, in the main, pointed out in the following paragraphs.

Irregularities of the Root-class.

626. The roots of the class ending in *u* have in their strong forms the *vrddhi* instead of the *guṇa*-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from *yetu*, *stāumi*, *āstaut*, and the like: but *āstavam*, *stāvāni*, etc.

a. Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are *kaṇu*, *yu* *unite*, *su* (or *sū*) *impel*, *sku*, *stu*, *snu* (these in the earlier language), *nu*, *ru*, and *hnu*. RV. has once *stoṣi* and *anāvan*. Compare also 633.

627. The root *mrj* also has the *vrddhi*-vowel in its strong forms: thus, *mārjmi*, *āmārjam*, *āmārj* (150 b); and the same strengthening is said to be allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, *mārjantu*, *amārjan*; but the only quotable case is *mārjita* (LQS.). Forms from *a*-stems begin to appear already in AV.

a. In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, *mrj* shows often the *vrddhi* instead of the *guṇa*-strengthening.

628. A number of roots accent the radical syllable throughout, both in strong and in weak forms: thus, all those beginning with a long vowel, *ā*, *iḍ*, *ī*, *iḥ*; and also *caḥ*, *taḥ*, *trā*, *niḥ*, *vas clothe*, *ṣiṇj*, *ṣi lie*, and *sū*. All these, except *taḥ* and *trā* (and *trā* also in the Vedic forms), are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice only. Forms with the same irregular accent occur now and then in the Veda from other verbs: thus, *mātsva*, *yāḥṣva*, *sāḥṣva*, *sāḥṣva*, *ṛdhat*. Middle participles so accented have been noticed above (619 d).

629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, *ṣi lie* has the *guṇa*-strengthening throughout: thus, *ṣāye*, *ṣēṣe*, *ṣāyiya*, *ṣāyāna*, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed) are the 3d pl. persons *ṣerate* (AV. etc. have also *ṣere*), *ṣeratām*, *āṣerata* (RV. has also *āṣeran*), the 3d sing. pres. *ṣāye* (R.) and impv. *ṣāyām*. The isolated active form *āṣayat* is common in the older language; other *a*-forms, active and middle, occur later.

630. Of the same roots, *iḍ* and *iḥ* insert a *u* before certain endings: thus, *iḥiṣe*, *iḥidhve*, *iḥiṣva* (these three being the only forms noted in the older language); but RV. has *ikṣe* beside *iḥiṣe*; the *ṚV.* has once *iḥite* for *iṣte*. The 3d pl. *iḥire* (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect. The MS. has once the 3d sing. impf. *āiṣa* (like *aduḥa*: 635).

831. The roots *rud weep*, *svap sleep*, *an breathe*, and *çvas blow* insert a union-vowel *i* before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the *s* and *t* of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either *a* or *i*: thus, *svápimi*, *çvásiṣi*, *ániti*, and *ánat* or *ánit*. And in the other forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, *svápantu* and *çvásaantu* (AV.), or *svapántu* etc. The AV. has *sváptu* instead of *svápitu*.

a. In the older language, *yvam* makes the same insertions: thus, *vamiti*, *avamit*; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, *jániṣva*, *vasiṣva* (*yvas clothe*), *çnathihi*, *stanihi* (all RV.), *yamiti* (JB.), *çocimi* (MBh.). On the other hand, *yan* early makes forms from an *a*-stem: thus, *ánati* (AV.); pple *ánant* (ÇB.); opt. *anet* (AB.).

832. The root *brū speak, say* (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel *i* after the root when strengthened, before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, *brávimi*, *bráviṣi*, *bráviti*, *ábravis*, *ábravit*; but *brúmás*, *brüyám*, *ábravam*, *ábruvan*, etc. Special occasional irregularities are *brūmi*, *bravihi*, *abruvam*, *abrūvan*, *bruyāt*, and sporadic forms from an *a*-stem. The subj. dual *brávāite* has been noticed above (815); also the strong forms *abravita*, *ábravitāna* (821 a).

833. Some of the roots in *u* are allowed to be inflected like *brū*: namely, *ku*, *tu*, *ru*, and *stu*; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in the older language, only *taviti* noted; in the later, only *stavimi*, once).

834. The root *am* (hardly found in the later language) takes *i* as union-vowel: thus, *amiṣi* (RV.), *amiti* and *āmīt* and *amiṣva* (TS.). From *yçam* occur *çamiṣva* (VS.; TS. *çamiṣva*) and *çamidhvam* (TR. etc.).

835. The irregularities of *yduh* in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. *duható*, *duhré*, and *duhráte*; 3d sing. impv. *duhām*, pl. *duhrām* and *duhratām*; impf. act. 3d sing. *áduhat*. (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. *aduhran* (beside *áduhan* and *duhús*); the mid. pple *dughāna*; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms *duhiyāt* and *duhiyān* (RV. only). The MS. has *aduha* 3d sing. and *aduhra* 3d pl. impf. mid., apparently formed to correspond to the pres. *duhe* (813) and *duhre* as *adugdha* and *aduhata* correspond to *dugdhe* and *duhate*: compare *āiça* (830), related in like manner to the 3d sing. *içe*.

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

836. The root *यम्* as *be* loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment). Its 2d sing. indic. is *यसि* *ási* (instead of *assi*); its 2d sing. impv. is *एधि* *edhi* (irregularly from *asdhi*). The insertion of

१ I in 2d and 3d sing. impf. has been noticed already above.

a. The forms of this extremely common verb, are, then, as follows:

Indicative.			Optative.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 अस्मि āsmi	स्वस् svās	स्मस् smās	स्याम् syām	स्याव syāva	स्याम syāma
2 अस्मि āsi	स्वस् sthās	स्मस् sthā	स्याम् syās	स्यातम् syātam	स्यात् syāta
3 अस्ति āsti	स्तस् stās	सन्ति sānti	स्यात् syāt	स्याताम् syātām	स्युम् syūs
Imperative.			Imperfect.		
1 असाति āsāni	असाव āsāva	असाम āsāma	आसम् āsam	आस्व āsva	आस्म āasma
2 एधि edhi	स्तम् stām	स्त stā	आसीम् āsis	आस्तम् āstam	आस्त āsta
3 अस्तु āstu	स्ताम् stām	सन्तु sāntu	आसीत् āsīt	आस्ताम् āstām	आसन् āsan

Participle सत् सन्त (fem. सती satī).

b. Besides the forms of the present-system, there is made from this root only a perfect, āsa etc. (800), of wholly regular inflection.

c. The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem āsa. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late texts where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution siām etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. As 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal ās (for ās-a, ās-t) Sthāna, 2d pl., was noted above (813).

d. Middle forms from √as are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (vi + ati), but they are not quotable; asmāhe and syāmahe (!) occur in the epics, but are merely instances of the ordinary epic confusion of voices (529 a). Confusions of primary and secondary endings—namely, sva and ama (not rare), and, on the other hand, syāvas and syāmas—are also epic. A middle present indicative is said to be compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the nomen agentis in tr (tar) to form a periphrastic future in the middle voice (but see below, 947). The 1st sing. indic. is he; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., so, dhve, ava, dhvam, with total loss of the root itself).

637. The root *han smite, slay* is treated somewhat after the manner of noun-stems in an in declension (421): in weak forms, it loses its *n* before an initial consonant (except *m* and *v*) of a personal ending (not in the optative), and its *a* before an initial vowel—and in the latter case its *h*, in contact with the *n*, is changed to *gh* (compare 402). Thus, for example:

Present Indicative.			Imperfect.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 hanmi	hanvās	hanmās	āhanam	āhanva	āhanma
2 hānsi	hathās	hathā	āhan	āhatam	āhata
3 hānti	hatās	ghnānti	āhan	āhatām	āghnan

a. Its participle is *ghnānt* (fem. *ghnatī*). Its 2d sing. impv. is *jahī* (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).

b. Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, and those that occur are formed in general according to the same rules: thus, *hate*, *hanmahe*, *ghnate*; *ahata*, *aghnatām*, *aghnata* (in AB., also *ahata*); *ghnīta* (but also *hanīta*). Forms from transfer-stems, *hana* and *ghna*, are met with from an early period.

638. The root *vaç be eager* is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to *uç* (as in the perfect: 794 b): thus, *uçmāsi* (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to *çmāsi*), *uçānti*; pple *uçant*, *uçānā*. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as *āuçva*, *āuṣtam*, etc.

a. RV. has in like manner the participle *uçānā* from the root *vas clothe*.

639. The root *çās order* shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (840) the *n* before *t* in all 3d persons pl. and in the active participle. A part of its active forms—namely, the weak forms having endings beginning with consonants (including the optative)—are said to come from a stem with weakened vowel, *çīç* (as do the aorist, 854, and some of the derivatives); but, excepting the optative (*çīṣyām* etc., U. S. and later), no such forms are quotable.

a. The 3d sing. impf. is *açāt* (555 a), and the same form is said to be also as 2d sing. The 2d sing. impv. is *çādhi* (with total loss of the *s*); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. *çāstāna* (with anomalous accent); and *a*-forms, from stem *çāsa*, occasionally occur.

b. The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (*çāste*, *çāstate*, *çāsāna*).

c. The root *dāç worship* has in like manner (RV.) the pple *dāçat* (not *dāçant*).

840. The double so-called root *jakṣ eat, laugh* is an evident reduplication of *ghas* and *has* respectively. It has the absence of *n* in act.

3d persons pl. and pple, and the accent on the root before vowel-endings, which belong to reduplicated verbs; and it also takes the union-vowel *i* in the manner of *rud* etc. (above, 631). For its forms and derivatives made with utter loss of the final sibilant, see 233 f.

641. Certain other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated *jāgr* (1020 a), *daridrā* (1024 a), and *vevī* (1024 a), *didhī* etc. (676), and *cakās* (677).

II. Reduplicating Class (third, hu-class).

642. This class forms its present-stem by prefixing a reduplication to the root.

643. a. As regards the consonant of the reduplication, the general rules which have already been given above (590) are followed.

b. A long vowel is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: thus, *दा* *dadā* from *दा* *dā*; *बिभी* *bibhī* from *भी* *bhī*; *बुहू* *juhū* from *हु* *hū*. The vowel *ऋ* *r* never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by *इ* *i*: thus, *बिभृ* *bibhr* from *भृ* *bhr*; *पिपृच्* *piprc* from *पृच्* *prc*.

c. For verbs in which *a* and *ā* also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by *i*, see below, 660. The root *वृ* (*V. R.*) makes *vavaritī* etc.; *cakrānt* (*RV.*) is very doubtful.

d. The only root of this class with initial vowel is *र* (or *ar*); it takes as reduplication *i*, which is held apart from the root by an interposed *y*: thus, *tyar* and *iyṛ* (the latter has not been found in actual use).

644. The present-stem of this class (as of the other classes belonging to the first or non-a-conjugation) has a double form: a stronger form, with gunated root-vowel; and a weaker form, without *guṇa*: thus, from *हु* *hu*, the two forms are *बुहो* *juho* and *बुहू* *juhū*; from *भी* *bhī*, they are *बिभे* *bibhe* and *बिभी* *bibhī*. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (552), and the weak stem before the accented.

645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in *hū*, *bhī* (no test-forms in the older language), *hri* (no test-forms found in the older language), *mad* (very rare), *jan* (no forms of this class found to occur), *ci* *notice* (in V.), *yū* *separate* (in older language only), and in *bhr* in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has *bībhārti* once, and AV. twice; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brāhmaṇas); and RV. has once *iyāraī*. In all the rest — apparently, by a recent transfer — it rests upon the reduplicating instead of upon the radical syllable. And in both classes alike, the accent is anomalously thrown back upon the reduplication in those weak forms of which the ending begins with a vowel; while in the other weak forms it is upon the ending (but compare 666 a).

a. Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, *īya* etc. (560), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

646. The verbs of this class lose the *nn* in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have *उन्* *us* instead of *अन्* *an* — and before this a final radical vowel has *guṇa*.

1. Present Indicative.

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. *√हु* *hu* *sacrifice*: strong stem-form, *हुहो* *juhó*; weak form, *हुहु* *juhu* (or *júhu*).

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 हुहोमि juhómi	हुहुवस् juhuvás	हुहुमस् jukumás	हुहे júhve	हुहुवहे juhuváhe	हुहुमहे jukumáhe
2 हुहोषि juhóṣi	हुहुथस् juhuthás	हुहुथ juhuthá	हुहुषे juhushé	हुहुवथे júhväthe	हुहुधे juhudhvé
3 हुहोति juhóti	हुहुतस् juhutás	हुहुति júhvatí	हुहुते juhuté	हुहुवते júhväte	हुहुते júhivate

b. Root $\sqrt{\text{bhr}}$ *bear* (given with Vedic accentuation):
strong stem-form, बिभर् बिभार; weak, बिभृ बिभर् (or बिभर्).

1	बिभर्मि	बिभ्वत्	बिभृम्	बिभे	बिभ्वते	बिभृते
	bībharmi	bībhvāt	bībhṛm	bībhre	bībhvāte	bībhṛtē
2	बिभर्षि	बिभृयन्	बिभृय	बिभृषे	बिभृषे	बिभृधे
	bībhārṣi	bībhṛthās	bībhṛthā	bībhṛṣé	bībhṛāthe	bībhṛdhvé
3	बिभर्ति	बिभृतम्	बिभृति	बिभृते	बिभृते	बिभृते
	bībharti	bībhṛtās	bībhṛati	bībhṛté	bībhṛāte	bībhṛate

c. The u of hu (like that of the class-signs nu and u: see below, 697 a) is said to be omissible before v and m of the endings of 1st du. and pl.: thus, juhvās, juhváhe, etc.; but no such forms are quotable.

2. Present Subjunctive.

648. It is not possible at present to draw a distinct line between those subjunctive forms of the older language which should be reckoned as belonging to the present-system and those which should be assigned to the perfect — or even, in some cases, to the reduplicated aorist and intensive. Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this class; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as "imperatives" down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence.

649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign a and guṇa of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accented forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus from $\sqrt{\text{yhu}}$, the stem would be juháva; from $\sqrt{\text{ybhṛ}}$, it would be bībhara (but bībhára later). Before the mode-sign, final radical ā would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus, dáda from $\sqrt{\text{yda}}$, dádha from $\sqrt{\text{ydhā}}$ (all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from the secondary roots dad and dadh).

650. Instead of giving a theoretically complete scheme of inflection, it will be better to note all the examples quotable from the older language (accented when found so occurring).

a. Thus, of 1st persons, we have in the active juhávāni, bībhārāni, dadāni, dādāni, jāhāni; juhavāma, dādāma, jāhāma; — in the middle, dadhāi, mimāi; dadhāvahāi; juhavāmahāi, dadāmahe, dadāmāhāi, dādāmāhāi.

b. Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bībhārāsi (with double mode-sign: 580 c), dādathas, juhavātha (do.)

and juhavatha; in the middle, dádhasse; dádhate, rárate, dádhatāi, dadātāi;— with secondary endings, dádhas, víveṣas, juhavat, bibharat, yuyávat, dádhat, dadhānat, babhasat; dadhan, yuyavan, juhavan.

3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (566a), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (645a). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 जुहुयाम् जुहुयाव जुहुयाम जुहूयि जुहूवहि जुहूमहि					
juhuyām juhuyāva juhuyāma jūhūya jūhūvahi jūhūmahī					
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is हि hi after a vowel, but धि dhi after a consonant: जु hu, however, forms जुहुधि juhudhī (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of ह h in two successive syllables); and other examples of धि dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

653. a. Example of inflection:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 जुह्वानि जुह्वाव जुह्वाम जुह्वै जुह्वावहै जुह्वामहै					
juhāvāni juhāvāva juhāvāma jūhvaī jūhāvāvahāi jūhāvāmahāi					
2 जुहुधि जुहुतम् जुहुत जुहुष जुह्वाम् जुहुषम्					
juhudhī juhutām juhutā juhushvā jūhvaśthām juhudhvaśm					
3 जुहोतु जुहुताम् जुहुतु जुहुताम् जुह्वताम् जुह्वताम्					
juhōtu juhutām jūhvatu juhutām jūhvatām jūhvatām					

b. The verbs of the other division differ here, as in the indicative, in the accentuation of their strong forms only: namely, in all the

first persons (borrowed subjunctives), and in the 3d sing. act.: thus, (in the older language) bibharāṇi etc., bibhartu, bibharāi etc.]

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, yuyodhī, çiqādhi (beside çiqīhī); yuyotam (beside yuyutām); īyarta, dādāta and dadātana, dādāhāta and dādāhātana (see below, 668), pipartana, juhōta and juhōtana, yuyōta and yuyōtana; rarāsva (666); 2. the use of dhi instead of hi after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); 3. the ending tana in 2d pl. act.; namely, besides those just given, in jigātana, dhattana, mamāttana, vivaktana, didīṣtana, bibhītana, jujūṣtana, juhutana, vavṛttana: the cases are proportionally much more numerous in this than in any other class; 4. the ending tāt in 2d sing. act., in dattāt, dhattāt, pipṛtāt, jahitāt.

5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping ī: thus, बुधत् जुहवत्, बिभ्रत् bibhrat. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in अती atī. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, बुधान् जुह्वान्, बिभ्रान् bibhrāṇa.

a. RV. shows an irregular accent in पिपānā (ypā drink).

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending उन् us, and a final radical vowel has guṇa before it. The strong forms are, as in present indicative, the three singular active persons.

657. Examples of inflection:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अबुक्वम् ājuhavam	अबुक्व ājuhuva	अबुक्वम् ājuhuma	अबुक्व ājuhvi	अबुक्ववाक् ājuhuvahi	अबुक्वमाक् ājuhumahi
2	अबुक्वोन् ājuhōs	अबुक्वतम् ājuhutam	अबुक्वत ājuhuta	अबुक्वथान् ājuhuthās	अबुक्वथान् ājuhvāthām	अबुक्वधम् ājuhudhvam
3	अबुक्वोत् ājuhōt	अबुक्वतान् ājuhutām	अबुक्ववुम् ājuhavus	अबुक्वत ājuhuta	अबुक्वतान् ājuhvātām	अबुक्वत ājuhvata

a. From *√*भृ *bhr*, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are *अबिभृ* *ābibhar* (for *abibhar-s* and *abibhar-t*)—and so in all other cases where the strong stem ends in a consonant. The 3d pl. act. is *अबिभृन्* *ābibharus*; and other like cases are *ābibhayus*, *acikayus*, *asuṣavus*.

b. In MS., once, *abibhrus* is doubtless a false reading.

658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act.—strong forms, and the ending *tana*—occur in this tense also: thus, *ādadata*, *ādadhāta*; *ādattana*, *ājahātana*. The RV. has also once *apiprata* for *apipṛta* in 3d sing. mid., and *abibhran* for *abibharus* in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are *çiqās*, *vivēs*, *jigāt*; *jihīta*, *çiqīta*, *jihata*; and, with irregular strengthening, *yuyoma* (AV.), *yuyothās*, *yuyota*.

659. The roots that form their present-stem by reduplication are a very small class, especially in the modern language; they are only 50, all told, and of these only a third (16) are met with later. It is, however, very difficult to determine the precise limits of the class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: 648) of always distinguishing its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations.

a. Besides the irregularities, in tense-inflection already pointed out, others may be noticed as follows.

Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

660. Besides the roots in *ṛ* or *ar*—namely, *ṛ*, *ghṛ* (usually written *ghar*), *ṛṇ*, *pṛ*, *bṛ*, *ṣṛ*, *hṛ*, *pro*—the following roots having a or ā as radical vowel take *i* instead of *a* in the reduplicating syllable: *gā go*, *mā measure*, *mā bellow*, *qā*, *hā remove* (mid.), *vac*, *sac*; *vaç* has both *i* and *a*; *rā* has *i* once in RV.; for *sthā*, *pā drink*, *ghrā*, *han*, *hi*, see below (670-4).

661. Several roots of this class in final *ā* change the *ā* in weak forms to *ī* (occasionally even to *i*), and then drop it altogether before endings beginning with a vowel.

a. This is in close analogy with the treatment of the vowel of the class-sign of the *nā*-class: below, 717.

These roots are:

662. *qā sharpen*, act. and mid.: thus, *çiqāti*, *çiqimasi*, *çiqihī* (also *çiqādhi*: above, 654), *çiqātu*, *açiqāt*, *çiqite*, *çiqita*.

663. *mā bellow*, act., and *mā measure*, mid. (rarely also act.): thus, *mimāti*, *mimiyāt*; *mimīte*, *mimate*, *āmimīta*; *mimihī*, *mimātu*. RV. has once *mimanti* 3d pl. (for *mimati*).

664. *hā remove*, mid.: thus, *jāhite*, *jihidhve*, *jāhate*; *jihīṣva*, *jihatām*; *ājihīta*, *ājihata*. Q.B. has *jihithām* (for *jihāthām*).

665. *hā quit*, act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the *i* to *i*: thus, *jahāti*, *jahīta*, *jahitāt* (AV.); *jahimas* (AV.), *jahitas* (TB.), *jahitam* (TA.), *ajahitām* (TS. AB.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, *jahyām*, *jahyus* (AV.). The 2d sing. impv., according to the grammarians, is *jahihi* or *jahihi* or *jahāhi*; only the first appears quotable.

a. Forms from an *a*-stem, *jaha*, are made for this root, and even derivatives from a quasi-root *jah*.

666. *rā give*, mid.: thus, *raridhvam*, *rarithās* (impf. without augment); and, with *i* in reduplication, *rirīhi*. But AV. has *rarāṣva*.

a. In these verbs, the accent is generally constant on the reduplicating syllable.

667. The two roots *dā* and *dhā* (the commonest of the class) lose their radical vowel altogether in the weak forms, being shortened to *dad* and *dadh*. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively *dehī* and *dhehī*. In combination with a following *t* or *th*, the final *dh* of *dadh* does not follow the special rule of combination of a final sonant aspirate (becoming *ddh* with the *t* or *th*: 180), but—as also before *s* and *dhv*—the more general rules of aspirate and of sord and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root (155).

668. The Inflection of *√dhā* is, then, as follows:

Present Indicative.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 <i>dādhāmi</i>	<i>dādhvās</i>	<i>dadhmās</i>	<i>dadhé</i>	<i>dādhvahe</i>	<i>dādhmahe</i>
2 <i>dādhāsi</i>	<i>dhatthās</i>	<i>dhatthā</i>	<i>dhatsé</i>	<i>dadhāthe</i>	<i>dhaddhve</i>
3 <i>dādhāti</i>	<i>dhattās</i>	<i>dādhati</i>	<i>dhatté</i>	<i>dadhāte</i>	<i>dādhate</i>

Present Optative.

1 <i>dadhyām</i>	<i>dadhyāva</i>	<i>dadhyāma</i>	<i>dādhiya</i>	<i>dādhivahi</i>	<i>dādhimahi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present Imperative.

1 <i>dādhāni</i>	<i>dādhāva</i>	<i>dādhāma</i>	<i>dādhāi</i>	<i>dādhāvahāi</i>	<i>dādhāmahāi</i>
2 <i>dhehī</i>	<i>dhattām</i>	<i>dhattā</i>	<i>dhatsva</i>	<i>dadhāthām</i>	<i>dhaddhvam</i>
3 <i>dādhātu</i>	<i>dhattām</i>	<i>dādhatu</i>	<i>dhattām</i>	<i>dadhātām</i>	<i>dādhatām</i>

Imperfect.

1 <i>ádadhām</i>	<i>ádadhva</i>	<i>ádadhma</i>	<i>ádadhi</i>	<i>ádadhvahi</i>	<i>ádadhmahi</i>
2 <i>ádadhās</i>	<i>ádhattam</i>	<i>ádhatta</i>	<i>ádhatthās</i>	<i>ádadhāthām</i>	<i>ádhadhvam</i>
3 <i>ádadhāt</i>	<i>ádhattām</i>	<i>ádadhus</i>	<i>ádhatta</i>	<i>ádadhātām</i>	<i>ádadhata</i>

Participles: act. *dādhat*; mid. *dādhāna*.

a. In the middle (except *impf.*), only those forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is discordance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once *dhātee*: *dadhé* and *dadhāte* might be perfects, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents *dadhītā* once (*dādhīta* thrice); several other texts have *dādhīta*, *dādhīran*, *dādīta*.

b. The root *dā* is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of (radical) *dh* to *d*.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: 1. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., *dādhāta* and *ādadhāta*, *dādāta* and *ādadāta*; 2. the usual *tana* endings in the same person, *dhattana*, *dādātana*, etc. (654, 658); 3. the 3d sing. indic. act. *dadhé* (like 1st sing.); 4. the 2d sing. *impv.* act. *daddhī* (for both *dehi* and *dhehi*). And R. has *dadmi*.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the a- or bhū-class (below, 749), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of a-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots *sthā* *stand*, *pā* *drink*, and *ghrā* *smell*, are made the presents *tiṣṭhāmi*, *pībāmi* (with irregular sonantizing of the second p), and *jighrāmi*—which then are inflected not like *mīmāmi*, but like *bhāvāmi*, as if from the present-stems *tiṣṭha*, *pība*, *jighra*.

672. In the Veda (especially; also later), the reduplicated roots *dā* and *dhā* are sometimes turned into the a-stems *dāda* and *dādha*, or inflected as if roots *dad* and *dadh* of the a-class; and single forms of the same character are made from other roots: thus, *mimanti* (*ymā* *bellow*), *rārate* (*vrā* *give*: 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary stem, *jighna*, is made from *yhan* (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of *h* to *gh* when in contact with *n*: 637); and some of the forms of *saṣe*, from *ṣas*, show the same conversion to an a-stem, *saṣa*.

674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, *jighya*, is given to *yhi* or *hā*: thus, *jighyati*, *jighyatu*.

675. A few so-called roots of the first or root-class are the products of reduplication, more or less obvious: thus, *jakṣ* (640), and probably *qās* (from *ṣas*) and *cakṣ* (from *ṣkāṣ* or a lost root *kas* *see*). In the Veda is found also *saṣa*, from *ṣas*.

676. The grammarians reckon (as already noticed, 641) several roots of the most evidently reduplicate character as simple, and belonging to the root-class. Some of these (*jaṣṣ*, *daridrā*, *vevī*) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under intensives (1020 a, 1024 a); *didhī* *shine*, together with Vedic *didī* *shine* and *pīpī* *swell*, are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of

such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

a. Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only *didyati*, 3d pl., with the pples *didyat* and *didhyat*, and mid. *didye*, *didhye*, *didhyāthām*, with the pples *didyāna*, *didhyāna*, *pipyāna*. The subj. stems are *didāya*, *didhaya*, *pīpāya*, and from them are made forms with both primary (from *didāya*) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented *didayat* and *didāyat* and *didhayan*). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have *didihī* (and *didihī*) and *pīpihī*, and *pipyatām*, *pipyatām*, *pipyata*. In impf., *adīdes* and *pīpes*, *ādidet* and *ādidhet* and *apīpet* (with augmentless forms), *apīpema* (with strong form of root), and *adidhayas* and (irregular) *apīpyan*.

b. A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection: thus, *didhaya* and *pīpaya* (impv.), *āpīpayat*, etc.

c. Similar forms from *y* *mī* *bellow* are *amimet* and *mīmayat*.

677. The stem *cakās shine* (sometimes *cakāḡ*) is also regarded by the grammarians as a root, and supplied as such with tenses outside the present-system — which, however, hardly occur in genuine use. It is not known in the older language.

678. The root *bhas chew* loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form *baps*: thus, *bābhasti*, but *bāpsati* (3d pl.), *bāpsat* (pple). For *babdhām*, see 233 f.

679. The root *bhī fear* is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, *bibhīmas* or *bibhīmas*, *bibhīyām* or *bibhīyām*; and *bibhīyāt* etc. are met with in the later language.

680. Forms of this class from *y* *jan give birth*, with added *i* — thus, *jajñiṣe*, *jajñidhye* — are given by the grammarians, but have never been found in use.

681. The roots *ci* and *cit* have in the Veda reversion of *c* to *k* in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, *cikéḡ*, *cikéthe* (anomalous, for *cikyāthe*), *cikitām*, *aciket*, *cikyāt* (pple); *cikiddhi*.

682. The root *vyac* has *i* in the reduplication (from the *y*), and is contracted to *vic* in weak forms: thus, *viviktās*, *āviviktām*. So the root *hvar* (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has *u* in reduplication, and contracts to *hur*: thus, *juhūrthās*.

III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable *ṇ ná*, which has the accent.

a. In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into other tense stems: they are añj, bhañj, hiñs: see below, 694.

1. Present Indicative.

684. Examples of inflection: a. the root युञ् yuñ join: strong stem-form, युनञ् yunáj; weak, युञ्ज् yuñj.

For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 युनञ्मि युञ्चम् युञ्मम् युञ्जे युञ्चहे युञ्महे yunájmi yuñjvās yuñjmās yuñjé yuñjváhe yuñjmáhe					
2 युनन्ति युङ्क्थम् युङ्क्थ युङ्गे युञ्जाथे युङ्गधे yunákṣi yuñkthās yuñkthá yuñkṣé yuñjāthe yuñgdhvé					
3 युनन्ति युङ्क्ते युञ्जति युङ्क्ते युञ्जाते युञ्जते yunákti yuñktās yuñjānti yuñkté yuñjāte yuñjāte					

b. the root रुप् rudh obstruct; bases रुपाद् rupadh and रुन्ध् rundh.

For the rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.

1 रुपाध्मि रुन्धम् रुन्धम् रुन्धे रुन्धहे रुन्धहे	rupádhmi	rundhvās	rundhmās	rundhé	rundhváhe	rundhmáhe
2 रुपात्सि रुन्धम् रुन्ध रुन्ते रुन्धाथे रुन्धे	rupátsi	runddhās	runddhá	runtsé	rundhāthe	runddhvé
3 रुपाद्धि रुन्धम् रुन्धति रुन्धे रुन्धाते रुन्धते	rupáddhi	runddhās	rundhānti	runddhé	rundhāte	rundháte

c. Instead of yuñkthas, yuñgdhve, and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (231) to write yuñthas, yuñdhve, etc.; and, in like manner, rundhas, rundhe, for runddhas, runddhe; and so in other like cases.

685. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the ordinary use of a 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as वृणोते; 2. the accent on té of 3d pl. mid. in añjaté, indhaté, bhuñjaté.

a. Yunañkṣi, in Bhp., is doubtless a false reading.

2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yunája, rupádha. Below are given as if made

from *yuy* all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	yunājāni	yunājāva	yunājāma	yunājāi		yunājāmahai
2	yunājas					yunājādhvāi
3	yunājat	yunājatas	yunājan	yunājate		

687. The RV. has once *añjatas*, which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with: thus, *trāhān* (AV.), *rādhnavāt* and *yunājān* (ÇB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides *añjatās*) is *hināsātas* (ÇB.). ÇB. has also *hināsāvas* as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

3. Present Optative.

688. The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stems. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	युञ्ज्याम्	युञ्ज्याव	युञ्ज्याम	युञ्जीय	युञ्जीवहि	युञ्जीमहि
	yuñjyām	yuñjyāva	yuñjyāma	yuñjīyā	yuñjīvāhi	yuñjīmāhi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

a. AB. has once the anomalous 1st sing. act. *vrñjīyam*. And forms like *bhuñjīyām -yāt*, *yuñjīyāt*, are here and there met with in the epics (*bhuñjīyātām* once in GGS.). MBh., too, has once *bhuñjītam*.

4. Present Imperative.

689. In this class (as the roots all end in consonants) the ending of the 2d sing. act. is always *धि* dhi.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	युनञ्जानि	युनञ्जाव	युनञ्जाम	युनञ्जे	युनञ्जावहे	युनञ्जामहे
	yunājanī	yunājāva	yunājāma	yunājāi	yunājāvahai	yunājāmahai
2	युङ्ग्धि	युङ्क्तम्	युङ्क्त	युङ्क्त्व	युञ्जाताम्	युङ्ग्ध्वम्
	yuñgdhī	yuñktām	yuñktā	yuñkṭvā	yuñjātām	yuñgdhvwām
3	युनक्तु	युङ्क्तम्	युञ्जन्तु	युङ्क्तम्	युञ्जाताम्	युञ्जताम्
	yunāktu	yuñktām	yuñjāntu	yunktām	yuñjātām	yuñjātām

690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending *tāt* in verbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending *tana*, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, *unátta*, *yunákta*, *anaktana*, *pinaṣṭana*.

5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. *युञ्जन्* *yuñjánt* (fem. *युञ्जती* *yuñjatī*); mid. *युञ्जान* *yuñjāná* (but RV. has *indhāna*).

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 <i>ययुनजम्</i> <i>áyunaJam</i>	<i>ययुञ्ज</i> <i>áyuñjva</i>	<i>ययुञ्जम</i> <i>áyuñjma</i>	<i>ययुञ्जि</i> <i>áyuñji</i>	<i>ययुञ्जवहि</i> <i>áyuñjvahi</i>	<i>ययुञ्जमहि</i> <i>áyuñjmahi</i>
2 <i>ययुनक्</i> <i>áyunak</i>	<i>ययुञ्क्तम्</i> <i>áyuñktam</i>	<i>ययुञ्क्ता</i> <i>áyuñkta</i>	<i>ययुञ्क्थाम्</i> <i>áyuñkthā</i>	<i>ययुञ्ज्थाम्</i> <i>áyuñjāthām</i>	<i>ययुञ्ग्धम्</i> <i>áyuñgdhvam</i>
3 <i>ययुनक्</i> <i>áyunak</i>	<i>ययुञ्क्तान्</i> <i>áyuñktān</i>	<i>ययुञ्जन्</i> <i>áyuñjan</i>	<i>ययुञ्क्ता</i> <i>áyuñkta</i>	<i>ययुञ्ज्ताम्</i> <i>áyuñjātām</i>	<i>ययुञ्जत</i> <i>áyuñjata</i>

a. The endings *s* and *t* are necessarily lost in the nasal class throughout in 2d and 3d sing. act., unless saved at the expense of the final radical consonant: which is a case of very rare occurrence (the only quotable examples were given at 555 a).

693. The Veda shows no irregularities in this tense. Occurrences of augmentless forms are found, especially in 2d and 3d sing. act., showing an accent like that of the present: for example, *bhinát*, *pṛṇák*, *vṛṇák*, *pīṇák*, *riṇák*.

a. The 1st sing. act. *atṛṇam* and *acchinam* (for *atṛṇadam* and *acchinadam*) were noted above, at 555 a.

694. The roots of this class number about thirty, more than half of them being found only in the earlier language; no new ones make their first appearance later. Three of them, *añj* and *bhañj* and *hiñs*, carry their nasal also into other tense-systems than the present. Two, *ṛdh* and *ubh*, make present-systems also of other classes having a nasal in the class-sign: thus, *ṛdhnoti* (nu-class) and *ubhnāti* (nā-class).

a. Many of the roots make forms from secondary a-stems: thus, from *añja*, *unda*, *umbhá*, *chinda*, *tráhá*, *piñsa*, *prāca*, *bhuñja*, *rundha*, *çinśá*, etc.

Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

695. The root *tr̥h* combines *tr̥nah* with *ti*, *tu*, etc. into *tr̥pēdhi*, *tr̥pēdhu*; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as *tr̥pēhmi*: see above, 224 b.

696. The root *hiñs* (by origin apparently a desiderative from *yhan*) accents irregularly the root-syllable in the weak forms: thus, *hiñsanti*, *hiñsata*, *hiñsāna* (but *hiñásat* etc. and *hiñsyāt* QB.).

IV. Nu- and u-classes (fifth and eighth, su- and tan-classes).

697. A. The present-stem of the nu-class is made by adding to the root the syllable नु *nu*, which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to नो *nó*.

B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) end in न् *n*, with the exception of the later irregular कृ *kr* (or *kar*)—for which, see below, 714. The two classes, then, are closely correspondent in form; and they are wholly accordant in inflection.

a. The u of either class-sign is allowed to be dropped before *v* and *m* of the 1st du. and 1st pl. endings, except when the root (nu-class) ends in a consonant; and the u before a vowel-ending becomes *v* or *uv*, according as it is preceded by one or by two consonants (129 a).

1. Present Indicative.

698. Examples of inflection: A. nu-class; root *su* *su press out*; strong form of stem, *सुनो sunó*; weak form, *सुनु sunu*.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 सुनोमि	सुनुवम्	सुनुमम्	सुन्वे	सुनुवहे	सुनुमहे	
<i>sunómi</i>	<i>sunuvás</i>	<i>sunumás</i>	<i>sunvé</i>	<i>sunuváhe</i>	<i>sunumáhe</i>	
2 सुनोषि	सुनुथम्	सुनुथ	सुनुथे	सुनुवाथे	सुनुथे	
<i>sunóṣi</i>	<i>sunuthás</i>	<i>sunuthá</i>	<i>sunuṣé</i>	<i>sunvāthe</i>	<i>sunudhvé</i>	

3	मुनोति	मुनुतम्	मुन्वति	मुनुते	मुन्वाते	मुन्वते
	sunóti	sunutás	suvánti	sunuté	sunvāte	sunvāte

a. The forms *sunvās*, *sunmās*, *sunváhe*, *sunmáhe* are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common. From *yāp*, however (for example), only the forms with *u* can occur: thus, *āpnuvās*, *āpnumáhe*; and also only *āpnuvānti*, *āpnuvé*, *āpnuvāte*.

B. *u*-class; root *तन्* *tan* *stretch*: strong form of stem, *तनो* *tanó*; weak, *तनु* *tanu*.

1	तनोमि	तन्वम्	तन्मम्	तन्वे	तन्वहे	तन्महे
	tanómi	tanvās	tanmās	tanvé	tanvāhe	tanmāhe
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

b. The inflection is so precisely like that given above that it is not worth writing out in full. The abbreviated forms in 1st du. and pl. are presented here, instead of the fuller, which rarely occur (as no double consonant ever precedes).

699. a. In the older language, no strong 2d persons du. or pl., and no *thana*-ending, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.: see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, *kr̥vaté*, *tanvaté*, *manvaté*, *vṛ̥vaté*, *ap̥̥vaté*.

b. In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in *ire* from present-stems of this class: thus, *invire*, *ṛ̥nvire*, *pinvire*, *ṛ̥pnvire*, *sunviré*, *hinviré*. Of these, *pinvire*, and *hinviré* might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots *pinv* and *hinv* (below, 716). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) *ṛ̥pnviṣé* (RV.) is of anomalous and questionable character.

2. Present Subjunctive.

700. The subjunctive mode-stem is made in the usual manner, by adding *a* to the gunated and accented class-sign: thus, *sunáva*, *tanáva*. In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class; some of them are quite numerous represented there.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 sunávāni	sunávāva	sunávāma	sunávāi	sunávāvahāi	sunávāmahāi
2 sunávas		sunávatha	sunávase	sunávāithe	
3 sunávāt		sunávan	{sunávate sunávātāi		sunávanta

701. Of the briefer 1st sing. act., RV. has *kṛṇavā* and *hinavā*. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, *kṛṇāvāt* and *karāvāt* (AV.); *aṇavātha* (K.), *kṛṇavātha* (VS.; but *-vatha* in Kāṇva-text), *karavātha* (ÇB.). On the other hand, *aṇavatāi* is found once (in TS.). Forms like *āpnuvāni*, *ardhnūvat*, *aṇuvāt*, met with now and then in the older texts, are doubtless to be regarded as false readings. RV. has in a single passage *kṛṇvāite* (instead of *kṛṇāvāite*); the only form in *āithe* is *aṇāvāithe*. ✓

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (566) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
मुनुयाम्	मुनुयाव	मुनुयाम	मुन्वीय	मुन्वीवहि	मुन्वीमहि
sunuyām	sunuyāva	sunuyāma	sunvīyā	sunvīvāhi	sunvīmāhi
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

a. From *yāp*, the middle optative would be *āpnuvīyā*—and so in other like cases.

4. Present Imperative.

703. The inflection of the imperative is in general like that in the preceding classes. As regards the 2d sing. act., the rule of the later language is that the ending *हि* *hi* is taken whenever the root itself ends in a consonant; otherwise, the tense- (or mode-) stem stands by itself as 2d person (for the earlier usage, see below, 704). An example of inflection is:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
मुनवानि	मुनवाव	मुनवाम	मुनवै	मुनवावहे	मुनवामहे
sunāvāni	sunāvāva	sunāvāma	sunāvai	sunāvāvahai	sunāvāmahai
मुनु	मुनुतम्	मुनुत	मुनुष	मुन्वायाम्	मुनुधाम्
sunu	sunutām	sunutā	sunuṣvā	sunvāthām	sunudhvām
मुनोतु	मुनुताम्	मुन्वतु	मुनुताम्	मुन्वाताम्	मुन्वताम्
sunótu	sunutām	sunvāntu	sunutām	sunvātām	sunvātām

a. From $\gamma\bar{a}p$, the 2d sing. act. would be $\bar{a}pnuhi$; from $\gamma a\check{c}$, $a\check{c}nuhi$; from $\gamma dh\check{r}\check{s}$, $dh\check{r}\check{s}nuhi$; and so on. From $\gamma\bar{a}p$, too, would be made $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{a}ntu$, $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{a}th\bar{a}m$, $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{a}t\bar{a}m$, $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{a}t\bar{a}m$.

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of hi after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as $inuhi$, $k\check{r}puhi$, $cinuhi$, $dh\bar{u}nuhi$, $\check{c}r\check{p}nuhi$, $s\check{r}\check{p}nuhi$, $hinuhi$, and $tanuhi$, $sanuhi$, are nearly thrice as frequent in use as inu , $\check{c}r\check{p}u$, $sunu$, $tanu$, and their like; in AV., however, they are only one sixth as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically: even $\check{c}r\check{p}udhi$ (with dhi) occurs several times in RV. RV. has the 1st sing. act. $hinavā$. The ending $tāt$ is found in $k\check{r}putāt$ and $hinutāt$, and $kurutāt$. The strong stem-form is found in 2d. du. act. in $hinotam$ and $k\check{r}notam$; and in 2d. pl. act. in $k\check{r}nōta$ and $k\check{r}nōtana$, $\check{c}r\check{p}ōta$ and $\check{c}r\check{p}ōtana$, $sunōta$ and $sunōtana$, $hinōta$ and $hinotana$, and $tanota$, $karōta$. The ending $tana$ occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings घन्त $\bar{a}nt$ and घान $\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from γsu come act. सुन्वत् $sunv\bar{a}nt$ (fem. सुन्वती $sunvatī$), mid. सुन्वान $sunv\bar{a}n\bar{a}$; from γtan , तन्वत् $tanv\bar{a}nt$ (fem. तन्वती $tanvatī$), तन्वान $tanv\bar{a}n\bar{a}$. From $\gamma\bar{a}p$ $\bar{a}p$, they are घाप्नुवत् $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{a}nt$ and घाप्नुवान $\bar{a}pnuv\bar{a}n\bar{a}$.

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 असुनवम् $\bar{a}sunavam$	असुनुव $\bar{a}sunuva$	असुनुम $\bar{a}sunuma$	असुन्वि $\bar{a}sunvi$	असुनुवकि $\bar{a}sunuvahi$	असुनुमकि $\bar{a}sunumahi$
2 असुनोम् $\bar{a}sunos$	असुनुतम् $\bar{a}sunutam$	असुनुत $\bar{a}sunuta$	असुनुवाम् $\bar{a}sunuth\bar{a}s$	असुनुवावाम् $\bar{a}sunv\bar{a}th\bar{a}m$	असुनुधम् $\bar{a}sunudhvam$
3 असुनोत् $\bar{a}sunot$	असुनुताम् $\bar{a}sunut\bar{a}m$	असुनुवन् $\bar{a}sunvan$	असुनुत $\bar{a}sunuta$	असुनुवाताम् $\bar{a}sunv\bar{a}t\bar{a}m$	असुनुवत $\bar{a}sunvata$

a. Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms $\bar{a}sunva$, $\bar{a}sunma$, $\bar{a}sunvahi$, $\bar{a}sunmahi$ are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as $dh\check{r}\check{s}$: which makes, for example, always $\bar{a}dh\check{r}\check{s}puma$ etc., and also $\bar{a}dh\check{r}\check{s}puvan$, $\bar{a}dh\check{r}\check{s}puvi$, $\bar{a}dh\check{r}\check{s}puv\bar{a}th\bar{a}m$, $\bar{a}dh\check{r}\check{s}puv\bar{a}t\bar{a}m$, $\bar{a}dh\check{r}\check{s}puvata$.

707. Strong stem-forms and **tana**-ending are found only in RV., in **akṛṇota**, **akṛṇotana**. Augmentless forms with accent are **minván**, **ṛṇutá**.

708. About fifty roots make, either exclusively or in part, their present-forms after the manner of the **nu**-class: half of them do so only in the older language; three or four, only in the later.

a. As to transfers to the **a**-conjugation, see below, 716.

709. The roots of the other division, or of the **u**-class, are extremely few, not exceeding eight, even including **ṭṛ** on account of **taruté** RV., and **han** on account of the occurrence of **hanomi** once in a Sūtra (PGS. i. 3. 27). BR. refer the stem **inu** to **in** of the **u**-class instead of **i** of the **nu**-class.

Irregularities of the **nu** and **u**-classes.

710. The root **ṭṛṇ** *be pleased* is said by the grammarians to retain the **n** of its class-sign unlingualized in the later language — where, however, forms of conjugation of this class are very rare; while in the Veda the regular change is made: thus, **ṭṛṇṇu**.

711. The root **ḡṛu** *hear* is contracted to **ḡṛ** before the class-sign, forming **ḡṛṇó** and **ḡṛṇu** as stem. Its forms **ḡṛṇviṣé** and **ḡṛṇviré** have been noted above (699b).

712. The root **dhū** *shake* in the later language (and rarely in B. and S.) shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms **dhunó** and **dhunu** (earlier **dhūnó**, **dhūnu**).

713. The so-called root **ūrṇu**, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (I.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root **vr̥** (or **var**). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the **nu**-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as **ūrṇāuti**, as if from an **u**-root of the root class (626); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv act. is **ūrṇu** or **ūrṇuhí**; its Impf., **āūrṇos**, **āūrṇot**; its opt. mid., **ūrṇuvita** (K.) or **ūrṇvītá** (TS.).

714. The extremely common root **ḡṛ** **kṛ** (or **kar**) *make* is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the **u**-class (being the only root of that class not ending in **ṛn**). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the **guṇa**-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is

changed to kur, so that the two forms of stem are करो karó and कुरु kuru. The class-sign उ u is always dropped before व् v and न् m of the 1st du. and pl., and also before य् y of the opt. act. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 करोमि karómi	कुर्वम् kurvám	कुर्वस् kurvās	कुर्वाम् kurmám	कुर्वे kurvé	कुर्वहे kurváhe	कुर्महे kurmáhe
2 करोषि karóṣi	कुरुथम् kuruthám	कुरुथ kuruthá	कुरुषे kuruṣé	कुर्वथि kurvátthe	कुरुधे kurudhvé	
3 करोति karóti	कुरुतम् kurutám	कुर्वन्ति kurvánti	कुरुते kuruté	कुर्वन्ते kurvāte	कुर्वते kurvāte	

2. Present Optative.

1 कुर्याम् kuryám	कुर्याव kuryáva	कुर्याम kuryáma	कुर्वीय kurviyá	कुर्वीवहि kurviváhi	कुर्वीमहि kurvimáhi
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

3. Present Imperative.

1 कारवाणि karávāṇi	करवाव karávāva	करवाम karávāma	करवै karávai	करवावहे karávāvahai	करवामहे karávāmahai
2 कुरु kurú	कुरुतम् kurutám	कुरुत kurutá	कुरुष्व kuruṣvā	कुर्वाथाम् kurvāthām	कुरुध्वम् kurudhvám
3 करोतु karótu	कुरुताम् kurutām	कुर्वन्तु kurvāntu	कुरुताम् kurutām	कुर्वताम् kurvātām	कुर्वताम् kurvātām

4. Present Participle.

कुर्वन्त् kurvánt (fem. कुर्वन्ती kurvati) कुर्वाण kurvāṇa

5. Imperfect.

1 अकारवम् ákaravam	अकुर्व ákurva	अकुर्म ákurma	अकुर्वि ákurvi	अकुर्वहि ákurvahi	अकुर्महि ákurmahí
2 अकरोम् ákaros	अकुरुतम् ákurutam	अकुरुत ákuruta	अकुरुथाम् ákuruthás	अकुर्वाथाम् ákurvāthām	अकुरुध्वम् ákurudhvám
3 अकरोत् ákarot	अकुरुताम् ákurutām	अकुर्वन् ákurvan	अकुरुत ákuruta	अकुर्वाताम् ákurvātām	अकुर्वत ákurvata

715. In RV., this root is regularly inflected in the present-system according to the *nu*-class, making the stem-forms *krnó* and *krnu*; the only exceptions are *kurmas* once and *kuru* twice (all in the tenth book); in AV., the *nu*-forms are still more than six times as frequent as the *u*-forms (nearly half of which, moreover, are in prose passages); but in the Brāhmaṇa language and later, the *u*-forms are used to the exclusion of the others.

a. As 1st sing. pres. act. is found *kurmi* in the epos.

b. What irregular forms from *kr* as a verb of the *nu*-class occur in the older language have been already noticed above.

c. The isolated form *tarutē*, from *√tr*, shows an apparent analogy with these *u*-forms from *kr*.

716. A few verbs belonging originally to these classes have been shifted, in part or altogether, to the *a*-class, their proper class-sign having been stereotyped as a part of the root.

a. Thus, in RV. we find forms both from the stem *inu* (*√i* or *in*), and also from *inva*, representing a derivative quasi-root *inv* (and these latter alone occur in AV.). So likewise forms from a stem *ṛṇu* beside those from *ṛṇu* (*√ṛ*); and from *hinva* beside those from *hinu* (*√hi*). The so-called roots *jinv* and *pinv* are doubtless of the same origin, although no forms from the stem *pinu* are met with at any period — unless *pinvire* (above, 899 b) be so regarded; and AV. has the participle *pinvānt*, f. *pinvatī*. The grammarians set up a root *dhinv*, but only forms from *dhī* (stem *dhinu*) appear to occur in the present-system (the aorist *adhinvīt* is found in PB.).

b. Occasional *a*-forms are met with also from other roots; thus, *cinvata* etc., *dunvasva*.

V. Nā-class (ninth or *krī*-class).

717. The class-sign of this class is in the strong forms the syllable *नā* *nā*, accented, which is added to the root; in the weak forms, or where the accent falls upon the ending, it is *नी* *nī*; but before the initial vowel of an ending the *इ* of *नी* *nī* disappears altogether.

1. Present Indicative.

718. Example of inflection: root *क्रि* *krī* *buy*: strong form of stem, *क्रिणा* *krīṇā*; weak form, *क्रिणी* *krīṇī* (before a vowel, *क्रिण्* *krīṇ*).

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 क्रीणामि क्रीणीवम् क्रीणीमन्	क्रीणी	क्रीणीवके	क्रीणीमहे		
kṛiṇāmi kṛiṇīvās kṛiṇimās	kṛiṇé kṛiṇivāhe kṛiṇimāhe				
2 क्रीणामि क्रीणीथम् क्रीणीथ	क्रीणीथे	क्रीणाथे	क्रीणीथे		
kṛiṇāsi kṛiṇithās kṛiṇithā	kṛiṇīṣe kṛiṇāthe kṛiṇidhvé				
3 क्रीणाति क्रीणीतम् क्रीणाति	क्रीणीते	क्रीणाते	क्रीणीते		
kṛiṇāti kṛiṇitās kṛiṇānti	kṛiṇitē kṛiṇāte kṛiṇāte				

719. In the Veda, the 3d sing. mid. has the same form with the 1st in *gr̥ṇé*; the peculiar accent of 3d pl. mid. is seen in *punaté* and *ripaté*; and *vṛiṇimāhe* (beside *vṛiṇimāhe*) occurs once in RV.

2. Present Subjunctive.

720. The subjunctive forms which have been found exemplified in Veda and Brāhmaṇa are given below. The subjunctive mode-stem is, of course, indistinguishable in form from the strong tense-stem. And the 2d and 3d sing. act. (with secondary endings) are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 क्रीणानि	क्रीणामा	क्रीणानि	क्रीणवहानि	क्रीणमहानि	
2 क्रीणस	क्रीणथा	क्रीणस			
3 क्रीणत	क्रीणान	क्रीणत			

3. Present Optative.

721. This mode is formed and inflected with entire regularity; owing to the fusion of tense-sign and mode-sign in the middle, some of its persons are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects. Its first persons are as follows:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 क्रीणीयाम् क्रीणीयाव क्रीणीयाम	क्रीणीय क्रीणीवहि	क्रीणीमहि			
kṛiṇiyām kṛiṇiyāva kṛiṇiyāma	kṛiṇiyā kṛiṇivāhi kṛiṇimāhi				
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

4. Present Imperative.

722. The ending in 2d sing. act., as being always preceded by a vowel, is *हि* (never *धि*); and there are no examples of an omission of it. But this person is forbidden

to be formed in the classical language from roots ending in a consonant; for both class-sign and ending is substituted the peculiar ending **आन** *ānā*.

active.			middle.		
a.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
1 क्रीणानि क्रीणाव क्रीणाम	क्रीणी	क्रीणावहै क्रीणामहै	क्रीणानि	क्रीणावहै क्रीणामहै	क्रीणामहै
<i>kṛiṇāni kṛiṇāva kṛiṇāma</i>	<i>kṛiṇai</i>	<i>kṛiṇāvahai kṛiṇāmahai</i>	<i>kṛiṇai</i>	<i>kṛiṇāvahai kṛiṇāmahai</i>	<i>kṛiṇāmahai</i>
2 क्रीणीहि क्रीणीतम् क्रीणीत	क्रीणीष्व क्रीणावाम् क्रीणीधम्	क्रीणीहि	क्रीणीतम् क्रीणीत	क्रीणीष्व क्रीणावाम् क्रीणीधम्	क्रीणीहि
<i>kṛiṇīhi kṛiṇītām kṛiṇītā</i>	<i>kṛiṇiṣvā kṛiṇāthām kṛiṇīdhvam</i>	<i>kṛiṇīhi</i>	<i>kṛiṇītām kṛiṇītā</i>	<i>kṛiṇiṣvā kṛiṇāthām kṛiṇīdhvam</i>	<i>kṛiṇīhi</i>
3 क्रीणातु क्रीणीताम् क्रीणन्तु	क्रीणीताम् क्रीणाताम् क्रीणाताम्	क्रीणातु	क्रीणीताम् क्रीणीताम् क्रीणीताम्	क्रीणातु	क्रीणीताम्
<i>kṛiṇātu kṛiṇītām kṛiṇāntu</i>	<i>kṛiṇītām kṛiṇātām kṛiṇātām</i>	<i>kṛiṇātu</i>	<i>kṛiṇītām kṛiṇātām kṛiṇātām</i>	<i>kṛiṇātu</i>	<i>kṛiṇītām</i>

a. Examples of the ending *ānā* in 2d sing. act. are *açāna*, *grhāṇā*, *badhāṇā*, *stabhāṇā*.

723. The ending *ānā* is known also to the earliest language; of the examples just given, all are found in AV., and the first two in RV.; others are *içāṇa*, *muçāṇa*, *akabhāṇa*. But AV. has also *grbhṇīhi* (also AB.), and even *grhṇāhi*, with strong stem; BhP. has *badhnihi*. Strong stems are further found in *grṇāhi* and *strṇāhi* (TS.), *prṇāhi* (TB.), and *çṛṇāhi* (Āpast.), and, with anomalous accent, *punāhi* and *çṛṇāhi* (SV.); and, in 2d pl. act., in *punāta* (RV.). The ending *tāt* of 2d sing. act. occurs in *grhṇītāt*, *jānītāt*, *punītāt*. The ending *tana* is found in *punītana*, *prṇītana*, *çṛṇītana*.

5. Present Participle.

724. The participles are regularly formed: thus, for example, act. क्रीणन् *kṛiṇānt* (fem. क्रीणन्ती *kṛiṇatī*); mid. क्रीणान् *kṛiṇānā*.

6. Imperfect.

725. There is nothing special to be noted as to the inflection of this tense: an example is —

active.			middle.		
a.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
1 अक्रीणाम् अक्रीणीव अक्रीणीम	अक्रीणी	अक्रीणीवहि अक्रीणीमहि	अक्रीणाम्	अक्रीणीवहि अक्रीणीमहि	अक्रीणीमहि
<i>ākṛiṇām ākṛiṇīva ākṛiṇīma</i>	<i>ākṛiṇi</i>	<i>ākṛiṇīvahi ākṛiṇīmahi</i>	<i>ākṛiṇām</i>	<i>ākṛiṇīvahi ākṛiṇīmahi</i>	<i>ākṛiṇīmahi</i>
2 अक्रीणान् अक्रीणीतम् अक्रीणीत	अक्रीणीष्व अक्रीणावाम् अक्रीणीधम्	अक्रीणान्	अक्रीणीतम् अक्रीणीत	अक्रीणीष्व अक्रीणावाम् अक्रीणीधम्	अक्रीणीतम्
<i>ākṛiṇās ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇīta</i>	<i>ākṛiṇīthās ākṛiṇāthām ākṛiṇīdhvam</i>	<i>ākṛiṇān</i>	<i>ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇīta</i>	<i>ākṛiṇīthās ākṛiṇāthām ākṛiṇīdhvam</i>	<i>ākṛiṇān</i>
3 अक्रीणात् अक्रीणीताम् अक्रीणन्	अक्रीणीताम् अक्रीणाताम् अक्रीणाताम्	अक्रीणात्	अक्रीणीताम् अक्रीणीताम् अक्रीणीताम्	अक्रीणात्	अक्रीणीताम्
<i>ākṛiṇāt ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇān</i>	<i>ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇātām ākṛiṇātām</i>	<i>ākṛiṇāt</i>	<i>ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇātām ākṛiṇātām</i>	<i>ākṛiṇāt</i>	<i>ākṛiṇītām</i>

726. It has been pointed out above that augmentless persons of this tense are in part indistinguishable in form from subjunctive and optative persons. Such as certainly belong here are (in V.) kṣipām; aṣṇan, ripān; ṛṣbhṇata, vṛṇata. The AV. has once minīt instead of mināt. MBh. has aṣṇis after mā.

a. Ab. has the false form ajānīmas, and in AA. occurs avṛṇīta as 3d plural.

727. The roots which form their present-systems, wholly or in part, after the manner of this class, are over fifty in number: but, for about three fifths of them, the forms are quotable only from the older language, and for half-a-dozen they make their first appearance later; for less than twenty are they in use through the whole life of the language, from the Veda down.—

a. As to secondary a-stems, see 731.

Irregularities of the nā-class.

728. a. The roots ending in ū shorten that vowel before the class-sign: thus, from ṽpū, punāti and punité; in like manner also jū, dhū, iū.

b. The root vī (B.S.) forms either vlinā or vlinā.

729. The root grabh or grah (the former Vedic) is weakened to ṛbh or ṛh.

a. As the perfect also in weak forms has ṛbh or ṛh, it is not easy to see why the grammarians should not have written ṛ instead of ra in the root.

730. a. A few of the roots have a more or less persistent nasal in forms outside the present-system; such are without nasal before the class-sign: thus, grath or granth, badh or bandh, math or manth, skabh or skambh, stabh or stambh.

b. The root jā also loses its nasal before the class-sign: thus, jānāti, jānité.

731. Not rarely, forms showing a transfer to the a-conjugation are met with: thus, even in RV., minati, minat, aminanta, from ṽmī; in AV., ṛṇa from ṽṛ; later, ṛṇa, jāna, pṛṇa, mathna, etc. And from roots pṛ and mṛ are formed the stems pṛṇā and mṛṇā, which are inflected after the manner of the ā-class, as if from roots pṛṇ and mṛṇ.

732. In the Veda, an apparently denominative inflection of a stem in āyā is not infrequent beside the conjugation of roots of this class: thus, ṛṣbhāyā, mathāyāti, aṛathāyas, skabhāyāta, astabhāyat, pruṣāyānte, muṣāyāt, and so on. See below, 1088 b.

Second or a-Conjugation.

733. We come now to the classes which compose the Second or a-Conjugation. These are more markedly similar in their mode of inflection than the preceding classes; their common characteristics, already stated, may be here repeated in summary. They are: 1. A final *a* in the present-stem; 2. a constant accent, not changing between stem and ending; 3. a briefer form of the optative mode-sign in the active, namely *i* instead of *yā* (combining in both voices alike with *a* to *e*); 4. the absence of any ending (except when *tāt* is used) in 2d sing. impv. act.; 5. the conversion of initial *ā* of the 2d and 3d du. mid. endings with final *a* of the stem to *e*; 6. the use of the full endings *ante*, *anta*, *antām* in 3d pl. mid. forms; 7. the invariable use of *an* (not *us*) in 3d pl. impf. act.; 8. and the use of *māna* instead of *āna* as ending of the mid. pple. Moreover, 9. the stem-final *a* becomes *ā* before *m* and *v* of 1st personal endings—but not before *am* of 1st sing. impf.: here, as before the 3d pl. endings, the stem-final is lost, and the short *a* of the ending remains (or the contrary): thus, *bhāvanti* (*bhāva* + *anti*), *bhāvante* (*bhāva* + *ante*), *ābhavam* (*ābhava* + *am*).

a. All these characteristics belong not to the inflection of the a-present-system alone, but also to that of the a-, reduplicated, and *sa*-aorists, the a-future, and the desiderative, causative, and denominative present-stems. That is to say, wherever in conjugation an a-stem is found, it is inflected in the same manner.

VI. A-class (first, bhū-class).

734. The present-stem of this class is made by adding *ā* to the root, which has the accent, and, when that is possible (235, 240), is strengthened to *guṇa*. Thus, *भव* *bhāva* from *√भू* *bhū*; *जय* *jāya* from *√जि* *ji*; *बोध* *bódha* from *√बुध्* *budh*; *सर्प* *sārpa* from *√सृप्* *sṛp*; — but *वद* *vāda* from *√वद्* *vad*; *क्रीड* *kṛīḍa* from *√क्रीड्* *kṛīḍ*.

1. Present Indicative.

735. The endings and the rules for their combination with the stem have been already fully given, for this and the other parts of the present-system; and it only remains to illustrate them by examples.

a. Example of inflection: root भू bhū *be*; stem भव bháva (bho + a: 131).

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 भवामि भवावस् भवामस् भवे भवावहे भवामहे	bhávāmi bhávāvas bhávāmas bhāve bhávāvāhe bhávāmahe				
2 भवसि भवथस् भवथ भवसे भवथे भवध्वे	bhávāsi bhávāthas bhávātha bhāvase bhāvetha bhāvadhve				
3 भवति भवतस् भवन्ति भवते भवन्ते भवन्ते	bhávati bhávatas bhávanti bhāvate bhāvete bhāvante				

b. The V. has but a single example of the thana-ending, namely vádathana (and no other in any class of this conjugation). The 1st pl. mid. manāmahé (RV., once) is probably an error. RV. has qóbhe once as 3d singular.

2. Present Subjunctive.

736. The mode-stem is bhávā (bháva + a). Subjunctive forms of this conjugation are very numerous in the older language; the following scheme instances all that have been found to occur.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 bhávāni bhávāva bhávāma bhávāi bhávāvahāi bhávāmahāi					
2 {bhávāsi bhávās	bhávāthas	bhávātha	{bhávāse bhávāsāi		bhávādhvāi
3 {bhávāti bhávāt	bhávātas	bhávān	{bhávāte bhávātāi	bhávāite	{bhávānta bhávāntai

737. The 2d du. mid. (bhávāithe) does not chance to occur in this class; and yātāite is the only example of the 3d person. No such pl. mid. forms as bhávādhve, bhávānte are made from any class with stem-final a; such as bhávānta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brīhmanas (especially ÇB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsi and the 3d in āt. AB. has the 3d sing. mid. haratāi; and a 3d pl. in antāi (variantāi KB.) has been noted once. RV. has examples, arcā and madā, of the briefer 1st sing. act.

3. Present Optative.

738. The scheme of optative endings as combined with the final of an a-stem was given in full above (568).

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 भवेयम् bhāveyam	भवेव bhāveva	भवेम bhāvema	भवेय bhāveya	भवेवहि bhāvevahi	भवेमहि bhāvemahi
2 भवेन् bhāves	भवेतम् bhāvetam	भवेत bhāveta	भवेद्यान् bhāvedhās	भवेद्याथम् bhāveyāthām	भवेद्यम् bhāvedhvam
3 भवेत् bhāvet	भवेताम् bhāvetām	भवेयुम् bhāveyus	भवेत bhāveta	भवेयाताम् bhāveyātām	भवेरन् bhāveran

a. The RV. has once the 3d pl. mid. *bharerata* (for one other example, see 752 b). AV. has *udeyam* from *y'vad*.

b. A few instances are met with of middle 3d persons from a-stems in *ita* and (very rarely) *iran*, instead of *eta* and *eran*. For convenience, they may be put together here (excepting the more numerous causative forms, for which see 1043 c); they are (so far as noted) these: *nayita* S. and later, *ṣaṇṣita* S., *ṣrayita* S.; *dhayita* S., *dhyāyita* U., *hvayita* AB. S. and *hvayiran* S., *dhmāyita* U. An active form *ṣaṇṣiyāt* C. is isolated and anomalous.

4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 भवानि bhāvāni	भवाव bhāvāva	भवाम bhāvāma	भवे bhāvai	भवावहे bhāvāvahai	भवामहे bhāvamahai
2 भव bhāva	भवतम् bhāvatam	भवत bhāvata	भवस्व bhāvasva	भवेद्यथम् bhāvedhām	भवद्यम् bhāvadhvam
3 भवतु bhāvatu	भवताम् bhāvatām	भवन्तु bhāvantu	भवताम् bhāvatām	भवेताम् bhāvetām	भवन्ताम् bhāvantām

740. The ending *tana* in 2d pl. act. is as rare in this whole conjugation as is *thana* in the present; the V. affords only *bhajatana* in the a-class (and *nahyatana* in the ya-class; 760 c). The ending *tāt* of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has *avatāt*, *oṣatāt*, *dahatāt*, *bhavatāt*, *yacchatāt*, *yācatāt*, *rākṣatāt*, *vahatāt*; to which AV. adds *jinvatāt*, *dhāvatāt*; and the Brāhmaṇas bring other examples. MS. has twice *svadātu* (parallel texts both times *svadāti*): compare similar cases in the ā-class: 752 c.

5. Present Participle.

741. The endings *यत्* ant and *मान* māna are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. *भवत्* bhavant (fem. *भवती* bhavanti); mid. *भवमान* bhavamāna.

a. A small number of middle participles appear to be made from stems of this class (as of other a-classes: see 752 e, 1043 f) by the suffix āna instead of māna: thus, *namāna*, *pacāna*, *ṛikṣāna*, *svajāna*, *hvayāna* (all epic), *majjāna* and *kaṣāna* (later); and there are Vedic examples (as *cyāvāna*, *prathānā*, *yātāna* or *yatānā*, *qumbhāna*, all RV.) of which the character, whether present or aorist, is doubtful: compare 840, 852.

6. Imperfect.

742. An example of the imperfect inflection is:

active.				middle.	
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
अभवम्	अभावा	अभवाम	अभवे	अभाववहि	अभवामहि
ābhavam	ābhavāva	ābhavāma	ābhavo	ābhavāvahi	ābhavāmahi
अभवन्	अभवतम्	अभवत	अभवद्याम्	अभवेद्याम्	अभवधम्
ābhavas	ābhavatam	ābhavata	ābhavathāms	ābhavethāms	ābhavadhvam
अभवत्	अभवताम्	अभवन्	अभवत	अभवेताम्	अभवन्त
ābhavat	ābhavatām	ābhavan	ābhavata	ābhavetaṁ	ābhavanta

743. No forms in tana are made in this tense from any a-class.

Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: *cyāvam*, *āvas*, *dāhas*, *bōdhat*, *bhārat*, *cāran*, *nācan*; *bādhathās*, *vārdhata*, *qōcanta*. The subjunctively used forms of 2d and 3d sing. act. are more frequent than those of either of the proper subjunctive persons.

744. A far larger number of roots form their present-system according to the a-class than according to any of the other classes: in the RV., they are about two hundred and forty (nearly two fifths of the whole body of roots); in the AV., about two hundred (nearly the same proportion); for the whole language, the proportion is still larger, or nearly one half the whole number of present-stems: namely, over two hundred in both earlier and later language, one hundred and seventy-five in the older alone, nearly a hundred and fifty in the later alone. Among these are not a few transfers from the classes of the first conjugation: see those classes above. There are no roots ending in long ā—except a few which make an a-stem in some anomalous way: below, 749 a.

Irregularities of the a-class.

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. *ūh* *consider* has *guṇa*-strengthening (against 240): thus, *ōhate*.

b. *kṛp* (or *krap*) *lament*, on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, *kṛpate*.

c. *guh* *hide* has prolongation instead of *guṇa*: thus, *gūhati*.

d. *kram* *stride* regularly lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle: thus, *krāmati*, *krāmate*; but the vowel-quantities are somewhat mixed up, even from the oldest language down;—*klam* *fire* is said to form *klāmati* etc., but is not quotable;—*cam* with the preposition *ā* *rinse the mouth* forms *ācāmati*.

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from *mṛj* *wipe*; and they show the same *vr̥ddhi* (instead of *guṇa*) which belongs to the root in its more proper inflection (827): thus, *mārjasva*.

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in *ur̥v*, which they declare to lengthen the *u* in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite limited) use, and they show no forms anywhere with short *u*. All appear to be of secondary formation from roots in *r̥* or *ar̥*. The root *murch* or *mūrch* *coagulate* has likewise only *ū* in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoeic root *gṛhiv* *spee* is written by the grammarians as *gṛhiv*, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system: compare 240 b.

746. The roots *dañq* *bite*, *rañj* *color*, *sañj* *hang*, *avañj* *embrace*, of which the nasal is in other parts of the conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus, *dācati* etc.; *sañj* forms both *sajati* and *sajjati* (probably for *sajyati*, or for *sasajati* from *sasa-jati*); *math* or *manth* has *mathati* later. In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening formation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.

747. The roots *gam* *go* and *yam* *reach* make the present-stems *gāccha* and *yāccha*: thus, *gācchāmi* etc.: see 608.

748. The root *sad* *sit* forms *sīda* (conjectured to be contracted from *sīda* for *sīsada*): thus, *sīdāmi* etc.

749. Transfers to this class from other classes are not rare, as has been already pointed out above, both throughout the present-system and in occasional forms. The most important cases are the following:

a. The roots in *ā*, *sthā* *stand*, *pā* *drink*, and *ghrā* *smell*, form the present-stems *tiṣṭha* (*tiṣṭhāmi* etc.), *pība* (*pībāmi* etc.); and *ṣighra* (*ṣighrāmi* etc.): for these and other similar cases, see 671-4.

b. Secondary root-forms like *inv*, *ḥinv*, *pinv*, from simpler roots

of the nu-class, are either found alongside their originals, or have crowded these out of use: see 716.

750. On the other hand, the root *dham* or *dhmā blow* forms its present-stem from the more original form of the root: thus, *dhāmati* etc.

VII. Accented *ā*-class (sixth, tud-class).

751. The present-stem of this class has the accent on the class-sign *घ ā*, and the root remains unstrengthened. In its whole inflection, it follows so closely the model of the preceding class that to give the paradigm in full will be unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found to occur will be instanced).

752. Example of inflection: root *विश् viç enter*; stem *विश् viçá*:

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	विशामि	विशाम्	विशामम्	विशे	विशामहे	विशामहे
	viçāmi	viçāvas	viçāmas	viçé	viçāvahe	viçāmahe
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1	viçāni	viçāva	viçāma	viçāi	viçāvahāi	viçāmahāi
2	{viçāsi viçās		viçātha	{viçāse viçāsāi	viçāithe	
3	{viçāti viçāt	viçātas	viçān	{viçāte viçātāi	viçāite	viçāntāi

a. A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is *mṛkeṣā*. The only forms in *āithe* and *āite* are *prpāithe* and *yuvāite*.

3. Present Optative.

1	विशेयम्	विशेय	विशेम	विशेय	विशेयहि	विशेमहि
	viçéyam	viçéva	viçéma	viçéya	viçévahi	viçémahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

b. The RV. has the ending *tana* once in *tiretana* 2d pl. act., and *rata* in *jūgerata* 3d pl. mid.

4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

२	विश	विशतम्	विशत	विशन्व	विशेयाम्	विशधम्
	viśá	viśátam	viśáta	viśásva	viśétham	viśádham
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

c. The ending *tát* is found in RV. and AV. in *mṛḍatát*, *vṛhatát*, *suṛatát*; other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, *khīdatát*, *chyatát*, *prechatát*, *viṣatát*, *sṛjatát*; and later, *spṛṇatát*. The 3d sing. act. *nudātu* and *muñcātu* occur in Sūtras (cf. 740).

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is *विशन्* *viśant*; the middle is *विशमान* *viśamāna*.

d. The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, *viśantī*; but sometimes from the weak: thus, *siñcāntī* and *siñcatī* (RV. and AV.), *tudāntī* and *tudatī* (AV.): see above, 449 d, e.

e. Middle participles in *āna* instead of *māna* are *dhuvāna*, *dhṛṣṇāna*, *liṣāna*, *qyāna*, in the older language; *kṛṣāna*, *muñcāna*, *spṛṣāna* in the later (cf. 741 a).

6. Imperfect.

१	अविशम्	अविशाव	अविशाम	अविशे	अविशावहि	अविशामहि
	áviṣam	áviṣāva	áviṣāma	áviṣe	áviṣāvahi	áviṣāmahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

f. Examples of augmentless forms accented are *srjás*, *srjāt*, *tiránta*.

g. The *a*-sortist (846 ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its forms, of an imperfect of this class.

753. Stems of the *á*-class are made from nearly a hundred and fifty roots: for about a third of these, in both the earlier and the later language; for a half, in the earlier only; for the remainder, nearly twenty, only in the later language. Among them are a number of transfers from the classes of the non-*a*-conjugation.

a. In some of these transfers, as *prṇ* and *mṛṇ* (731), there takes place almost a setting-up of independent roots.

b. The stems *icchá*, *ucchá*, and *pochá* are reckoned as belonging respectively to the roots *iṣ* *desire*, *vas* *shine*, and *ṛ* *go*.

c. The roots written by the Hindu grammarians with final *o*—namely, *cho*, *do*, *ṣo*, and *so*—and forming the present-stems *chyá*,

dyá, *çyá*, *ayá*, are more properly (as having an accented *á* in the stem) to be reckoned to this class than to the *ya*-class, where the native classification puts them (see 761 g). They appear to be analogous with the stems *kəya*, *əva*, *hva*, noted below (755).

754. The roots from which *á*-stems are made have certain noticeable peculiarities of form. Hardly any of them have long vowels, and none have long interior vowels; very few have final vowels; and none (save two or three transfers, and *ɣlajj* *be ashamed*, which does not occur in any accented text, and is perhaps to be referred rather to the *a*-class) have *a* as radical vowel, except as this forms a combination with *r*, which is then reduced with it to *ɾ* or some of the usual substitutes of *ɾ*.

Irregularities of the *á*-class.

755. The roots in *i* and *u* and *ū* change those vowels into *iy* and *uv* before the class-sign: thus, *kəiyá*, *yuvá*, *ruvá*; *suuvá*, etc.; and *əva*, *hva* occur, instead of *suva* and *huva*, in the older language, while TS. has the participle *kəyánt*. K. has *dūva* from *ɣdhū*.

756. The three roots in *ɾ* form the present-stems *kirá*, *girá* (also *gila*), *tirá*, and are sometimes written as *kir* etc.; and *gur*, *jur*, *tur* are really only varieties of *gr*, *jr*, *tr*; and *bhur* and *sphur* are evidently related with other *ar* or *ɾ* root-forms.

a. The common root *prach* *ask* makes the stem *prəçchá*.

757. As to the stems *-driyá* and *-priya*, and *mriyá* and *dhriyá*, sometimes reckoned as belonging to this class, see below, 773.

758. Although the present-stem of this class shows in general a weak form of the root, there are nevertheless a number of roots belonging to it which are strengthened by a penultimate nasal. Thus, the stem *muñcá* is made from *ɣmuc* *release*; *siñcá* from *ɣsic* *sprinkle*; *vindá* from *ɣvid* *shed*; *kɾntá* from *ɣkɾt* *cut*; *piñcá* from *ɣpiç* *adorn*; *tɾmpá* from *ɣtɾp* *enjoy*; *lumpá* from *ɣlup* *break*; *limpá* from *ɣlip* *smear*; and occasional forms of the same kind are met with from a few others, as *tundá* from *ɣtud* *thrust*; *bɾñhá* from *ɣbɾñ* *strengthen*; *dɾñhá* (beside *dɾñha*) from *ɣdɾñ* *make firm*; *çumbhá* (beside *çumbha*) from *ɣçubh* *shine*; TS. has *çɾñthati* from *ɣçrath* (instead of *çrathnāti*); *uñcha*, *vindhá*, *sumbha*, are of doubtful character.

a. Nasalized *á*-stems are also in several instances made by transfer from the nasal class: thus, *unda*, *umbha*, *ɾñjá*, *piñśá*, *yuñśa*, *rundha*, *çinśa*.

VIII. *Ya*-class (fourth, div-class).

759. The present-stem of this class adds *ɥ ya* to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also pre-

cisely like that of the a-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the á-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नक्ष् *nah bind*; stem नक्ष् *nāhya*.

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	नक्ष्यामि	नक्ष्यावम्	नक्ष्यामम्	नक्ष्ये	नक्ष्यावहे	नक्ष्यामहे
	<i>nāhyāmi</i>	<i>nāhyāvas</i>	<i>nāhyāmas</i>	<i>nāhye</i>	<i>nāhyāvahe</i>	<i>nāhyāmahe</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1	nāhyāni	nāhyāma	nāhyāi	nāhyāvahāi	nāhyāmahāi
2	{nāhyāsi nāhyās		nāhyāsāi		nāhyādhvāi
3	{nāhyāti nāhyāt	nāhyātas nāhyān	nāhyātāi		nāhyāntāi

a. A 3d pl. mid. in *antāi* (*jāyantāi*) occurs once in TS.

3. Present Optative.

1	नक्ष्येयम्	नक्ष्येव	नक्ष्येम	नक्ष्येय	नक्ष्येवहि	नक्ष्येमहि
	<i>nāhyeyam</i>	<i>nāhyeva</i>	<i>nāhyema</i>	<i>nāhyeya</i>	<i>nāhyevahi</i>	<i>nāhyemahi</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

b. For two or three 3d sing. mid. forms in *īta* (for *eta*), see 738 b.

4. Present Imperative.

2	नक्ष्य	नक्ष्यतम्	नक्ष्यत	नक्ष्यस्व	नक्ष्येशाम्	नक्ष्यधम्
	<i>nāhya</i>	<i>nāhyatam</i>	<i>nāhyata</i>	<i>nāhyasva</i>	<i>nāhyethām</i>	<i>nāhyadhvam</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

c. Of the ending *tana*, RV. has one example, *nāhyatana*; the ending *tāt* is found in *asyatāt*, *khyāyatāt*, *naçyatāt*.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is नक्ष्यन् *nāhyant* (fem. नक्ष्यन्ती *nāhyantī*); the middle is नक्ष्यमान *nāhyamāna*.

6. Imperfect.

1	अनक्ष्याम्	अनक्ष्याव	अनक्ष्याम	अनक्ष्ये	अनक्ष्यावहि	अनक्ष्यामहि
	<i>ānāhyām</i>	<i>ānāhyāva</i>	<i>ānāhyāma</i>	<i>ānāhye</i>	<i>ānāhyāvahi</i>	<i>ānāhyāmahī</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

d. Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are *gāyat*, *pāqyat*, *pāqyan*, *jāyathās*.

761. The ya-class stems are more than a hundred and thirty in number, and nearly half of them have forms in use in all periods of the language, about forty occurring only in the earlier, and about thirty only in the modern period.

a. Of the roots making ya-stems, a very considerable part (over fifty) signify a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body: thus, *kup* be angry, *klam* be weary, *kəudh* be hungry, *muh* be confused, *lubh* be lustful, *qus* be dry, etc. etc.

b. A further number have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and are in part evident and in part presumable transfers from the passive or yā-class, with change of accent, and sometimes also with assumption of active endings. It is not possible to draw precisely the limits of the division; but there are in the older language a number of clear cases, in which the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by analogy with them. Thus, *y muc* forms *mūcyate* once or twice, beside the usual *mucyāte*, in RV. and AV.; and in the Brāhmapas the former is the regular accent. Similar changes are found also in ya-forms from other roots: thus, from *kpi* destroy, *jī* or *jiyā* injure, *tap* heat, *dṛh* make firm, *pac* cook, *pṛ* fill, *mī* damage, *ric* leave, *lup* break, *hā* leave. Active forms are early made from some of these, and they grow more common later. It is worthy of special mention that, from the Veda down, *jāyate* is born etc. is found as altered passive or original ya-formation by the side of *yjan* give birth.

c. A considerable body of roots (about forty) differ from the above in having an apparently original transitive or neuter meaning: examples are as *throw*, *nah* bind, *paq* see, *pad* go, *qliq* clasp.

d. A number of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat doubtful character and relations, having present-stems ending in ya, are by the native grammarians written with final diphthongs, *āi* or *e* or *o*. Thus:

e. Roots reckoned as ending in *āi* and belonging to the a- (or bhū-) class, as *gāi* sing (*gāyati* etc.). As these show abundantly, and for the most part exclusively, *āi*-forms outside the present-system, there seems to be no good reason why they should not rather be regarded as *āi*-roots of the ya-class. They are *kṣā* burn, *gā* sing, *glā* be weary, *trā* save, *dhyā* think, *pyā* fill up, *mlā* relax, *rā* bark, *vā* be blown, *qyā* congregate, *qrā* boil, *styā* stiffen. Some of them are evident extensions of simpler roots by the addition of *ā*. The secondary roots *tāy* stretch (beside *tan*), and *cāy* observe (beside *ci*) appear to be of similar character.

f. Roots reckoned as ending in *e* and belonging to the a- (or bhū-) class, as *dhe* suck (*dhāyati* etc.). These, too, have *āi*-forms, and sometimes *i*-forms, outside the present system, and are best regarded as *āi*-roots, either with *ā* weakened to *a* before the class-sign of this class, or with *ā*

weakened to *i* or *i* and inflected according to the *a*-class. They are *dhā suck*, *mā exchange*, *vā weave*, *vyā envelop*, *hvā call* (secondary, from *hū*). As of kindred form may be mentioned *day share* and *vyay expend* (probably denominative of *vyaya*).

g. A few roots artificially written with final *o* and reckoned to the *ya*-class, with radical vowel lost before the class-sign: thus, *do cut*, *bind*, pres. *dyāti* etc. These, as having an accented *ā* in the sign, have plainly no right to be put in this class; and they are better referred to the *ā*-class (see above, 753 c). Outside the present-system they show *ā*- and *i*-forms; and in that system the *ya* is often resolved into *ia* in the oldest language.

762. The *ya*-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up—the passive, with *yā*-sign. Though very far from being as widely used as the latter beside other present-systems, it is in some cases an intransitive conjugation by the side of a transitive of some other class.

Irregularities of the *ya*-class.

763. The roots of this class ending in *am* lengthen their vowel in forming the present-stem: they are *klam*, *tam*, *dam*, *bhram*, *ṣam* *be quiet*, *ṣram*: for example, *tāmyati*, *ṣrāmyati*. From *kṣam*, however, only *kṣamyate* occurs; and *ṣam labor* makes *ṣamyati* (B.).

764. The root *mad* has the same lengthening: thus, *mādyati*.

765. The roots in *iv*—namely, *div*, *siv*, *ariv* or *ṣriv*, and *ṣthiv* (from which no forms of this class are quotable)—are written by the grammarians with *iv*, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.

a. They appear to be properly *dīu* etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always *ū*; *dīv* is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root *div shine*, which changes to *dyu* (361 d): compare 240 b.

766. From the roots *jṛ* and *tṛ* (also written as *jur* and *tir* or *tur*) come the stems *jīrya* and *tīrya*, and *jūrya* and *tūrya* (the last two only in RV.); from *pṛ* comes *pūrya*.

767. The root *vyadh* is abbreviated to *vidh*: thus, *vidhyati*. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, *dṛhya* from *dṛñh* or *dṛh*; *bhraṇya* from *bhrañḥ* or *bhraṇ*; *raja* from *rañj* or *raj*.

IX. Accented yá-class: Passive conjugation.

769. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only in a passive sense, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented \bar{y} yá added to the root: thus, हन्य *hanyá* from $\sqrt{\text{हन्}}$ han *slay*, आप्य *āpyá* from $\sqrt{\text{आप्}}$ āp *obtain*, ग्रह्य *gr̥hyá* from $\sqrt{\text{ग्रह्}}$ gr̥h (or *grah*) *seize*: and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.

769. The form of the root to which the passive-sign is added is (since the accent is on the sign) the weak one: thus, a penultimate nasal is dropped, and any abbreviation which is made in the weak forms of the perfect (794), in the aorist optative (922 b), or before *ta* of the passive participle (954), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, अज्य *ajyá* from $\sqrt{\text{अज्}}$, बध्य *badhyá* from $\sqrt{\text{बन्ध्}}$, उच्य *ucyá* from $\sqrt{\text{वच्}}$, िज्य *ijyá* from $\sqrt{\text{यज्}}$.

770. On the other hand, a final vowel of a root is in general liable to the same changes as in other parts of the verbal system where it is followed by *y*: thus —

a. Final *i* and *u* are lengthened: thus, मिय *miyá* from $\sqrt{\text{मि}}$; सूय *sūyá* from $\sqrt{\text{सु}}$;

b. Final *ā* is usually changed to *i*: thus, दीय *dīyá* from $\sqrt{\text{दा}}$; हिय *hiyá* from $\sqrt{\text{हā}}$: but ज्ञाय *jñāyá* from $\sqrt{\text{ज्ञā}}$, and so *khyāyá*, *khāyá*, *mnāyá*, etc.;

c. Final *ṛ* is in general changed to *ri*: thus, क्रिय *kriyá* from $\sqrt{\text{क्र्}}$; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root $\sqrt{\text{ṛ}}$), it has instead the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, स्मर्य *smaryá* from $\sqrt{\text{स्मर्}}$ (the only quotable case); — and in those roots which show a change of *ṛ* to *ir* and *ur* (so-called *ṛ*-verbs: see 242), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, चिर्य *chiryá* from $\sqrt{\text{चर्}}$; पूर्य *pūryá* from $\sqrt{\text{प्}}$.

771. The inflection of the passive-stem is precisely like that of the other *a*-stems; it differs only in accent from that of the class last given. It may be here presented, therefore, in the same abbreviated form:

a. Example of inflection: root कृ *kr̥* *make*; passive-stem क्रिय *kriyá*:

1. Present Indicative.

	s.	ð.	p.
1	क्रिये	क्रियावहे	क्रियामहे
	kriyē	kriyāvahe	kriyāmahe
	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

b. The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

	s.	ð.	p.
1	क्रियाँ		क्रियामाँ
2			क्रियाध्वाँ
3	{क्रियाते क्रियाताँ		क्रियाँताँ

c. The 3d pl. ending *antāi* is found once (*ucyantāi* K.).

3. Present Optative.

1	क्रियेय	क्रियेवहि	क्रियेमहि
	kriyéya	kriyévaḥi	kriyémaḥi
	etc.	etc.	etc.

d. No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇas. ChU. has once *dhmāyita*.

4. Present Imperative.

2	क्रियास्व	क्रियेयाम्	क्रियधम्
	kriyāsva	kriyēthām	kriyādhvam
	etc.	etc.	etc.

5. Present Participle.

e. This is made with the suffix मान *māna*: thus, क्रियमाण *kriyāmāṇa*.

f. In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning: thus, *kṛtā done*, but *kriyāmāṇa in process of doing, or being done*.

6. Imperfect.

1	अक्रिये	अक्रियावहि	अक्रियामहि
	ākriye	ākriyāvahi	ākriyāmaḥi
	etc.	etc.	etc.

g. The passive-sign is never resolved into *ia* in the Veda.

772. The roots *tan* and *khan* usually form their passives from parallel roots in *ā*: thus, *tāyāte*, *khāyāte* (but also *tanyate*, *khan-*

yate; and dham, in like manner, makes either dhamyate or dhmayāte. The corresponding form to yjan, namely jāyate (above, 761 b), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

773. By their form, *mrīyāte dies*, and *dhriyāte maintains itself*, is *steadfast*, are passives from the roots *mr̥ die* and *dhṛ hold*; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and *mr̥* is not transitive except in the derivative form *mr̥n* (above, 731). With them are to be compared the stems *ā-driyā heed* and *ā-priyā be busy*, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots *dr̥ pierce* and *pr̥ fill*.

774. Examples of the transfer of stems from the *yā-* or passive class to the *ya-* or intransitive class were given above (761 b); and it was also pointed out that active instead of middle endings are occasionally, even in the earlier language, assumed by forms properly passive; examples are *ā dhmayati* and *vy āpruṣyat* (ÇR.), *bhūyati* (MĀU.). In the epics, however (as a part of their general confusion of active and middle forms; 529 a), active endings are by no means infrequently taken by the passive: thus, *çakyati*, *çrūyanti*, *bhriyantu*, *ijyant-*, etc.

The so-called Tenth or cur-Class.

775. As was noticed above (807), the Hindu grammarians — and, after their example, most European also — recognize yet another conjugation-class, coördinate with those already described; its stems show the class-sign *āya*, added to a generally strengthened root (for details as to the strengthening, see 1042). Though this is no proper class, but a secondary or derivative conjugation (its stems are partly of causative formation, partly denominative with altered accent) an abbreviated example of its forms may, for the sake of accordance with other grammars, be added here.

a. Example: root *cint think, meditate*; stem *cintāya*:

	active.	middle.
Pres. Indic.	<i>cintāyāmi</i>	<i>cintāye</i>
Subj.	<i>cintāyāni</i>	<i>cintāyāi</i>
Opt.	<i>cintāyēyam</i>	<i>cintāyeya</i>
Pple.	<i>cintāyant</i>	<i>cintāyamāna</i>
Impf.	<i>ācintayam</i>	<i>ācintaye</i>

b. The inflection, of course, is the same with that of other forms from *a*-stems (733 a).

c. The middle participle, in the later language, is more often made with *āna* instead of *māna*: thus, *cintayāna*: see 1043 f.

Uses of the Present and Imperfect.

776. The uses of the mode-forms of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (572 ff.). The tense-uses of the two indicative tenses, present and imperfect, call here for only a word or two of explanation.

777. The present has, besides its strictly present use, the same subsidiary uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past action in lively narration.

a. Examples of future meaning are: *imāṁ cēd vā imē cinvāte tāta evā no 'bhībhavanti* (ÇB.) *verily if these build this up, then they will straightway get the better of us*; *agnir ātmabhavaṁ prādād yatra vāñchati nāiśadhaḥ* (MBh.) *Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhaṁ should desire*; *avāgataṁ te 'stu kiṁ karomi tava* (H.) *welcome to thee; what shall I do for thee?*

b. Examples of past meaning are: *ūtārā sūr ādharāḥ putrā āsid dānuḥ çaye sahvātā nā dhenūḥ* (RV.) *the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf*; *prahasanti ca tāṁ kecid abhyasūyanti cā 'pare akurvata dayāṁ kecit* (MBh.) *some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her*; *tato yasya vacanāt tatrā 'valambitās taṁ sarve tiraaskurvanti* (H.) *thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there.*

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With *purā* formerly: thus, *saptarṣiṇ u ha sma vāi purā rṁṣā ity ācakṣate* (ÇB.) *the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears; tanmātram api cen mahyaṁ na dadati purā bhavān* (MBh.) *if you have never before given me even an atom.*

b. With the asseverative particle *sma*: thus, *çrāmeṇa ha sma vāi tād devā jayanti yād eṣāṁ jāyyam āsā rṣayaç ca* (ÇB.) *in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won*; *aviṣṭaḥ kalinā dyūte jīyate sma nalas tadā* (MBh.) *then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play.*

c. No example of this last construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Veda. In the Brāhmanas, only habitual action is expressed by it. At all periods of the language, the use of *sma* with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration — of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.

779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of narration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.

a. Compare what is said later (end of chap. X. and chap. XI.) as to the value of the other past tenses, the perfect and aorist.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

780. THE perfect-system in the later language, as has been seen above (535), consists only of an indicative tense and a participle — both of them in the two voices, active and middle.

a. In the oldest language, the perfect has also its modes and its augment-preterit, or pluperfect, or is not less full in its apparatus of forms than is the present-system (see 808 ff.).

781. The formation of the perfect is essentially alike in all verbs, differences among them being of only subordinate consequence, or having the character of irregularities. The characteristics of the formation are these:

1. a stem made by reduplication of the root;
2. a distinction between stronger and weaker forms of stem, the former being used (as in presents of the First or non-a-conjugation) in the singular active, the latter in all other persons;
3. endings in some respects peculiar, unlike those of the present;
4. the frequent use, especially in the later language, of a union-vowel इ i between stem and endings.

782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (see 643) — but with this exception, that radical अ a and आ \bar{a} and इ r (or अर् ar) have only अ a , and never इ i , as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from पृ pr *fill* comes the present-stem पिपृ $pipr$, but the perfect-stem पपृ $papr$; from मृ $mā$

measure comes the present-stem मिमा *mimā*, but the perfect-stem ममा *mamā*; and so on.

a. Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.

783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial *अ* before a single final consonant repeats the *अ*, which then fuses with the radical vowel to *आ ā*, (throughout the whole inflection): thus, *आद् ād* from *अद् ad eat*; and in like manner *आन् ān*, *आस् ās*, *आह āh*. The root *अ r* forms likewise throughout *आर् ār* (as if from *अr ar*).

b. A root with *इ i* or *उ u* before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.); here the vowel of the radical syllable has *gūṇa*, becoming *ए e* or *ओ o*; and before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from *इष् iṣ* comes *इष् iṣ* in weak forms, but *इषेष् iyeṣ* in strong; from *उच् uc*, in like manner, come *उच् uc* and *उवोच् uvoc*. The root *इ i*, a single vowel, also falls under this rule, and forms *इय iy* (*y* added before a vowel) and *इये iye*.

c. Roots which begin with vowels long by nature or by position do not in general make a perfect-system, but use instead a periphrastic formation, in which the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb is added to the accusative of a verbal noun (see below, chap. XV.: 1070 ff.).

d. To this rule, however, *प्राप् obtain* (probably originally *ap*: 1087 f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem *प्राप्* (as if from *ap*: above, a). Also are met with *पिद् (RV.)* and *पिदिरे* from *पिद्*, and *पिदिरे (V.)* from *पिदि*.

e. For the peculiar reduplication *आन् ān*, belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, 786.

784. A number of roots beginning with *वा* and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the *वा* to *u*, do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial *u* (above, 783 b), except that they retain

the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from *yvac speak* come *ūc* and *uvac*; from *yvas dwell* come *ūṣ* and *uvas*; and so on.

a. The roots showing this abbreviation are *vac*, *vap*, *vad*, *vaç*, *vas*, *vah*; and *vā weare* is said to follow the same rule.

b. A single root beginning with *ya*, namely *yaj offer*, has the same contraction, forming the stems *iyaj* and *ij*.

c. Occasional exceptions are met with: *as*, *vavāca* and *vavakṣé* (RV.); *vavāpa* and *vavāha* and *vavāhatus* (E. and later); *yojé* (V.).

785. A number of roots having *ya* after a first initial consonant take *i* (from the *y*) instead of *a* in the reduplicating syllable: thus, from *yvyac* comes *vivyac*; from *ypyā* comes *pipyā*.

a. These roots are *vyac*, *vyath*, *vyadh*, *vyā*, *vyā*, *pyā*, *syand*; and, in the Veda, also *tyaj*, with *oyu* and *dyut*, which have the root-vowel *u*. Other sporadic cases occur.

b. A single root with *va* is treated in the same way: namely *svap*, which forms *suṣvap*.

c. These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 784.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

a. Thus, of roots reduplicating with *ā*: *kan*, *kṛp*, *grdh*, *trp*, *trṣ*, *drh*, *dhṛ*, *dhṛṣ*, *nam*, *mab*, *mṛj*, *mṛç*, *ran*, *radh*, *rabh*, *vañc*, *van*, *vaç*, *vas clothe*, *vāç*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *vṛṣ*, *çad precal*, *sah*, *skambh*. Some of these occur only in isolated cases; many have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but *dādhāra* is common also in the Brāhmaṇa language, and is even found later. As to *jāgr*, see 1020 a.

b. Of roots reduplicating with *i*: the so-called roots (876) *didhī* and *dīdī*, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, *dīdētha*, *didāya*; *didhima*, *didhyus* (also *didhlyus*, *didīyus*). But *pīpī* has *pīpye*, *pīpyus*, etc., with short *i*. In AV. occurs once *jīhīḍa*, and in AB. (and AA.) *bībhāya*.

c. Of roots reduplicating with *ū*: *tu*, *jū*, and *çū* (or *çvā*).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: 42) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical syllable after the reduplication: thus, *y'ci* forms *ciki*; *y'cit* forms *cikit*; *y'ji* forms *jigi*; *y'hi* forms *jighi*; *y'han* forms *jaghan* (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots; 218, 1). A root *dā protect* is said by the grammarians to form *dīgi*; but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial *a* or *ṛ* (*ār*) show the anomalous reduplication *ān* in the perfect.

a. Thus (the forms occurring mainly in the older language only):

√*añj* or *aj*, which forms the pres. *anākti*, has the perfect *ānañja* and *ānañē* etc. (with *anajā* and *anajyāt*);

√*aç* *attain* (from which comes once in RV. *anāçāmahāi*), has the weak forms *ānaçma* etc. (with opt. *ānaçyām*), *ānaçē* etc. (and LÇS. has *ānaçadhve*), and the strong forms *ānāñça* and *ānāça* — along with the regular *āça* etc.;

√*rdh* (from which comes once *ṛnādhāt*) has *ānrđhūs* and *ānrđhe*;

√*rc* or *arc* has *ānrçūs* and *ānrçē*, and later *ānarca* and *ānarcus*;

√*arh* has (in TS.) *ānrđhūs*;

anāha (RV., once) has been referred to a root *ah*, elsewhere unknown, and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety.

b. The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with *a* and ending with more than one consonant have *ān* as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like *akṣ*, *arj*, and *añc* or *ac*; but the only other quotable forms appear to be *ānarchat* (MBh.) and *ānarçat* (TA.); which are accordingly reckoned as "pluperfects".

789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:

a. The extremely common root *bhū* *be* has the anomalous reduplication *ba*, forming the stem *babbhū*; and, in the Veda, *ṽsū* forms in like manner *sasū*.

b. The root *bhṛ* *bear* has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication *ja* (as also in intensive: 1002); but RV. has once also the regular *babhre*, and pple *babhrāpā*.

c. The root *ṣthiv* *spew* forms either *tiṣṭhīv* (ÇB. et al.) or *ṭiṣṭhīv* (not quotable).

d. *Vivakṽān* (RV., once) is doubtless participle of √*vac*, with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 860).

790. Absence of reduplication is met with in some cases. Thus:

a. The root *vid* *know* has, from the earliest period to the latest, a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, *vēda*, *vēttha*, etc., pple *vidvāns*. It has the meaning of a present. The root *vid* *find* forms the regular *vivēda*.

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are *takṣathus* and *takṣus*, *yamātus*, *skambhātus* and *skambhus*, *nindima* (for *ninidima* ?), *dhiṣe* and *dhire* (? *dhā*), and *vidré* and *arhire* (? see 813). And AV. SV. have *cetatus*. The participial words *dāçvāns*, *mīdhvāns*, *sāhvāns* are common in the oldest language; and RV. has once *jānuṣas* (√*jñā*), and *khidvas* (voc.), perhaps for *cikhidvas*. J

c. A few sporadic cases also are quotable from the later language, especially from the epics: thus, *karṣatus*, *ceṣṭa* and *ceṣṭatus*, *bhrājatus*, *sarpa*, *çañsus* and *çañsire*, *dhvañsire*, *srañsire*, *japire*, *edhire*; also the pples *çañsivāns* and *darçivāns*, the latter being not infrequent.

791. For an anomalous case or two of reduplicated preposition, see below, 1087 f.

792. Strong and weak stem-forms. In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.

793. As regards the strengthening:

a. A final vowel takes either the *guṇa* or *vr̥ddhi* change in 1st sing. act., *guṇa* in 2d, and *vr̥ddhi* in 3d: thus, from *√भी* *bhī*, 1st *बिभे* *bibhé* or *बिभै* *bibhāi*; 2d *बिभे* *bibhé*; 3d *बिभै* *bibhāi*; from *√क्* *kṛ*, 1st *चकार* *cakár* or *चकार* *cakār*, 2d *चकार* *cakár*, 3d *चकार* *cakār*.

b. But the *ū* of *√bhu* remains unchanged, and adds *v* before a vowel-ending: thus, *babhūva* etc.

c. Medial *अ* before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or *vr̥ddhi*ed in the 3d sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from *√तप्* *tap*, 1st *ततप्* *tatáp* or *तताप्* *tatāp*, 2d *ततप्* *tatáp*, 3d *तताप्* *tatāp*.

d. In the earlier language, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use: thus, 1st only *bibhāya*, *tatāpa*; 3d *bibhāya*, *tatāpa*. Exceptions are *cakāra* and *jagrāha* (doubtful reading) in AV., *cakāra* in AÇS. and BAU. (ÇB. *cakara*), *jigāya* in AÇS., as first persons.

e. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the *guṇa*-strengthening (where this is possible: 240): thus, from *√दृक्* *druh* comes *दुद्रोक्* *dudróh*; from *√विश्* *viç* comes *विवेश्* *vivéç*; from *√कृत्* *kṛt* comes *चकार्त्* *cakárt*.

f. An initial short vowel before a single final consonant is to be treated like a medial, but the quotable examples are very few: namely, *īyeṣa* from *√िष* *seek*, *uvocitha* and *uvoça* from *√uc*, *uvoṣa* from *√uṣ*. As to roots *ī* and *ṛ*, whose vowels are both initial and final, see above, 783 a, b.

g. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple *tha* as ending; if it has *itha* (below, 797 d).

the accent is allowed to fall on any one of the syllables of the word, and the root-syllable if unaccented has sometimes the weak form (namely, in contracted stems with *e* for medial *a*: below, 794 c; and in certain other verbs, as *vivijitha*). The earlier language, however, affords no example of a 2d sing., whatever its ending, accented on any other than the radical syllable, or failing to conform to the rules of strengthening as given above (in *a*, *c*, *e*).

h. Occasional instances of strengthening in other than the singular persons are met with: thus, *yuyopima* and *viveçus* (RV.). *pasparçus* (KeU.), and, in the epics, *cakartus* and *cakartire*, *cakarçatus*, *jugūhire*, *nanāmire*, *bibhedus*, *vavāhatu*, *viveçatus*, *vavarçus*. The roots *dr*, *pr*, and *çr*, and optionally *jr*, are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in weak forms; but no examples appear to be quotable. AV., however, has once *jaharus* (probably a false reading); and in the later language occur *caskare* (*çkr* scatter) and *tastare*.

i. The root *mrj* has (as in the present-system: 827) *vṛddhi* instead of *guṇa* in strong forms; thus, *mamārja*; and *vguḥ* (also as in present: 745 c) has *ū* instead of *o* (but also *juguhe* E.).

794. As regards the weakening in weak forms:

a. It has been seen above (783 b) that roots beginning with *i* or *u* fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to *i* or *ū* in the weak forms; and (784) that roots contracting *va* and *ya* to *u* or *i* in the reduplication do it also in the root in weak forms, the two elements here also coalescing to *ū* or *i*.

b. A few roots having *ya* and *va* after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (785), contract the *ya* and *va* to *i* and *u*: thus, *vivie* from *vyac*, *vividh* from *vyadh* (but *vivyadhus* MBh.), *suçup* from *çvap*. The extended roots *vyā*, *pyā*, *vyā*, *çvā*, *hvā* show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots *jī*, *pī*, *vī*, *çū*, *hū*, while *hvā* must and *çvā* may get their strong forms also from the same (and only *jijyāu* is quotable from the others).

c. The root *grabh* or *grah* (if it be written thus: see 729 a) contracts to *grh*, making the three forms of stem *jagrāh* (1st and 2d sing. act.), *jagrāh* (3d), and *jagrḥ*; but *prach* (if it be so written: see 756 a) remains unchanged throughout.

d. Some roots omit in weak forms of this tense, or in some of them, a nasal which is found in its strong forms: thus, we have *cakradé* etc. (RV.) from *çkrand*; *tataçrē* (RV.) from *çtand*; *dadaçvāns* (RV.) from *çdānç*; *bedhūs*, *bedhē*, etc. (AV.) from *çbandh*; *sejus* (ÇB.) from *çsañj*; *caskabhānā* (AV.) from *çakambh*; *tastabhūs* etc. (V.), *tastabhānā* (V.B.), from *çtambh*. Compare also 786 a.

e. A number of roots having medial *a* between single consonants drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, *gam*, *khan*, *jan*,

han, ghas; they form the weak stems jagm, cakhn, jajñ, jaghn (compare 637), jakṣ (compare 640): but RV. has once jajanūs.

f. In the old language are found in like manner *mamnāthe* and *mamnāte* from *yman*; *wavné* from *yvan*; *tatne*, *tatniṣe*, *tatnire* from *ytan* (beside *tatane*, and *tate*, as if from *ytā*); *paptima* and *paptús* and *paptivāns* from *ypat* (beside *pet*-forms; below, g); *papné* from *ypan*; *saqcima* and *saqcus*, *saqce* and *saqiré*, from *ysac*.

g. Roots in general having medial a before a single final consonant, and beginning also with a single consonant that is repeated unchanged in the reduplication—that is, not an aspirate, a guttural mute, or h—contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, *yśad* forms the weak stem *śed*, *yṣac* forms *peṣ*, *yṣam* forms *yem*; and so on.

h. Certain roots not having the form here defined are declared by the grammarians to undergo the same contraction—most of them optionally; and examples of them are in general of very rare occurrence. They are as follows: *rāj* (E.C.) and *rādh* (*radh*?), notwithstanding their long vowel; *phaṣ*, *phāl* (*phelire* C.), *bhāj* (occurs from RV. down), though their initial is changed in reduplication; *trap*, *tras* (*tresus* E.C.), *ṛath*, *ayam*, *śvan*, though they begin with more than one consonant; *dambh* (*debhús*, RV., from the weaker *dabh*), though it ends with more than one; and *bhram* (*bhremus* etc. KSS.), *bhrāj*, *granth*, *śvañj*, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary. And ÇB. has *sejus* from *yśañj*, and KB. has *ṣremus* from *yṣram*. On the other hand, RV. has once *rarabh-má*, and R. has *papatus*, for *petus*, from *ypat*.

i. This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is *itha*: thus, *tenitha* beside *tatantha* (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

j. The roots *qaç* and *dad* (from *dā*: 872) are said to reject the contraction; but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

k. From *yṭr* (or *tar*) occurs *terus* (R.); and *jerus* from *yṛ* is authorized by the grammarians—both against the general analogy of roots in ṛ.

l. Roots ending in ā lose their ā before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those endings that assume the union-vowel i (796)—unless in the latter case it be preferred to regard the i as a weakened form of the ā.

795. Endings, and their union with the stem. The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553 c); and it has also been pointed out (543 a) that roots ending in *या ā* have *यौ āu* in 1st and 3d sing. active.

a. The ending **mas** instead of **ma** is found in **ṣuṣṛumas** (E.C.). For the alleged occurrence of **dhve** instead of **dhve** in 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely **थ** *tha*, **व** *va*, **म** *ma* in active; **मे** *se*, **वहे** *vahe*, **महे** *mahe*, **धे** *dhve*, **रे** *re* in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel **इ** *i*.

a. The union-vowel **i** is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant aorist, the futures, and the verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems). In the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the connective; but this correspondence is not so close that general rules respecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each formation by itself.

b. The perfect is the tense in which the use of **i** has established itself most widely and firmly in the later language.

797. The most important rules as to the use of **इ** *i* in the later language are as follows:

a. The **रे** *re* of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except **थ** *tha* of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

c. But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely **कृ** *make*, **भृ** *bear*, **सृ** *go*, **वृ** *choose*, **द्रु** *run*, **श्रु** *hear*, **स्तु** *praise*, **स्रु** *flow*; and it is allowably (not usually) rejected by some others, in general accordance with their usage in other formations.

d In 2d sing. act., it is rejected not only by the eight verbs just given, but also by many others, ending in vowels or in consonants, which in other formations have no **इ** *i*; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in **आ** *ā* (of which the **आ** *ā* is lost when the ending is **इथा** *itha*), and most of those in **इ** *i*, **ई** *ī*, and **उ** *u*.

e. The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of **था** *tha* or **इथा** *itha*, run out into infinite detail, and are not wholly consistent with one another; and, as the forms are very infrequent, it is not possible to criticise the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the facts of usage.

f. With this *i*, a final radical *i* or *ī* is not combined, but changed into *y* or *īy*. The *ū* of *ybhū* becomes *ūv* throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel *i* is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, *śaitha*, *uvōcitha*, *vivēditha*, but *tatānthā* and *vivyāktha*; *ūcimā*, *paptima*, *sedima*, *yuyopimā*, but *jaganma*, *jagrbhmā*, *yuyujma*; *ūciśē*, *jajñiśē*, *sasāhiśē*, but *vivitae* and *dadykśē*; *bubhujmāhe* and *çaçadmahe* etc. (no examples of *ivahe* or *imahe* chance to occur, nor any of either *idhve* or *dhve*); *ījirē*, *jajñirē*, *yetirē*, *tatakṣirē*, but *cākṣirē*, *vividrē*, *duduhirē*, *pasprdhirē*, *tataarē* (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is *vēttha* from *yvid*, without *i* (in Br., also *āttha* from *yāh*: below, 801 a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brāhmaṇas 3d pl. forms in *ire* are made after light syllables also: thus, *saṣṣjire*, *bubudhire*, *yuyujire*, *rurudhire*.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in *ā* the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing. in *itha* is met with), as *dadhimā*, *dadhiśē*, *dadhīdhvē*, *dadhīrē* (the only persons with *i* quotable from RV. and AV.; and RV. has *dadhīre* twice);—roots in *ṛ* appear also to follow the later rule: as *cakṣṣē*, *papṛṣē*, *vavṛṣē*, *vavṛmāhe*, but *dadhṛiṣe* and *jabhṛiṣe*, and in 3d pl. mid. both *cakṛirē* and *dadhṛire*;—*ybhū* has both *babhūtha* (usually) and *babhūvitha*, but only *babhūvimā* (AV.). But there are found, against the later rules, *suṣuma*, *cicyuṣe*, *juhūrē*, and *juhūrē*, without *i*: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending *irē* of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, *cikṭirire*, *jagrbhrirē*, *dadrire*, *bubhujirē*, *vividrere*, *saṣṣjire*; to which SV. adds *duduhrire*, and TB. *dadyṣṣjire*.

800. Examples of inflection. By way of illustration of the rules given above may be given in full the perfect indicative inflection of the following verbs:

a. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final consonant, we take the root *बुध्* *budh* *know*: its strong form of perfect-stem is *बुबोध्* *bubódh*; weak form, *बुबुध्* *bubudh*.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
बुबोध	बुबुधिष्व	बुबुधिम्	बुबुपे	बुबुधिष्वहे	बुबुधिम्हे
bubódha	bubudhivá	-dhimá	bubudhé	-dhiváhe	-dhimáhe

2	बुबोधिथ	बुबुधयुम्	बुबुध	बुबुधिषे	बुबुधाथे	बुबुधिर्वे
	bubódhitha	-dháthus	-dhá	-bubudhiṣe	-dháthe	-dhidhvē
3	बुबोध	बुबुधतुम्	बुबुधुम्	बुबुधे	बुबुधाते	बुबुधिरे
	bubódha	-dhátus	-dhús	bubudhē	-dhāte	-dhirē

b. The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above 793 g) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

c. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final i or u-vowel, we may take the root नी *nī* *lead*: its forms of stem are निनय् *nináy* or निनाय् *nináy*, and निनी *ninī*.

1	निनय, निनाय	निनियव	निनियम	निन्ये	निनियवहे	निनियमहे
	nináya, nināya	ninyivá	ninyimá	ninyē	ninyiváhe	ninyimáhe
2	निनेथ, निनयिथ	निन्ययुम्	निन्य	निन्यिषे	निन्याथे	निन्यिर्वे
	ninétha, nináyitha	ninyáthus	ninyá	ninyiṣe	ninyáthe	ninyidhvē
3	निनाय	निन्यतुम्	निन्युम्	निन्ये	निन्याते	निन्यिरे
	nináya	ninyátus	ninyús	ninyē	ninyāte	ninyirē

d. The root *kri* would make (129 a) in weak forms *cikriyivá*, *cikriyátus*, *cikriyús*, etc.; and *y/bhū* is inflected as follows in the active (middle forms not quotable):

1	babhūva	babhūvivá	babhūvimá
2	babhūtha, babhūvitha	babhūváthus	babhūvá
3	babhūva	babhūvátus	babhūvús

Other roots in *ū* or *u* change this to *uv* before the initial vowel of an ending.

e. As example of the inflection of a root ending in या *ā*, we may take दा *dā* *give*: its forms of stem are ददा *dadā* and दद *dad* (or ददि *dadi*: see above, 794, 1).

1	ददौ	ददिव	ददिम	ददे	ददिवहे	ददिमहे
	dadāu	dadivá	dadimá	dadē	dadiváhe	dadimáhe
2	ददाथ, ददिवथ	ददयुम्	दद	ददिषे	ददाथे	ददिर्वे
	dadātha, dadithá	dadáthus	dadá	dadiṣe	dadāthe	dadidhvē
3	ददौ	ददतुम्	ददुम्	ददे	ददाते	ददिरे
	dadāu	dadátus	dadús	dadē	dadāte	dadirē

f. The RV. has once *paprā* for *paprāu* (and *jahā* for *jahāu*?).

g. As example of a root with medial ञ a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial ण e, in the weak forms (794 g), we may take तन् *tan stretch*: its forms of stem are ततन् *tatān* or ततान् *tatān*, and तेन् *ten*.

1 ततन्, ततान	तेनिव	तेनिम	तेने	तेनिवहे	तेनिमहे
<i>tatāna, tatāna</i>	<i>tenivā</i>	<i>tenimā</i>	<i>tené</i>	<i>tenivāhe</i>	<i>tenimāhe</i>
2 ततन्थ, तेनिव	तेनबुम्	तेन	तेनिषे	तेनाथे	तेनिधे
<i>tatāntha, tenithā</i>	<i>tenāthus</i>	<i>tenā</i>	<i>teniṣe</i>	<i>tenāthe</i>	<i>tenidhvē</i>
3 ततान	तेनतुम्	तेनुम्	तेने	तेनाते	तेनिरि
<i>tatāna</i>	<i>tenātus</i>	<i>tenūs</i>	<i>tené</i>	<i>tenāte</i>	<i>tenirē</i>

h. The root *jan*, with the others which expel medial *a* in weak forms (794 e), makes *jajāntha* or *jajñithā*, *jajñivā*, *jajñūs*; *jajñé*, *jajñimāhe*, *jajñirē*; and so on.

i. As example of a root with initial व *va* contracted to उ *u* in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to ऊ *ū* in weak forms (784), we may take वच् *vac speak*: its forms of stem are उवच् *uvāc* or उवाच् *uvāc*, and ऊच् *ūc*.

1 उवच्, उवाच्	ऊचिव	ऊचिम	ऊचे	ऊचिवहे	ऊचिमहे
<i>uvāca, uvāca</i>	<i>ūcivā</i>	<i>ūcimā</i>	<i>ūcē</i>	<i>ūcivāhe</i>	<i>ūcimāhe</i>
2 उवक्थ, उवचिव	ऊचयुम्	ऊच	ऊचिषे	ऊचाथे	ऊचिधे
<i>uvāktha, uvācitha</i>	<i>ūcāthus</i>	<i>ūcā</i>	<i>ūciṣe</i>	<i>ūcāthe</i>	<i>ūcidhvē</i>
3 उवाच्	ऊचतुम्	ऊचुम्	ऊचे	ऊचाते	ऊचिरि
<i>uvāca</i>	<i>ūcātus</i>	<i>ūcūs</i>	<i>ūcē</i>	<i>ūcāte</i>	<i>ūcirē</i>

j. In like manner, *yaj* forms *iyāja* or *iyāja*, *iyājtha* or *iyājitha*; *ijē*, *ijīṣe*, and so on; *yuc* has *uvōca* and *uvōcitha* in the strong forms, and all the rest like *vac*.

k. Of the four roots in ञ *r* mentioned at 797 c, the inflection is as follows:

1 चकार, चकार	चकृव	चक्रम	चक्रे	चकृवहे	चक्रमहे
<i>cakāra, cakāra</i>	<i>cakṛvā</i>	<i>cakṛmā</i>	<i>cakṛē</i>	<i>cakṛvāhe</i>	<i>cakṛmāhe</i>
2 चकृथ	चक्रयुम्	चक्र	चकृषे	चक्राथे	चक्रधे
<i>cakārtha</i>	<i>cakrāthus</i>	<i>cakrā</i>	<i>cakṛṣe</i>	<i>cakrāthe</i>	<i>cakṛdhvē</i>
3 चकार	चक्रतुम्	चक्रुम्	चक्रे	चक्राते	चक्रिरि
<i>cakāra</i>	<i>cakrātus</i>	<i>cakrūs</i>	<i>cakṛē</i>	<i>cakrāte</i>	<i>cakrirē</i>

1. Of the roots in ढृ ढृ in general, the first persons are made as follows:

1 दधृ. दधृ	दधिव	दधिम	दधे	दधिवहे	दधिमहे
<i>dadhāra, dadhāra</i>	<i>dadhrivā</i>	<i>dadhrimā</i>	<i>dadhrē</i>	<i>dadhrivāhe</i>	<i>dadhrimāhe</i>

m. We may further add here, finally, the active inflection (the middle is not in use) of the perfect of *as* *be*, which (like *babhūva* and *cakāra*, given above) is frequently employed as an auxiliary.

1 āsa	āsivā	āsimā
2 āsitha	āsāthus	āsā
3 āsa	āsātus	āsūs

801. A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:

a. The root *ah* *speak* occurs only in the perfect indicative, and only in the 3d persons of all numbers and in the 2d sing. and du., in active (and in 2d sing. the *h* is irregularly changed to *t* before the ending): thus, *āttha*, *āha*; *āthatus*, *āhatu*; *āhūs* (in V., only *āha* and *āhūs* are met with).

b. From *yā* *weave*, the 3d pl. act. *ūvus* occurs in RV., and no other perfect form appears to have been met with in use. It is allowed by the grammarians to be inflected regularly as *yā*; and also as *vay* (the present-stem is *vāya*: 761 f), with contraction of *va* to *u* in weak forms; and further, in the weak forms, as simple *u*.

c. The root *vyā* *envelop* has in RV. the perfect-forms *vivyathus* and *vivyē*, and no others have been met with in use; the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from *vyay*, and the weak from *vi*.

d. The root *i* *go* forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. *iyātha* beside the regular *iyētha*; and beside *irirē* from *yir*, RV. has several times *erirē*.

e. RV. has an anomalous accent in *dādṛce* and *dādṛce* (beside *dadr̥kṣé*) and the pple *dādṛcāna*. And *ciketa* (once, beside *cikēta*) is perhaps a kindred anomaly.

f. Persons of the perfect from the *ir*-forms of roots in changeable *ṛ* (242) are *titirus* and *tistire* (both RV.); and they have corresponding participles.

g. The bastard root *ūrpu* (713) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem *ūrpuu*; the roots *majj* and *naç* are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing. active, when the ending is simple *tha*: thus, *ma-mañktha*, *nanañṣtha* (also *mamajjitha* and *neçitha*).

h. Further may be noted *sasajjatus* (MBh.: *ysañj*, which has in passive the secondary form *sajj*), *rurundhatus* (R.), and *dudūhus* (BhP).

i. The anomalous *ajagrabhāṣaṁ* (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for *ajigrabhīṣaṁ*, desid. ?).

Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वाम् vāms (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष् ūṣ in the weakest, and replaced by वत् vāt in the middle forms: see above, 458 ff.). It is added to the weak form of the perfect stem — as shown, for example, in the dual and plural of the active inflection of the given verb; and, mechanically, the weakest participle-stem is identical with the 3d pl. active. Thus, बुबुधाम् bubudhvāns, निनीवाम् ninivāns, चकवाम् cakrvāns.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel इ i (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनिवाम् tenivāns, ऊचिवाम् ūcivāns, जज्ञिवाम् jajñivāns, आदिवाम् ādivāns (from यद् ad: 783 a), and so on; ददिवाम् dadivāns and its like, from roots in आ ā, are to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view the इ i as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (794, 1).

a. But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, विद्वान्, and in V., दाक्वान् (SV. dācivāns), मिध्वान्, संह्वान्, खिद्वान् (?); and R. has also दद्वान् (AV. dadivāns and once dadāhvāns) from ydā (or dad: 672); an ān-āqvāns (yaq eat) occurs in TS. and TB. But AV. has विक्विवान् and वरजिवान् (in negative fem. āvarjuṣi).

804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (786) appears in the participle as in the indicative: thus, ववृध्वान्, सासह्वान्, जृजुवान्. RV. and AV. have सासव्वान् from ysan or sās. RV. makes the participial forms of yṭ or tar from different modifications of the root: thus, titirvāns, but tatarūṣas. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462 c.

805. a. From roots gam and han the Veda makes the strong stems jaganvāns (as to the n, see 212 a) and jaghanvāns; the later language allows either these or the more regular jagmivāns and jaghnivāns (the weakest atesa-forms being everywhere jagmūṣ and jaghnūṣ). RV. has also tatavvāns.

b. From three roots, *vid* *and*, *viç*, and *drç*, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, *viviçivāṅs* or *viviçvāṅs*; *dadṛçivāṅs* occurs in KthU. PB. has once *cicchidivāṅs*.

806. The ending of the middle participle is *ñā*. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, *बुबुधान* *bubudhānā*, *निन्यान* *ninyānā*, *ददान* *dadānā*, *तेनान* *tenānā*, *जज्ञान* *jajñānā*, *उचान* *ūcānā*.

a. In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, *vāvrđhānā*, *vāvasānā*, *dādrđhānā*, *tūtujānā*, etc. RV. has *çaçayānā* from *ṣṣī* (with irregular *guṇa*, as in the present-system: 829); *tistirānā* from *ṣṣtr*; and once, with *māna*, *saṣṣmānā* from *ṣṣr*. A few participles with long redupl. vowel have it irregularly accented (as if rather intensive: 1013): thus, *tūtujāna* (also *tūtujānā*), *bābādhāna*, *çāçādāna*, *çūçujāna*, *çūçuvāna*.

807. In the later language, the perfect participles have nearly gone out of use; even the active appears but rarely, and is made from very few verbs, and of the middle hardly any examples are quotable, save such as the proper name *yuyudhāna*, the adjective *anūcāna* *learned in scripture*, etc.

Modes of the Perfect.

808. Modes of the perfect belong only to the Vedic language, and even are seldom found outside of the R^{ig}-Veda.

a. To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the mode-forms from other reduplicated tense-stems—the present-stem of the reduplicating class, the reduplicated aorist, and the intensive—is not possible, since no criterion of form exists which does not in some cases fail, and since the general equivalence of modal forms from all stems (582), and the common use of the perfect as a present in the Veda (823), deprive us of a criterion of meaning. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that a considerable body of forms are to be reckoned here; optatives like *ānāçyām* and *babdhūyās* and *babdhūyāt*, imperatives like *babdhūtu*, subjunctives like *jabhārat*, show such distinctive characteristics of the perfect formation that by their analogy other similar words are confidently classed as belonging to the perfect.

809. The normal method of making such forms would appear to be as follows: from a reduplicated perfect-stem, as (for example) *munne*, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be *munōca* (accented after the analogy of the strong forms

of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be *mumucyā* in the active, and *mumuci* (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

810. Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:

a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., *paprāthas*, *cākānas*, *māmāhas*, *pīprāyas*, *bubodhas*, *rārānas*; 3d sing., *cākānat*, *jabhārat*, *rārānat*, *sāsāhat*, *paspārçat*, *pīprāyat*; 1st pl., *cākānāma*, *tatānāma*, *çūçāvāma*; 3d pl., *tatānan*, *paprāthan* (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only *dadhārati* and *vavārtati*: compare the formation with different accent below, 811 a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. *tatāpate*, *çaçamate*, *yuyojate*, *jūjoçate* (SV.; RV. has *jūjoçate*); and the 3d pl. *cākānanta*, *tatānanta* (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811 b, end).

811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. With strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 845). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, *jūjoçasi*, *jūjoçati*, *jūjoçathas*, *jūjoçatha* (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, *jūjoças*, *jūjoçat*, and *jūjoçan* are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since *dādāças* and *sūçūdas* etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but *jūjoçate* (RV.: see above, 810 c).

b. With unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, *mumucas*; *vavrtat*, *vividat*, *çūçuvat*; the only middle forms are *dadhṛçate*, *vāvṛdhate*, 3d sing.; and *cākramanta*, *dādhrçanta*, *rūrucanta* (with *dadabhanta*, *paprathanta*, *māmahanta*, *juhuranta*, which might also belong elsewhere: 810 c).

c. Accented on the ending are *vāvṛdhānta* and *cakṛpānta* (which are rather to be called augmentless pluperfects).

d. As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an a-conjugation, see below, 815.

812. Examples of the regular optative formation are:

a. In active: 1st sing., *ānaçyām*, *jagamyām*, *paproyām*, *ririçyām*; 2d sing., *vavṛtyās*, *viviçyās*, *çuçrūyās*, *babhūyās*; 3d sing., *jagamyāt*, *vavṛtyāt*, *tutuyāt*, *babhūyāt*; 2d du., *jagmyātam*, *çuçrūyātam*; 1st pl., *sāsahyāma*, *vavṛtyāma*, *çuçuyāma*; 3d pl., *tatanyus*, *vavṛtyūs*, *vavṛtyus*. The forms are quite numerous.

b. In middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., *vavṛtiya*; 2d sing., *vāvṛdhithās*, *caḥṣamithās*; 3d sing., *jagrasita*, *vavṛtita*, *māmrjita*, *dudhuvita*, *çuḥucita*; 1st pl., *vavṛtimahi*. And *sāsa-hiṣṭhās* and *ririṣiṣṭa* appear to furnish examples of precative optative forms. ✓

c. There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, *cakriyās*, *papiyāt*, *çuḥrūyās* and *çuḥrūyātām*, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign *yā* (770); *anajyāt* with short initial; *ḥiḥritā* from *yḥri*; *jakṣiyāt* is anomalous: *ririṣes* in the only form that shows a union-vowel *a* (unless also *siṣet*, from *yāsā*).

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, *cākandhi*, *rārandhi*, *oḥkiddhi*, *titigdhi*, *mumugdhi*, *çuḥugdhi*, and *piprihi*; *cākantu*, *rārantu*, *mumoktu*, and *babḥūtu*; *mumuktam* and *vavṛktam*; *juṣṭana* and *vavṛttana* (unless we are to add *mamaddhi*, *mamattu*, *mamāttana*); — middle, *vavṛtava* and *vavṛddhvam*. AV. has once *dadṛḡrām*.

814. As irregular imperatives may be reckoned several which show a union-vowel *a*, or have been transferred to an *a*-conjugation. Such are, in the active, *mumōcatam* and *juṣoṣatam* (2d du.), and *mumōcata* (2d pl.); in the middle, *piprāyasva* (only one found with accent), and *māmahasva*, *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛṣasva* (2d sing.), and *māmahantām* (3d pl.: probably to be accented *-āsava* and *-āntām*).

815. Such imperatives as these, taken in connection with some of the subjunctives given above (and a few of the "pluperfect" forms: below, 820), suggest as plausible the assumption of a double present-stem, with reduplication and added *a* (with which the desiderative stems would be comparable: below, 1028 ff.): for example, *juṣoṣa* from *yjuṣ*, from which would come *jūṣoṣasi* etc. and *jūṣoṣate* (811 a) as indicative, *jūṣoṣas* etc. as subjunctively used augmentless imperfect, and *juṣoṣatam* as imperative. Most of the forms given above as subjunctives with primary ending lack a marked and constant subjunctive character, and would pass fairly well as indicatives. And it appears tolerably certain that from one root at least, *vṛdh*, such a double stem is to be recognized; from *vāvṛdha* come readily *vāvṛdhate*, *vāvṛdhānta*, and from it alone can come regularly *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛdhēte* and *vāvṛdhāti* (once, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle *vavṛdhānt* (RV.; AV. *vāvṛdhānt*: an isolated case): yet even here we have also *vāvṛdhithās*, not *vāvṛdhéthās*. To assume double present-stems, however, in all the cases would be highly implausible; it is better to recognize the formation as one begun, but not carried out.

a. Only one other subjunctive with double mode-sign — namely, *papṛcāsi* — is found to set beside *vāvṛdhāti*.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from *y muc*, the subjunctives *mumōcas*, *mūmo-*

cati, and mumucas; from $\sqrt{\text{dhṛṣ}}$, dadhāṛṣati and dadhṛṣate; from $\sqrt{\text{pri}}$, the imperatives piprihi and piprāyasva.

Pluperfect.

817. Of an augment-preterit from the perfect-stem, to which the name of pluperfect is given on the ground of its formation (though not of its meaning), the Veda presents a few examples; and one or two forms of the later language (mentioned above, 788 b) have also been referred to it.

a. There is much of the same difficulty in distinguishing the pluperfect as the perfect modes from kindred reduplicated formations. Between it and the aorist, however, a difference of meaning helps to make a separation.

818. The normal pluperfect should show a strong stem in the singular active, and a weak one elsewhere — thus, *mumoc* and *mumuc* — with augment prefixed and secondary endings added (*us* in 3d pl. act., *ata* in 3d pl. mid.).

a. Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active: 1st sing., *ajagrabham* and *acacakaṣam* (which, by its form, might be aorist: 860); 2d sing. *ājagan*; 3d sing., *ajagan* and *aciket*; 2d du., *amumuktam*; 2d pl. *ājaganta*, and *ājagantana* and *ajabhartana* (a strong form, as often in this person: 558 a); 3d pl. (perhaps), *amamandus* and *amamadus*. To these may be added the augmentless *cākān* and *rārān*, *cikētam* and *cakaram*. In the middle, the 3d pl. *acakriran* and *ajagmiran* (with *iran* instead of *ata*), and the augmentless 2d sing. *jugūrthās* and *suṣupthās*, are the most regular forms to be found.

819. Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. by inserting an *i* (555 b): thus, *ābubhojīs*, *aviveṇīs*; *arirecīt*, *ājagrabhīt* (*avāvarīt* and *avāvaṇītām* are rather intensives); and the augmentless *jīhīhīs* (accent?) and *dadharsīt* belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in *a*; they are, in the active: 3d sing., *asasvajat*, *acikitat*, *acakrat*; in the middle: 3d sing., *āpip-rata*; 2d du., *āpasprdhethām*; 3d pl., *atitviṣanta* (which by its form might be aorist), *ādadhṛhant*; and *cakradat*, *cakṛpānta*, *vāvṛdhānta*, *juhuranta*, would perhaps be best classified here as augmentless forms (compare 811, above).

Uses of the Perfect.

821. Perfects are quotable as made from more than half the roots of the language, and they abound in use at every period and in almost all branches of the literature, though not always with the same value.

a. According to the Hindu grammarians, the perfect is used in the

narration of facts not witnessed by the narrator; but there is no evidence of its being either exclusively or distinctively so employed at any period.

b. In the later language, it is simply a preterit or past tense, equivalent with the imperfect, and freely interchangeable or coördinated with it. It is on the whole less common than the imperfect, although the preferences of different authors are diverse, and it sometimes exceeds the imperfect in frequency (compare 827).

c. The perfects-*veda* and *āha* are everywhere used with present value. In the Brāhmaṇas, also others, especially *dadhara*, also *didāya*, *bibhāya*, etc.

822. In the Brāhmaṇas, the distinction of tense-value between perfect and imperfect is almost altogether lost, as in the later language. But in most of the texts the imperfect is the ordinary tense of narration, the perfect being only exceptionally used. Thus in PB., the imperfects are to the perfects as more than a hundred to one; in the Brāhmaṇa parts of TS. and TB., as over thirty-four to one; and in those of MS. in about the same proportion; in AB., as more than four to one, the perfect appearing mostly in certain passages, where it takes the place of imperfect. It is only in QB. that the perfect is much more commonly used, and even, to a considerable extent, in coördination with the imperfect. Throughout the Brāhmaṇas, however, the perfect participles have in general the true "perfect" value, indicating a completed or proximate past.

823. In the Veda, the case is very different. The perfect is used as past tense in narration, but only rarely; sometimes also it has a true "perfect" sense, or signifies a completed or proximate past (like the aorist of the older language: 828); but oftener it has a value hardly or not at all distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coördinated with them all.

a. Examples are: of perfect with present, *nā grāmyanti nā vimuñcanty ēte vāyo nā paptuḥ* (RV.) *they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds*; *sē 'd u rāja kṣayati carṣapinām arān nā nemih pāri tā babhūva* (RV.) *he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes*; — of perfect with aorist, *ūpo ruroce yuvatir nā yōṣā ... ābhūd agnīḥ samidhe mānuṣāṇām ākar jyōtir bādhamānā tāmāṇai* (RV.) *she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agni hath appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness*; — of perfect with imperfect, *āhann āhim ānv apās tatarda* (RV.) *he slew the dragon, he penetrated to the waters*. Such a coördination as this last is of constant occurrence in the later language: s. g. *mumude 'pūjayao cāi 'nām* (R.) *he was glad, and paid honor to her*; *vastrānte jagrāha skandhadeṣe 'sṛjat tasya srajam* (MBh.) *she took hold of the end of his garment, and dropped a garland on his shoulders*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

824. UNDER the name of aorist are included (as was pointed out above, 532) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely —

I. A SIMPLE AORIST (equivalent to the Greek "second aorist"), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in अ á, or with union-vowel अ a before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the á-class).

II. 3. A REDUPLICATING AORIST, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class, but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel अ a before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the a-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.

III. A SIGMATIC OR SIMILANT AORIST (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign a स s added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary इ i; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel अ a; a very few roots also are increased by स s for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel अ a before endings: 4. s-aorist, with स s alone added to the root; 5. is-aorist, the same with interposed इ i; 6. sis-aorist, the same as the preceding with स s added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel अ a, 7. sa-aorist.

825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or "perfect", translatable by *have done* and the like.

826. The aorist-system is a formation of infrequent occurrence in much of the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeśa, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Çakuntalā, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the Rāmāyaṇa: compare 827 b), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 579; and the so-called precativ: see 921 ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. a. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few aorists occur which are not found in these two.

b. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or "causative" aorist); but no law appears to underlie this variety; of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active of one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.

c. Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, *adhām* and *dhāms* from *√dhā*, *ayuji* and *ayukṣata* from *√yuj*; — of 1 and 5, *agrabham* and *agrabhiṣma* from *√grabh*, *mṛṣthās* and *mārṣiṣthās* from *√mṛṣ*; — of 1 and 2, *ārta* and *ārat* from *√r*; — of 2 and 4, *avidam* and *avitsi* from *√vid* *find*, *anijam* and *anāikāit* from *√ni*; — of 2 and 5, *sanāma* and *asāniṣam* from *√san*; — of 2 and 7, *aruham* and *arukṣat* from *√ruh*; — of 4 and 5, *amatsus* and *amādiṣus* from *√mad*; — of 4 and 6, *hāsmahi* and *hāsiṣus* from *√hā*; — of 1 and 2 and 4, *atnata* and *atanat* and *atān* from *√tan*; — of 1 and 4 and 5, *abudhan* and *ābhutsi* and *bōdhiṣat* from *√budh*, *āstar* and *stṛṣya* and

astaris from *yatr*. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

1. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the *ā*-class, without a corresponding present indicative, but with (more or less fragmentarily) all the other parts which go to make up a complete present-system.

1. Root-aorist.

829. a. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in *घा ā* and the root *भू bhū*, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the *s*-aorist (4), or the *iṣ*-aorist (5).

b. The roots in *घा ā* take *उस् us* as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their *घा ā* before it; *भू bhū* (as in the perfect: 793 a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting *व् v* after it before the endings *अम् am* and *अन् an* of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus:

a.	d.	p.	s.	ḍ.	p.
1 घदाम् ádām	घदाव ádāva	घदाम ádāma	अभूवम् ābhūvam	अभूव ābhūva	अभूम् ābhūma
2 घदाम् ádās	घदातम् ádātām	घदात ádāta	अभूस् ābhūs	अभूतम् ābhūtām	अभूत ābhūta
3 घदात् ádāt	घदाताम् ádātām	घडुस् ádus	अभूत् ābhūt	अभूताम् ābhūtām	अभूवन् ābhūvan ✓

For the classical Sanskrit, this is the whole story.

830. In the Veda, these same roots are decidedly the most frequent and conspicuous representatives of the formation: especially the roots *गā*, *दā*, *धā*, *पā drink*, *स्थā*, *भू*; while sporadic forms are made from *ज्ā*, *प्रā*, *सā*, *हā*. As to their middle forms, see below, 834 a.

a. Instead of *ābhūvam*, RV. has twice *ābhuvam*. BbP. has *agan*, 3d pl., instead of *agnas*.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in *र*, and a few in *i*- and *u*-vowels (short or long):—

with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, *gupa*-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

a. Thus (in the active), from *yçru*, *âçravam* and *âçrot*; from *yçri*, *âçres* and *âçret*; from *ykr* *make*, *âkaram* and *âkar* (for *akara* and *akart*); from *vç* *enclose*, *âvar* (585 a); and so *âstar*, *aspar*. Dual and plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms), *âkarma* and *karma* and *âkarta*, *vartam*, *spartam*, *âhema* and *âhetana*, *bhema*, *açravan*; regular are only *avran*, *âkran*, *ahyan*, and *âçriyan*.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of *gupa*-strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

a. Thus, *âbhedam* and *abhet* from *ybhid*; *âmok* from *ymuc*; *yojam* from *yjuj*; *rok* (VS.) from *yruj*; *arodham* and *arudhma* from *yruhdh*; *avart* from *yvrt*; *vârk* from *yvrj* (AV. has once *avrk*); *adarçam* from *ydrç*; *ârdhma* from *yrdh*; and *adrçan*, *avçjan*, *açvitan*. But *chedma*, with *gupa*, from *ychid*, and *adarçma* (IS.) from *ydrç*.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with a as radical vowel:

a. Of these, *gam* (with *n* for *m* when final or followed by *m*: 143 a, 212 a) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, *âgamam*, *âgan* (2d and 3d sing.), *âganma*, *aganta* (strong form), *âgman*. The other cases are *akran* from *ykrām*; *âtan* from *ytan*; *abhrāt* from *ybhrāj*; *askan* from *yakand*; *asrat* from *yrahs* (? VS.); *dhak* and *daghma* from *ydagh*; *ânāt* (585 a) and *anaçtām* from *ynaç*; *âghas* or *aghat*, *âghastām*, *aghesta*, and *âkšan* (for *aghsan*, like *agman*) from *yghas*; and the 3d pl. in *us*, *âkramus*, *ayamus*, *dabhūs*, *nrtus* (pl.?). *mandūs*.

834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (881) to belong to the *s*-aorist, with omission of the *s*: they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus:

a. From roots ending in vowels, we have *adhithās*, *adhita* (also *ahita*), and *adhīmahi*; *adithās*, *adita*, and *adīmahi* (and *adīmahi* from *ydā euf*): *âçita*(?); *simāhi*; *âsthithās* and *âsthita* and *âsthiran*, forms of *â*-roots; — of *ç*-roots, *akri*, *âkrthās*, *âkrta*, *akrātām*, *âkrata* (and the anomalous *krānta*); *avri*, *avrthās*, *avrita*; *ârta*, *ârata*; *mṛthās*, *amṛta*; *dhṛthās*; *adṛthās*; *astṛta*; *ahṛthās*; *gūrta*; — of *i* and *u* roots, the only examples are *ahvi* (? AV., once), *âhūmahi*, and *âcidhvam*. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a *s* in such forms, and the occurrence of *avri* and *akri* and *âkrata*, show that their reference to the *s*-aorist is probably without sufficient reason.

b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more questionable, since loss of *s* after a final consonant before *thās* and *ta* (and, of

course, dhvam) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (333 c ff.). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root-aorist as ayujī, áyukthās, áyukta, ayujmahi, áyugdhvam, áyujran; āṣṭa and āṣata; nāṣqi; apadi (1st sing.) and apadmahi and apadran; āmanmahi; gānvahi and āganmahi and āgmata; atnata; ājani (1st sing.) and ājñata (3d pl.); from ygam are made agathās and agata, from ytan, atathās and ātata, and from yman, amata, with treatment of the final like that of han in present inflection (637). The ending ran is especially frequent in 3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other middle person of this aorist: thus, agrbbhran, āgrgran, adrgran, abudhran, āvṛtran, ajuṣran, akṛtran, asṛdhran, avasran, āviṣran; and ram is found beside ran in ādrgram, ābudhram, āṣgram.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with a to kā, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing k (instead of ḡ) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are amukthās (and āmugdhvam), apṛkthās and apṛkta, ābhakta, avṛkta, asakthās and asakta, rikthās, vikthās and vikta, arukta; apraṣṭa, ayaṣṭa, āpaṣṭa, asṛṣṭhās and āṣṛṣṭa, and mṛṣṭhās would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of more doubtful belonging, and probably to be ranked in part with the one formation and in part with the other, according to their period and to the occurrence of other persons: chitthās, nutthās and ānutta and ānuddhvam, patthās, bhitthās, amatta, atapthās, alipta, asṛpta; and finally, ārabdha, alabdha, aruddha, abuddha, ayuddha, and drogdhās (MBh.: read drugdhās): see 833.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. Subjunctive. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.

836. a. Of true subjunctives the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, kārāpi, gāni, gamāni (for bhuvāni, see below, c); kāraṣi; sthāti, dāti and dhāti (which are almost indicative in value), karati, joṣati, padāti, bhédati, rādhati, varjati; sthāthas, karathas and karatas, darṣathas, ṇravathas and ṇravatas; and (apparently) karanti, gāmanti. In the middle, joṣase; idhaté (?), kārāte, bhōjate, yojate, vārjate; dhēthe and dhāithe; kārāmahe, dhāmahe, gāmāmahāi.

b. Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, dārṇam, bhojam, yojam; kāras, tārdas, pārcas, yamas, rādhās, vāras; kārat, gāmat, garat, joṣat, daghat, padāt, yāmat, yodhat, rādhāt, varat, vārtat, ṇrāvat, sāghat, spārat; kārāma, gamāma, rādhāma; gāman,

garan, dārṇan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The series *bhuvam*, *bhúvas*, *bhúvat*, *bhúvan*, and *bhuvāni* (compare *abhuvam*: 830 a), and the isolated *ṇrúvat*, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a *guṇa*-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of *guṇa* in the aorist indicative and the perfect of *√bhū*).

837. Optative. The optative active of this aorist constitutes, with a *s* interposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the precative active of the Hindu grammarians, and is allowed by them to be made from every verb, they recognizing no connection between it and the aorist. But in the 2d sing. the interposed *s* is not distinguishable from the personal ending; and, after the earliest period (see 838), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing., which thus comes to end in *yāt* instead of *yās* (compare 555 a).

a. In the older language, however, pure optative forms, without the *s*, are made from this tense. From roots in *ā* occur (with change of *ā* to *e* before the *y*: 250 d) *deyām*, *dheyām* and *dheyus*, and *stheyāma*; in *u*-vowels, *bhūyāma*; in *r*, *kriyāma*; in consonants, *aṇyām* and *aṇyāma* and *aṇyus*, *vṛjyām*, *ṇakyām*, *yujyāva* and *yujyātām*, *sāhyāma*, and *ṛdyus*.

b. The optative middle of the root-aorist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the precative formation. The RV. has, however, two precative forms of it, namely *padīṣṭā* and *mucīṣṭā*. Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms: namely, *aṇiyā* and *aṇimāhi* (this optative is especially common), *indhīya*, *gmiya*, *muriyā*, *ruciya*; *arita*, *uhita*, *varita*; *idhīmahi*, *naṇīmahi*, *nasīmahi*, *preīmahi*, *mudīmahi*, *yamīmahi*; and probably, from *ā*-roots, *sīmāhi* and *dhīmāhi* (which might also be augmentless indicative, since *adhīmāhi* and *adhītām* also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing. might be precative according to the general understanding of that mode, as being of persons which even by the native authorities are not claimed ever to exhibit the inserted sibilant.

838. Precative active forms of this aorist are made from the earliest period of the language. In RV., they do not occur from any root which has not also other aorist forms of the same class to show. The RV. forms are: 1st sing., *bhūyāsam*; 2d sing., *avyās*, *jñeyās*, *bhūyās*, *mṛdhyās*, *sahyās*; 3d sing. (in *-yās*, for *-yāst*; RV. has no 3d sing. in *yāt*, which is later the universal ending), *avyās*, *aṇyās*, *ṛdhyās*, *gamyās*, *daghyās*, *peyās*, *bhūyās*, *yamyās*, *yūyās*, *vṛjyās*, *ṇrūyās*, *sahyās*; 1st pl., *kriyāma* (beside *kriyāma*: 837 a). AV. has six 1st persons sing. in *-yāsam*, one 2d in *-yās*, one 3d in *-yāt* (and one in *-yās*, in a RV. passage), three 1st pl. in *-yāma* (beside one in *yāma*, in a RV. passage), and the 2d *bhūyāstha* (doubtless a false reading; TB. has *-sta* in the corresponding passage). From this time on, the pure optative forms nearly

disappear (the exceptions are given in 837 a). But the precative forms are nowhere common, excepting as made from *ybhū*; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only *bhūyāsa* and *bhūyāstām* being wanting; and these two persons have no representative from any root). All together, active optative or precative forms are made in the older language from over fifty roots; and the epic and classical texts add them from hardly a dozen more: see further 925.

839. Imperative. Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not rare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d sing. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as *kṛvā*, *dhiṣvā*, *yukṣvā*, or on the root, as *mātsva*, *yāksva*, *vāṇsva*, *rāsva*, *sāksva*; *diṣva* and *māsva* are not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by *kṛdhvam*, *voḍhvam*. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., *kṛdhī*, *vṛdhī*, *ṣaḍdhī*, *ṣrudhī*, *gadhi*, *yaṁdhī*, *gahi*, *māhi*, *sāhi*, *mogdhī*; 3d sing., *gaṁtu*, *dātu*, *aṣtu*, *ṣrōtu*, *sōtu*; 2d du., *dātām*, *jitām*, *ṣaktām*, *ṣrutām*, *bhūtām*, *spṛtām*, *gatām*, *riktām*, *voḍhām*, *sītām*, *sutām*; 3d du., only *gaṁtām*, *dātām*, *voḍhām*; 2d pl., *gātā*, *bhūtā*, *ṣruta*, *kṛta*, *gata*, *dāta*, *dhātana*; 3d pl., only *dhāntu*, *ṣruvantu*. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities as to both accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are *yaṁtām*, *varktām*, *vartām*; *kārta*, *gāṁta* (once *gaṁtā*), *yāṁta*, *vartta*, *heta*, *ṣrōta*, *sōta*; and, with *tana*, *kārtana*, *gāṁtana*, *yaṁtana*, *sotana*, and the irregular *dhetana* (*ydhā*); in 3d du., *gāṁtām*. Much more irregular are *yōdhi* (instead of *yuddhī*) from *yudh*, and *bodhī* from both *ybudh* and *ybhū* (instead of *buddhī* and *bhūdhī*). A single form (3d sing.) in *tāt* is found, namely *ṣatāt*. We find *kṛdhī* also later (MBh. BbP.).

a. As to 2d persons singular in *si* from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 824.

Participles of the Root-aorist.

840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.

a. In the active, they are extremely few: namely, *kránt* (?), *gmánt*, *sthánt*, *bhidánt*, *vṛdhánt*, *dyutant*—(only in composition), and probably *ṛdhánt*. And BbP. has *mṛṣant* (but probably by error, for *mṛṣyant*).

b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, *arāpā*, *idhānā*, *krāpā*, *juṣāṇā*, *ṭṛṣāṇā*, *nidānā*, *piṣāṇā*, *preānā*, *prathānā*, *budhānā*, *bhiyānā*, *manānā*, *mandānā*, *yuṣāṇā*, *ruṣāṇā*, *vipānā*, *vṛāṇā*, *urāpā*, *ṣubhānā*, *saṣāṇā*, *suvānā* or *svānā*, *ṣṛjānā*, *spṛdhānā*, *hiyānā*;—but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, *cītāna*, *cyāvāna*, *rūhāṇa*, *ūhāna* (pres.?), *vāsāna*, *ṣumbhāna*;—while a few show both accentuations

(compare 819 d): thus, *dr̥ṣāná* and *dṛṣāna*, *dyutāná* and *dyūtāna*, *yatāná* and *yātāna*; and *oetāna* and *hrayāna* occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely *citāna*, *dyutāna*, *ruhāna*, *vasāna*, *suvāna*; and *-kupāna* occurs once in *Āpast.* (xiv. 28. 4).

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are about a hundred and thirty; over eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

Passive Aorist third person singular.

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevaillingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a regular part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the proper third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense.

843. This person is formed by adding $\tilde{\text{z}}$ i to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

a. The ending i belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in i as do, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and also the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present of the root-class (813), which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost off is extremely improbable; and hence, as an aorist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-aorist.

844. Before the ending $\tilde{\text{z}}$ i, a final vowel, and usually also a medial $\tilde{\text{a}}$ before a single consonant, have the *vyddhi*-strengthening; other medial vowels have the *guṇa*-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final $\tilde{\text{a}}$ is added $\tilde{\text{u}}$ y.

a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in $\tilde{\text{a}}$, *ājñāyi*, *ādhāyi*, *āpāyi*; in other vowels, *āgrāyi*, *āstāvi*, *āhāvi*, *ākāri*, *āstāri*; — from roots with medial i, u, ṛ, *aceti*, *ācchedi*, *aṇṇi*, *ābodhi*, *āmooi*, *āyoji*, *ādarṣi*, *asārji*, *varhi*; from roots with medial a strengthened, *agāmi*, *āpādi*, *ayāmi*, *avāci*, *vāpi*, *āsādi* (these are all the earlier cases); with a unchanged, only *ājani* (and RV. has once *jāni*), and, in heavy syllables, *āmyakṣi*, *vandi*, *ṇahsi*, *syandi*; with medial $\tilde{\text{a}}$, *ābhrāji*, *ārādhi*; — from roots with initial vowel, *ārdhi* (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in *am*, and *yvadh*, retain the *a* unchanged; quotable are *ājani* (or *ājāni*), *agami* (or *agāmi*),

asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, adañci, arambhi, arandhi, ajambhi, abhañji or abhāji, alambhi (always, with prepositions) or alābhi, astambhi; ÇB. has asañji.

c. Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already given) are: dhāyi, grāvi, bhāri, reci, vōdi, roci, jāni, pādi, sādī, ardhi. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable (SV. dhāyī is doubtless a false reading).

845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about twenty to the number; from the later language are quotable thirty or forty more; in the epics they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as gam, pad, sad, bhrāj, rādh, ruc, sañ, they have (like the so-called passive participle in ta: 952) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 [?]; VS. xviii. 15; TB. ii. 6. 10²) they appear even to be used transitively.

2. The a-aorist.

846. a. This aorist is in the later language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred). It is made in both voices, but is rare in the middle, most of the roots forming their middle according to the s-class (878 ff.) or the iṣ-class (898 ff.).

b. Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the á-class (751 ff.); its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root—save the roots in ऋ ऌ (three or four only), which have the guṇa-strengthening.

c. As example of inflection may be taken the root सिच् *sic* pour. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1. असिचम् ásicam	असिचाव ásicāva	असिचाम् ásicāma	असिचे ásice	असिचावहि ásicāvahi	असिचामहि ásicāmahī
2. असिचन् ásicas	असिचतम् ásicatam	असिचत ásicata	असिचयाम् ásicathās	असिचेयाम् ásicethām	असिचधाम् ásicadhvam
3. असिचत् ásicat	असिचताम् ásicatām	असिचन् ásican	असिचत ásicata	असिचेताम् ásicetām	असिचत् ásicanta

847. The a-aorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-aorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of aorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brāhmaṇa together about eighty roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the ā-class, having a vowel capable of gūṇa-strengthening before a final consonant (754): thus, with i, *chid*, *bhid*, *nij*, *ric*, *riṣ*, *lip*, *vid*, *1ṣiṣ* (*ṣās*), *2ṣiṣ*, *ṣriṣ*, *ṣliṣ*, *sic*, *aridh*; —with u, *krudh*, *kṣudh*, *guh*, *duṣ*, *dyut*, *drub*, *puṣ*, *budh*, *bhuj*, *muc*, *mruc*, *yuj*, *ruc*, *rud*, *rudh*, *muh*, *ruh*, *quc*; —with ṛ, *ṛdh*, *kṛt*, *grdh*, *grh*, *tṛp*, *tṛṣ*, *tṛh*, *dṛp*, *dṛṣ*, *dhṛṣ*, *nṛt*, *mṛdh*, *mṛṣ*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *vṛṣ*, *sṛp*, *kṛṣ*. A small number end in vowels: thus, *ṛ*, *kṛ*, *aṛ* (which have the gūṇa-strengthening throughout), *hi* (? *ahyat* once in AV.), and several in ā, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their ā to a: thus, *khyā*, *hvā*, *vyā*, *ṣvā*, and *dā* and *dhā*; and *āsthat*, regarded by the grammarians as aorist to *yās throw*, is doubtless a like formation from *ysthā*. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this aorist is lost: thus, *bhraṇṣ*, *taṇs*, *dhvaṇs*, *sraṇs*, *kraṇd*, *randh*. Of less classifiable character are *aṣ*, *kram*, *gam*, *ghas*, *tam*, *ṣam*, *ṣram*, *tan*, *san*, *sad*, *āp*, *das*, *yas*, *ṣak*, *dagh*. The roots *pat*, *naṣ*, *vac* form the tense-stems *papta*, *neṣa*, *voca*, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists from the same roots (see below, 854).

a. Many of these aorists are simply transfers of the root-aorist to an a-inflection. Conspicuous examples are *akarat* etc. and *agamat* etc. (in the earliest period only *akar* and *agan*).

848. The inflection of this aorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model *avidam*, from *yvid find*, of which the various persons and modes are more frequent and in fuller variety than those of any other verb. Only the forms actually quotable are instanced; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than *vid* are bracketed. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	ávidam	ávidāva	ávidāma	ávide	[ávidāvahi]	ávidāmahi
2	ávidas		[ávidata]	[ávidathās]		
3	ávidat		ávidan	[avidata]	[avidetām]	ávidanta

a. The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have *áhve* etc., *ákhve* etc., *ávide* (?) and *avidanta*, *avocathās* and *avocāvahi* (and *avidāmahe* GB. and *asikāmahe* KB. are doubtless to be amended to *-mahi*).

b. Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are: *ruhām*, *ar̥pas*, *bhujāt*, *vidāt*, *aratām*, *vocata*, *çakan*; *vidata* and *vyāta* (3d sing.), *arāmahi*, *çīṣāmahi*, *vidānta*, *budhānta*, *mṛṣanta* (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, 853).

Modes of the a-aorist.

849. The subjunctive forms of this aorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:

1	[vidāva]	vidāma	[vidāmahe]
2	{vidāai vidās	vidāthās	vidātha
3	vidāt	[vidātāiP]	

a. The ending *thana* is found once, in *riṣāthana*. Of middle forms occur only *çīṣtāi* (AV.; but doubtless misreading for *çīṣyātāi*) and *çīṣāmahe* (AV., for RV. *çīṣāmahi*). The form *sādathas* seems an indicative, made from a secondary present-stem.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, *bhideyam*, *vidéyam*, *sanéyam* (TS. once *sanem*); *vidés*, *games*; *gamet*, *vocet*; *gametam*; *gaméma*, *çakéma*, *sanéma*; *vareta*; in middle, (only) *videya*; *gamemahi*, *vanemahi*; *ruhethās* etc. in the epics must be viewed rather as present forms of the ā-class.

a. A single middle precative form occurs, namely *videṣṭa* (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.

851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from *yśad* (including *sadatana*, 2d pl.), and the middle *sadantām*. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, *sāna*, *sāra*, *ruha*, *vidā*; *ruhātām*, *vidātām*; *khyāta*. TS. has once *vṛdhātu* (compare 740).

Participles of the a-aorist.

852. a. The active participles *tyṣant*, *riṣant* or *riṣant*, *vṛdhant*, *çīṣant*, *qucānt*, *sādant*, and (in participial compounds, 1308) *kṛtant*, *guhant*-, *vidant*- (all RV.), are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

b. Likewise the middle participles *guhāmāna*, *dhṛṣāmāna*, *dāsa-māna* (?), *nytāmāna*, *qucāmāna*, and perhaps *vṛdhāna*, *sridhāna*.

Irregularities of the a-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here.

The roots in *ṛ*, which (847) show a strengthening like that of the

present of the unaccented *a*-class, have likewise the accent upon the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from *yṛ*, *āraṇta* (augmentless 3d pl.), *sārat* and *sāra*. The root *sad* follows the same rôle: thus, *sāda-tam*; and from *y'san* are found *sānas* and *sānat*, and *sānema* and *sāna*, beside *sanōyam* and *sanēma*. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the *bhū*-class (unaccented *a*-class) present-system. On the other hand, *rūhat* (beside *ruhām*, *ruhāva*, *ruhātam*), *qīṣat* and *qīṣātāl* (?), and *rīṣant* or *rīṣant* are more isolated cases. In view of such as these, the forms from the stem *bhūva* and *qrūva* (836 c) are perhaps to be referred hither. From *y'vac*, the optative is accented *voōyam*, *voōés*, *voōéma*, *voōéyus*; elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, *vóce*, *vóest*, *vócati*, *vócantā*.

854. a. The stem *voō* has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV, especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from *y'vac*. Besides those already given, we find *voōā* (1st sing. impv.) and *voōāti*, *voōāvahāi*; *voōes*, *voōeya*, *voōemahi*; *vocatāt* (2d sing.), *vocatū*, *vocatam*, *vocatā*.

b. Of the stem *neṣa* only *neṣat* occurs.

c. The root *qās* (as in some of its present forms: 839) is weakened to *qīṣ*, and makes *aqīṣam*.

855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made in the oldest language from some roots beside the aorist-systems of the first two classes. It must be left for maturer research to determine how far they may be relics of original presents, and how far recent productions, made in the way of conversion of the aorist-stem to a root in value.

a. Such forms are the following: from *y'kr* *make*, *kārṣi*, *kṛthas*, *kṛtha*, *kṛṣe*; from *y'gam*, *gathā*; from *y'ci* *gather*, *ceti*; from *y'dā* *give*, *dāti*, *dātu*; from *y'dhā* *put*, *dhāti*; from *y'pā* *drink*, *pāthās*, *pānti*; from *y'bhr*, *bharti*; from *y'muc*, *mucānti*; from *y'rudh*, *rudh-mas* (?); from *y'vrt*, *vartti*.

II. (3) Reduplicated Aorist.

856. The reduplicated aorist is different from the other forms of aorist in that it has come to be attached in almost all cases to the derivative (causative etc.) conjugation in *शु* *āya*, as the aorist of that conjugation, and is therefore liable to be made from all roots which have such a conjugation, beside the aorist or aorists which belong to their primary conjugation. Since, however, the connection of

the two is not a formal one (the aorist being made directly from the root, and not from the causative stem), but rather a matter of established association, owing to kinship of meaning, the formation and inflection of this kind of aorist is best treated here, along with the others.

857. Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable, by which it is assimilated, on the one hand, to the imperfect of the reduplicating class (856 ff.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect (817 ff.). But the aorist reduplication has taken on a quite peculiar character, with few traces left even in the Veda of a different condition which may have preceded this.

858. a. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (590). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an a-vowel and *r* (or *ar*) are usually (for exceptions, see below, 860) repeated by an i-vowel — as they are, to a considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (680).

b. But in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable — which relation is brought about wherever the conditions allow. Thus:

859. If the root is a light syllable (having a short vowel followed by a single consonant), the reduplication is made heavy.

a. And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with *i* for radical a or *r* or *l* (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, *arīṣam*, *adūḍam*, *ajījanam*, *avīṛdham*, *acīkṣam*. The great majority of reduplicated aorists are of this form.

b. If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vowel,

the vowel remains short: thus, *acikṣipam*, *acukrudham*, *atitrasam*, *apiṣṭṛcam*.

860. If the root is a heavy syllable (having a long vowel, or a short before two consonants), the vowel of the reduplication is short: and in this case अ a or ए a, and इ ऋ (if it occurs), are reduplicated by ए a.

a. Thus, *adidikṣam*, *abubhūṣam* (not quotable), *adadakṣam*, *adadhāvam*, *ataśāsam*. And, in the cases in which a root should both begin and end with two consonants, both syllables would be necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, *apapraccham*, *acaskandam* (but no such forms are found in use).

b. A medial ण is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by a: thus, *acakarṣat*, *avavarṣat* (beside *acikṣat*, *avivṛtat*); but no such forms have been met with in use.

c. These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 B.).

861. a. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in *ariradham* from *yrādh*, *avivaṣam* from *ṽvāṣ*, *asiṣadham* from *ṽsādh*, *ajīvivam* from *ṽjīv*, *adidipam* (K. and later: RV. has *didīpas*) from *ṽdīp*, *abibhīṣam* from *ṽbhīṣ*, *asūsucam* from *ṽsūc*; or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in *acikradam* from *ṽkrand*, *asiṣyadam* from *ṽsyand*.

b. In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in *āp*, the ā is abbreviated to i: thus, *atiṣṭhipam* etc., *ajījñipat* (but KSS. *ajījñapat*), *jīhipas*, *ajījīpata* (but VS. *ajījīpata*); but from *ṣrap* comes *aṣīṣrapāma* (ÇB.).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only *āmamat* (or *amamat*) from *ṽam*, *āpipan* (ÇB.: BAU. *āpipipat*) from *ṽāp*, and *arpipam* (augmentless) from the causative stem *arp* of *ṽṛ*—in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as *ārcicam* from *ṽarc*, *āubhijam* from *ṽubj*, *ārjham* from *ṽarh*, *ācikṣam* from *ṽikṣ*, *ārdidham* from *ṽrdh*. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.

863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:

a. From *ṽdyut* is made (V.B.) the stem *didyuta*, taking its reduplicating vowel from the radical semivowel. From *ṽgup*, instead of *jūgupa* (B.S.), JB. has *jūgūpa*, and some texts (B.S.) have *jugupa*; and *jīhvara* (B.) is met with beside the regular *jīhvara* (V.B.). In *caccha-*

da (Nir.), and the more or less doubtful *paprātha* and *ṣaṣvacā* and *śasvaja* (RV.) we have a instead of i in the reduplication.

b. In support of their false view of this aorist as made from the causative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians teach that roots ending in an u-vowel may reduplicate with i, as representing the ā of the strengthened stem: thus, *bībhava* from *bhāv-aya*, as well as *būbhava* from *bhū*. No example of such a formation, however, is met with except *āpiplavam* (ÇB., once); against it we find *dudruva*, *būbhava*, *rūruva*, *ṣuṣruva*, and others.

c. As to *apaptam*, *avocam*, and *aneṣam*, see above, 847.

864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has *अ* a as final stem-vowel, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions (733a). Thus, from *जन्* *jan* give birth (stem *jījana*):

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d. ✓	p.
1. <i>जनीजन्म्</i>	<i>जनीजनाव</i>	<i>जनीजनाम्</i>	<i>जनीजिने</i>	<i>जनीजिनावकि</i>	<i>जनीजिनामकि</i>
<i>ājījanam</i>	<i>ājījanāva</i>	<i>ājījanāma</i>	<i>ājījane</i>	<i>ājījanāvahi</i>	<i>ājījanāmahi</i>
2. <i>जनीजन्म्</i>	<i>जनीजनतम्</i>	<i>जनीजनत</i>	<i>जनीजनवाम्</i>	<i>जनीजिनेवाम्</i>	<i>जनीजनधम्</i>
<i>ājījanas</i>	<i>ājījanatam</i>	<i>ājījanata</i>	<i>ājījanathās</i>	<i>ājījanethām</i>	<i>ājījanadhvam</i>
3. <i>जनीजिनत्</i>	<i>जनीजनताम्</i>	<i>जनीजिनन्</i>	<i>जनीजनत</i>	<i>जनीजिनेताम्</i>	<i>जनीजनन्त</i>
<i>ājījanat</i>	<i>ājījanatām</i>	<i>ājījanan</i>	<i>ājījanata</i>	<i>ājījanetām</i>	<i>ājījananta</i>

865. The middle forms are rare in the older language (the 3d pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all, both active and middle, are quotable except 1st and 2d du. middle and 1st du. active.

a. *Atitape* appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final *र* has the *guṇa*-strengthening before the endings: thus, *acīkarat*, *apīparam*, *atītaras*, *dīdaras*, *adīdharat*, *amīmarat*, *avivaran*, *jihvaras*. Of similar strengthened forms from *i* and *u*-roots are found *apīprayan* (TS.), *abībhayanta* (RV.), *apīplavam* (ÇB.), *acucyavat* (K.), *aṣuṣravat* (MS.), *atuṣṭavam* (RV.). Not many roots ending in other vowels than *र* make this aorist: see below, 868.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, *asvavap* (2d sing., augmentless) from *√svap*, and *aṣignat* from *√gnath*; from roots in *र* or *ar*, *dīdhar* (2d sing.), and *aṣigar* (2d and 3d sing.); for roots in *i*- and *u*-vowels, see 866. Of 3d pl. in us are found almost only a form

or two from *i-* and *u-*roots, with *guṇa* before the ending: thus, *açiqrayas*, *acucyavus*, *acuçravus*, *asuçavus*; but also *abibhajus* (ÇB.), and *ninaçus* (MBh.).

868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this aorist as a part of their primary conjugation: they are *çri* and *çvi*, *dru* and *aru*, *kam*, and *dhā suet* (*çvi* and *dhā* optionally).

a. In the older language are found from *çri* *açiqret* and *açiqrayus* (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and *açiqriyat* (ÇB.); from *çru*, *adudrot* and *adudruvat* (TB.: not used as aorist); from *çru*, *asusrot* and (augmentless) *susros* and *susrot*; from *çam*, *acikametām* and *-manta* (B.S.). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in *u* or *ū*: thus, *anūnot* and *nūnot* from *çnu*; *yūyot* from *çyu* *separate*; *dūdhot* from *çdhū*; *apupot* from *çpū*; *tūtos* and *tūtot* from *çtu*; *asuçot* from *çsū*; — and one or two from roots in *i* or *ī*: thus, *açet* from *çai* (or *sā*) *bind*; *amlmet* from *çmā* *bellow*; *apipres* (with *apiprayan*, noticed above) from *çpri* (and the "Imperfects" from *didhi* etc., 878, are of corresponding form). And from *çyu* are made, with union-vowel *i*, *acucyavit* and *acucyavitana*. Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect-system.

b. From the later language are quotable only *açiqriyat* etc. (Sd 11, *-yan* or *-yus*) and *adudruvat*.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

869. a. As in other preterit formations, the augmentless indicative persons of this aorist are used subjunctively, and they are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.

b. Of the latter are found only *rīradhā* (1st sing.); *tītapāsi*; *cikīpāti* and *siçadhāti*, and *piçpṛçati* (as if corresponding to an indicative *apiçpṛk*, like *açiqnat*); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. *çaçvacāi*.

c. The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, *dīdharas*, *nīnaças*; *jījanat*, *pīparat*; *jījanan*; also *siçvap*; but, on the other hand, we have also *pīparat*, *çiqrāthas* and *çiqnāthat*, and *dudrāvat* and *tuçtāvat* (which may perhaps belong to the perfect: compare 810). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it.

870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "precative" *ririçīṣṭa* (*ririçīṣṭa* has been ranked above with *sāsahīṣṭa*, as a perfect: 812 b). *Cucyuvimahi* and *cucyavīrata* belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of Imperatives, we have the indubitable forms *pūpurantu* and *çiqrathantu*. And *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā*, and *dīdhṛtam* and *dīdhṛtā*,

and *jajastām* (all RV. only), and perhaps *suṣṭāda* (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) *ajigar* and *adidhar*; their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated Imperfects (656 ff.), with which we are probably to regard this aorist as ultimately related.

872. No participle is found belonging to the reduplicated aorist.

873. The number of roots from which this aorist is met with in the earlier language is about a hundred and twenty. In the later Sanskrit it is unusual; in the series of later texts mentioned above (836) it occurs only twice; and it has been found quotable from hardly fifty roots in the whole epic and classical literature.

III. Sigmatic or Sibilant Aorist.

874. a. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this aorist is a *स्* (convertible to *ष्*; 180) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.

b. This sibilant has no analogues among the class-signs of the present-system; but it is to be compared with that which appears (and likewise with or without the same union-vowel *i*) in the stems of the future tense-system (932 ff.) and of the desiderative conjugation (1027 ff.).

c. To the root thus increased the augment is prefixed and the secondary endings are added.

875. In the case of a few roots, the sibilant tense-stem (always ending in *क्स्*) is further increased by an *अ*, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second or a-conjugation.

876. a. In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem, and the inflection is like that of an imperfect of the first or non-a-conjugation.

b. And these, again, fall into two nearly equal and strongly marked classes, according as the sibilant is added immediately to the final of the root, or with an auxiliary vowel *इ* *i*, making the tense-sign *इष्*. Finally, before this *इष्* the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a *स्*, making the whole addition *मिष्* *siṣ*.

877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:

4. with स् simply after the root: s-aorist;
5. with इ i before the स् s: iṣ-aorist;
6. the same, with स् s at end of root: siṣ-aorist.

B. With घ a added to the sibilant before the endings:

7. with sibilant and घ a: sa-aorist.

a. As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary i in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay down any strict rules as to this accordance. Compare 903. ✓

4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स् s to the augmented root, of which also the vowel is usually strengthened.

879. The general rules as to the strengthening of the root-vowel are these:

a. A final vowel (including ऋ र) has the वृद्धि-change in the active, and (excepting ऋ र) गुप्ता in the middle: thus, from √नी lead, active stem घनैष् anāis, middle stem घनेष् aneṣ; from √श्रु gra hear, घश्रौष् aṣrāuṣ and घश्रौष् aṣroṣ; from √कृ kr make, घकार्ष् skārṣ and घकृष् akṛṣ.

b. A medial vowel has the वृद्धि-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from √चन्द chand seem, active stem घच्छात्स् acohānta, middle stem घच्छत्स् acchanta; from √रिच् rio leave, घरीत् arāikṣ and घरित् arikṣ; from √रुध rudh obstruct, घरौत् arāute and घरुत् aruta; from √सृज् sṛj pour out, घस्रात् asrāṁṣ and घसृत् asṛṣ.

880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उस् us (not घन् an) in 3d pl. act., and घत ata (not घत anta) in 3d pl. mid.

b. But before म् s and त् t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an इ i , making the endings इम् Is and इत् It .

c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.): see below, 888.

881. a. Before endings beginning with t or th , the tense-sign s is (233 c-e) omitted after the final consonant of a root — unless this be r , or n or m (converted to *anusvāra*).

b. The same omission is of course made before dhvam after a consonant; and after a vowel the sibilant is either omitted or assimilated (the equivalence of dhv and ddhv in the theories of the grammarians and the practice of the manuscripts makes it impossible to say which: 232); and then the ending becomes qhvam , provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been q (226 c): thus, astodqhvam and avṛqhvam (beside astodqata and avṛqata); drqhvam (ydr regard: QB., once), which is to drthās (2d sing.) as avṛqhvam and avṛqata to avṛi and avṛthās ; and kṛqhvam (M.).

c. According to the grammarians, the omission of s before t and th takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (834 a) that this is to be viewed rather as a substitution in those persons of the forms of the root-aorist. Neither in the earlier nor in the later language, however, does any example occur of an aorist-form with s retained after a short vowel before these endings.

d. After the final sonant aspirate of a root, the sibilant before the same endings is said by the Hindu grammarians to disappear altogether, the combination of the aspirate with the th or t of the ending being then made according to the ordinary rule for such cases (160): thus, from the stem arāuts , for arāudh-s , is made arāuddha , as if from $\text{arāudh} + \text{ta}$ directly. No example of such a form is quotable from the literature; but the combination is established by the occurrence of other similar cases (233 f). In the middle, in like manner, $\text{aruts} + \text{ta}$ becomes aruddha , as if from $\text{arudh} + \text{ta}$; but all such forms admit also of being understood as of the root-aorist. Those that have been found to occur were given above (834 d); probably they belong at least in part to this aorist.

e. From the three nasal roots gam , tan , man are made the 2d and 3d sing. mid. persons agathās and agata , atathās and atata , and amata (amathās not quotable), reckoned by the native grammarians as *s*-aorist forms, made, after loss of their final root-nasal, with loss also of the sibilant after a short vowel. They are doubtless better referred to the root-aorist. But JB. has a corresponding 1st sing. ataṣi from y'tan .

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of

sibilant aorist we may take the roots नी *nī lead*, and हिद् *chid cut off*. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 घनैयम् ánāiṣam	घनैष ánāiṣva	घनैष्म ánāiṣma	घनैषि áneṣi	घनैषहि áneṣvahi	घनैष्महि áneṣmahi
2 घनैषीम् ánāiṣis	घनैष्टम् ánāiṣṭam	घनैष्ट ánāiṣṭa	घनैष्टास् áneṣṭhās	घनैष्टावाम् áneṣṭhām	घनैष्टुम् áneṣṭhvam
3 घनैषीत् ánāiṣit	घनैष्टाम् ánāiṣṭām	घनैषुस् ánāiṣus	घनैष्ट áneṣṭa	घनैष्टाताम् áneṣṭātām	घनैषत áneṣata

active.		
s.	d.	p.
1 घचैत्सम् ácchāitsam	घचैत्स्व ácchāitsva	घचैत्सम् ácchāitsma
2 घचैत्सीम् ácchāitsis	घचैत्तम् ácchāittam	घचैत्त ácchāitta
2 घचैत्सीत् ácchāitsit	घचैत्ताम् ácchāittām	घचैत्सुस् ácchāitsus

middle.		
1 घच्छित्सि ácchitsi	घच्छित्स्वहि ácchitsvahi	घच्छित्समहि ácchitamahi
2 घच्छित्त्वाम् ácchitthās	घच्छित्सावाम् ácchitsāthām	घच्छिद्धुम् áccchiddhvam
3 घच्छित् ácchitta	घच्छित्साताम् ácchitsātām	घच्छित्सत ácchitsata

a. From *yru*dh construct, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be áruddham, áruddhām, áruddha, áruddhās, áruddha; from *yarj* pour out, áraṣṭam, áraṣṭām, áraṣṭa, áraṣṭhās, áraṣṭa; from *ydr̥c* see, ádrāṣṭam etc. (as from *arj*). But from *ykr̥* do the same persons in the active are ákaraṣṭam, ákaraṣṭām, ákaraṣṭa; from *yta*n stretch they are átāṇstam, átāṇstām, átāṇsta.

883. The omission of *s* in the active persons (áccchāittam, áccchāittām, áccchāitta) is a case of very rare occurrence; all the quotable examples were given above (233 e). As to the like omission in middle persons, see 881. The CHU. has twice ávāstam for avāts-tam (*yvas dwell*): this may be viewed as another case of total disappearance of the sibilant, and consequent restoration of the final radical to its original form.

884. Certain roots in *ā* weaken the *ā* in middle inflection to *i* (as also in the root-aorist: above, 834 a): these are said to be *sthā*, *dā*, and *dhā*; in the older language have been noted *ādiṣi* and *adiṣata* from *√dā gīce* (and *adiṣi* perhaps once from *√dā bind*), *adhiṣi* and *adhiṣata* (with the optative *dhiṣiṣya*) from *√dhā put*, and *asthiṣata*; also *agiṣṭhās* and *agiṣata* from *√gā go* (with *adhi*).

a. The middle inflection of the aorist of *√dā* would be, then, according to the grammarians: *ādiṣi*, *ādithās*, *ādita*; *ādiṣvahi*, *ādiṣāthām*, *ādiṣātām*; *ādiṣmahi*, *ādiṣhvam*, *ādiṣata*.

885. Roots ending in changeable *ṛ* (so-called roots in *ṛ*: 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to *īṛ* in middle forms: thus, *astīṛṣi*, *astīṛṣhās* etc. (from *√atṛ*); of such forms, however, has been found in the older language only *akīṛṣata*, PB.

886. The s-aorist is made in the older language from about a hundred and forty roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.); and the epic and classical literature adds but a very small number. It has in the Veda certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes — of which the optative middle is retained also later as a part of the "precative" (but see 925 b).

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are as follows:

a. The strengthening of the root-syllable is now and then irregularly made or omitted: thus, *ayokṣīt* (AB.), *chetsis* (BS.; also occurs in MBh., which has further *yotsis*, *rotsis* (KU.); *amateus* (RV.); *ayānhei* and *arāutsi* (AB.), *asākṣi* etc. (V.B.: *√sah*), *mānsta* (AV.) and *mānštām* (TA.); *lopsiya* (U.); and MBh. has *drogdhās*. From *√saj* is made *sāṅkṣīt* (U. etc.), and from *√majj*, *amāṅkṣīt* (not quotable). The form *ayuṅkṣamahi* (BhP.) is doubtless a false reading.

b. A radical final nasal is lost in *agasmahi* (RV.) and *gasāthām* (TA.) from *√gam*, and in the optatives *masiṣya* and *vasimahi* (RV.) from *√man* and *van*.

c. The roots *hū*, *dhū*, and *nū* have *ū* instead of *o* in the middle: thus, *ahūṣata*, *adhūṣata*, *anūṣi* and *anūṣātām* and *anūṣata*; *√dhur* (or *dhūrv*) makes *adhūrṣata*.

d. QB. has once *atrāsatām* for *atrāstām* (*√trā*).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of *ī* in the endings of 2d and 3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (150). The forms without *ī* are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, *adrāk*, occurs in GB.; one, *ayāt*, in KB.; and two, *adrāk* and *ayāt*, in QB.; PB. has none).

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, *aprās* (for both *aprās-s* and *aprās-t*) from *yprā*; and in like manner *ahās* from *yhā*; — *ajāis* (for *ajāis-t*) from *yji*; and in like manner *acāis* from *yci*, and *nāis* (augmentless) from *yñi*; — and *yāus* (for *ayāus-t*) from *yYu*.

a. But (as in other like cases: 555 a) the ending is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have in 3d sing. *ajāit* (beside *ajāis* and *ajāiṣt*) from *yji*; and in like manner *acāit*, *aqrāit*, *ahāit*, *nāit* (no examples have been noted except from roots in *i* and *ī*): compare *ayās* and *srās*, 2d sing., 890 a.

890. a. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, *abhār* (for *abhārṣ-t*: beside *abhārṣam*, *abhārṣtām*) from *ybhṛ*; other like cases are *ahār*, and (from roots in *ar*) *akṣār*, *atsār*, *asvār*, *hvar*. Further, *ārāik* (585 a: for *arāikṣ-t*) from *yric*; like cases are *aṣvāit* from *yṣvit*, and (from roots with medial *u*) *adyāt* from *ydyut*, *arāt* from *yruḍh*, and *māuk* from *y muc*. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and *h*, *aprāk* from *yprc*, *asrāk* from *yṣrj*, *abhāk* from *ybhaj*, *adrāk* from *ydrq*, *adhāk* from *yḍah*; but, with a different change of the final, *ayāt* from *y yaj*, *aprāt* from *yprch*, *avāt* from *y vah*, and *asrāt* from *yṣrj*; and (above, 148 a) *srās* appears to stand twice in AV. for *srāṣ-s* from *yṣrj*; RV. has also twice *ayās* from *y yaj*. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, *atān* from *y tan*, *khān* from *y khan*, *ayān* and *anān* from *y yam* and *nam* (143 a).

b. If, again, the roots end in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, *acchān* (for *acchāntṣ-t*; beside *acchāntṣa* and *acchāntṣus*) from *y chand*; and other like cases are *akrān*, *askān*, and *as yān*.

891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. *bhāis*, from *y bhī*.

Modes of the s-Aorist.

892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after *mā* prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only *vāṁsi*, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmanas. They are regularly made with *guṇa*-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.

a. The forms with primary endings are: in active, *stoṣāni*; *darṣasi*; *neṣati*, *parṣati*, *pāsatī*, *matsati*, *yoṣati*, *vakṣati*, *sakṣati*; *dāsathas*, *dhāsathas*, *pārṣathas*, *vakṣathas*, *varṣathas*; *pāsatas*, *yamsatas*, *yakṣatas*, *vakṣatas*; *dhāsatha*, *neṣatha*, *pārṣatha*, *mātsatha*; — in middle, *nāmsāi*, *mānsāi*; *mānsase*; *kramṣate*, *trāsate*, *darṣate*, *mānsate*, *yakṣate*, *rāṣate*, *vaṁsate*, *sakṣate*, *hāsate*; *trāsāthe* (not *trāsāithe*, as we should rather expect); *nāmsante*, *mānsante*: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., *māsatāi*.

b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): *jéṣas*, *vákṣas*; *dárṣat*, *néṣat*, *pákṣat*, *párṣat*, *préṣat*, *yáṣat*, *yóṣat*, *váṁsat*, *vákṣat*, *véṣat*, *sátsat*, *chātsat*, etc. (some twenty others); *yakṣatām*; *vāṁsāma*, *sākṣāma*, *stoṣāma*; *parṣan*, *yamṣan*, *yoṣan*, *rāsan*, *vakṣan*, *ṣṣan*, *ṣṣan*. Of these, *yakṣat* and *vakṣat* are found not rarely in the Brāhmaṇas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms *dfkṣase* and *prkṣase* (2d sing. mid.) lack the *gupa*-strengthening.

b. *Jeṣam*, *stoṣam*, and *yoṣam* (AV. *yūṣam*, with *ū* for *o* as in *anūṣata* etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the *vṛddhi*-strengthening: in which case *jeṣma* is to be compared with them (we should expect *jāiṣma* or *jeṣāma*).

c. From roots in *ā* are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, *yeṣam* (only case in RV.), *khyeṣam*, *jñeṣam*, *geṣam* and *geṣma*, *deṣma*, *seṣam* and *set*, *atheṣam* and *atheṣus*. Their value is optative. The analogy of *jeṣam* and *jeṣma* suggests the possibility of their derivation from *i*-forms of the *ā*-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precativ character (thus, *yā-i-s-am*). That they really belong to the *iṣ*-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in *se*, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, *kṛse*, *hiṣe* (and *ohiṣe*?), *stuṣé*; 2. from present-stems, *arcase*, *ṛjase*, *yajase*, *gāyise*, *grīṣe* and *puniṣe*. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897 b.

895. Optative forms of this aorist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precativ *s* before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: *diṣiṣya*, *dhīṣiṣya*, *bhākṣiṣya*, *maṣiṣya* (for *maṁsiṣya*), *mukṣiṣya*, *rāsiṣya*, *lopsiṣya*, *sākṣiṣya*, *strṣiṣya*; *maṁsiṣthās*; *darṣiṣta*, *bhākṣiṣta*, *maṁsiṣta*, *mṛkṣiṣta*; *bhākṣimāhi*, *dhukṣimāhi*, *maṁsimāhi*, *vaṁsimāhi*, *vasimāhi*, *sakṣimāhi*; *maṁsirata*. PB. has *bhukṣiṣiṣya*, which should belong to a *ṣiṣ*-aorist. The RV. form *trāsithām* (for *trāsīyāthām* or *trāsūthām*) is an isolated anomaly.

a. This optative makes a part of the accepted "precativ" of the later language: see below, 923, 925 b.

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find the 2d sing. act. *neṣa* and *paṣa* and the 2d pl. *yaṁsata* (from *a*-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. *rāsātām* and pl. *rāsantām* (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the *a*-aorist.

897. a. Active participles are *dākṣat* or *dhākṣat*, and *sākṣat* (both RV.).

b. If *ṛñjase* (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an *a*-aorist form, *ṛñjasānā* is an *a*-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are *aṛṇasānā*, *ōhasānā*, *jṛayasānā*, *dhīyasānā*, *mandasānā*, *yamasānā*, *rabhasānā*, *vṛdhasānā*, *sahasānā*, *ṣavasānā*, all in RV.; with *namasānā*, *bhiyasānā*, in AV. In RV. occurs also once *dhīṣamāṇa*, apparently an *a*-form of an *a*-aorist of *ydhī*.

5. The *iṣ*-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign *म्* *s* by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel *इ* *i*, making *इष्* *iṣ*, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:

a. A final vowel has *vrddhi* in the active, and *guṇa* in the middle: thus, *अपविष्* *apāviṣ* and *अपविष्* *apaviṣ* from *√प्* *pū* *cleanse*; *अतारिष्* *atāriṣ*, act., from *√त्* *tṛ* *pass*; *अशयिष्* *aśayiṣ*, mid., from *√शी* *śi* *lie*.

b. A medial vowel has *guṇa*, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, *अलेशिष्* *aleṣiṣ*, act. and mid., from *√लिश्* *liṣ* *tear*; *अरोचिष्* *aroçiṣ* from *√रूच्* *ruc* *shine*; *अवारिष्* *avarṣiṣ* from *√वृष्* *vrṣ* *rain*; but *अजीविष्* *ajīviṣ* from *√जीव्* *jīv* *live*.

c. Medial *अ* *a* is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

d. The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are *kan*, *tan*, *ran*, *stan*, *śvan*, *han*, *vraṣ*, *śad*, *mad*, *car*, *tsar*, *śvar*, *jval*, *das*, *tras*. From *ran*, *śan*, *kram*, *vad*, *rakṣ*, and *śah* occur forms of both kinds. From *√math* or *manth* are made the two stems *mathiṣ* and *manthiṣ*.

900. a. Of exceptions may be noted: *ymrj* has (as elsewhere: 827) *vrddhi* instead of *gupa*: thus, *amārjiṣam*; *ystr* has *astaris*, and *yṣṣ* has *aṣarit* (also *aṣarāt* in AV.), with *gupa* in active.

b. The root *grabh* or *grah* has (as in future etc., below, 938 e, 956) long *ī* instead of *i* before the sibilant: thus, *agrabhiṣma*, *agrabhiṣta*, *agrabhiṣata*. The roots in changeable *ṛ* (so-called roots in *ṛ*: 242), and *yvr* are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long *ī* from such roots have been found quotable. A Sūtra (PGS.) has once *anayīṣta* from *yñī* (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उम् *us* and एत *ata* in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations *iṣ-s* and *iṣ-t* are from the earliest period of the language contracted into *īṣ* *is* and *īt* *it*.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in *iḍhvam* (or *iḍḍhvam*, from *iṣ-dhvam*: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely *ajanīḍhvam*, *artīḍhvam*, *āindhiḍhvam*, *vepīḍhvam*; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226 c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the *iṣ*-aorist may be taken the roots *पृ* *pū* *cleanse*, and *बुध्* *budh* *wake*. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 अपाविषम् <i>āpāviṣam</i>	अपाविष्व <i>āpāviṣva</i>	अपाविष्म <i>āpāviṣma</i>	अपाविषि <i>āpaviṣi</i>	अपाविष्वहि <i>āpaviṣvahi</i>	अपाविष्महि <i>āpaviṣmahi</i>
2 अपावीम् <i>āpāvis</i>	अपाविष्टम् <i>āpāviṣṭam</i>	अपाविष्ट <i>āpāviṣṭa</i>	अपाविष्ठान् <i>āpaviṣṭhās</i>	अपाविषाथाम् <i>āpaviṣāthām</i>	अपाविष्ठम् <i>āpaviḍhvam</i>
3 अपावीत् <i>āpāvit</i>	अपाविष्टान् <i>āpāviṣṭām</i>	अपाविषुन् <i>āpāviṣus</i>	अपाविष्ट <i>āpaviṣṭa</i>	अपाविषातान् <i>āpaviṣātām</i>	अपाविषत <i>āpaviṣata</i>
1 अबोधिषम् <i>ābodhiṣam</i>	अबोधिष्व <i>ābodhiṣva</i>	अबोधिष्म <i>ābodhiṣma</i>	अबोधिषि <i>ābodhiṣi</i>	अबोधिष्वहि <i>ābodhiṣvahi</i>	अबोधिष्महि <i>ābodhiṣmahi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

903. The number of roots from which forms of this aorist have been noted in the older language is nearly a hundred and fifty (in RV., about eighty; in AV., more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.); the later texts add less than twenty. Among these are no roots in *ā*; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final *i* and *ī*). Active and middle persons are freely made, but sparingly from the same root; only about fifteen

roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

a. No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the *iṣ-* and the *s-*aorist; and in no small number of cases the same root shows forms of both classes.

904. Irregularities are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms *akramīm*, *agrabhīm*, and *avadhīm* (with augmentless *vādhīm*) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For *ācarīt* occurs in AV. *ācarāit*; also (in a part of the manuscripts) *carāis* for *carīs*; *agrahāṣam* is found in AB. (also the monstrous form *ajagrabhāṣam*: see 901 i). *Ajayit*, with short *i* in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once *nudiṣṭhās*, without *guṇa*.

d. The forms *atārima* (RV.), *avādiran* (AV.), and *bādhithās* (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare *avitā*, 908. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, *jānithās*, *mādhithās*, *varthithās*, *caṅkithās*, and (the causative: 1048) *aghātayithās*. *Agṛhītām* and *gṛhithās* and *gṛhīta*, if not false readings for *gṛhṇī-*, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the *iṣ-*aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: *gāṇṣiṣam*, *vādhīm*; *māthīs*, *vādhīs*, *yāvīs*, *sāvīs*; *āvīt*, *jūrvit*, *māthīt*, *vādhīt*, *veṣīt*; *mardhiṣṭam*, *doṣiṣṭam*, *hiṇsiṣṭam*; *aviṣṭam*, *jāniṣṭam*, *bādhīṣṭam*; *gramiṣma*, *vādiṣma*; *vadhiṣṭa* and *vadhiṣṭana*, *mathiṣṭana*, *hiṇsiṣṭa*; *hvarīṣus*, *grahīṣus*; — in the middle: *rādhiṣi*; *jāniṣṭhās*, *marṣiṣṭhās*, *vyathiṣṭhās*; *krāmiṣṭa*, *jāniṣṭa*, *paviṣṭa*, *prāthiṣṭa*, *māndiṣṭa*; *vyathiṣmahī*. The accent is on the root-syllable (*tāriṣūs*, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

906. a. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. *daviṣāpi*, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened *e*) *yāciṣāmahe* and *saniṣāmahe*.

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: *aviṣas*, *kāṇṣas*, *tāriṣas*, *rakṣiṣas*, *vādhīṣas*, *vādiṣas*, *veṣiṣas*, *caṇsiṣas*; *kāriṣat*, *jambhiṣat*, *jōgiṣat*, *takṣiṣat*, *tāriṣat*, *nīndiṣat*, *pāriṣat*, *bōdhiṣat*, *mārdhiṣat*, *yāciṣat*, *yodhiṣat*, *rakṣiṣat*, *vanīṣat*, *vyathiṣat*, *caṇsiṣat*, *saniṣat*, *sāviṣat*. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding *a* to the tense-stem in *iṣ* before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. *saniṣan* and mid. *sāniṣanta* (and TS. has *vanīṣanta*,

for the problematic *vanuṣanta* of RV.), which are also regular. *Bhaviṣāt* (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; *cāniṣthat* (RV.; SV. instead *jāniṣthat*) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have *san-* in the subjunctive against *asāniṣam* (as to *cay-* and *ran-*, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language (923, 925 b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other *iṣ*-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: *janiṣiya*, *indhiṣiya*, *edhiṣiyā*, *ruçiṣiya* and *roçiṣiya*, *gmiṣiya*; *modiṣiṣthās*; *janiṣiṣta*; *vaniṣiṣta*; *sahiṣivahi*; *idhiṣimahi*, *edhiṣimāhi*, *janiṣimahi*, *tāriṣimahi*, *mandiṣimahi*, *vandiṣimāhi*, *vardiṣimāhi*, *sahiṣimahi* and *sāhiṣimāhi*. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms *janiṣeyam* and *-ya*, from a secondary *a*-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from *yay* a series: namely, *aviḍḍhi*, *aviṣtu*, *aviṣtām*, *avitā* (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for *aviṣtā*) and *aviṣtāna*; two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are *kramiṣtam*, *gamiṣtam*, *caniṣtam*, *cayiṣtam* (against *acāyiam*), *tāriṣtam*, *yodhiṣtam*, *vadhiṣtam*, *ṇathiṣtam*; *rāniṣtāna* (against *arāṇique*), *ṇathiṣtāna*.

909. No words having a participial ending after *iṣ* are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, 1035, 1048, 1088.

6. The *siṣ*-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in *घा* ३ (including *मि* *mi* *fix*, *मि* *mi* (or *mī*) *damage* and *ली* *II* *cling*, which substitute forms in ३), and from *नम्* *nam* *bow*, *यम्* *yam* *reach*, and *रम्* *ram* *be content*, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the *s*-form (878 ff.). Its inflection is precisely like that of the *iṣ*-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than

its first persons, which we may form from the roots या *yā* *go* and नम् *nam* *bow*. Thus:

s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
ययासिषम् ययासिष्व ययासिष्म	यनासिषम् यनासिष्व यनासिष्म	ययासिषम् यनासिष्व यनासिष्म	ययासिषम् यनासिष्व यनासिष्म	यनासिष्व यनासिष्म	यनासिष्व यनासिष्म
āyāsiṣam āyāsiṣva āyāsiṣma	ānāsiṣam ānāsiṣva ānāsiṣma	āyāsiṣam ānāsiṣva ānāsiṣma	āyāsiṣam ānāsiṣva ānāsiṣma	ānāsiṣva ānāsiṣma	ānāsiṣva ānāsiṣma
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

912. The *siṣ*-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the *iṣ*-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added *s*. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots *gā* *sing* and *yā* *go*, and in AV. only from *hā* *leave*, and doubtless also from *pyā* *fill up* and *van* *win* (see below, 914 b); the remaining older texts add *jñā* *know* (B.), *jyā* *overpower*, *dhyā* *think* (QB. once: the edition reads -*dhā*-), and *ram* *be content* (SV.: a bad variant for RV. *rāsiya*); other Brāhmaṇa forms which might be also of the *s*-aorist are *adrāsīt*, *avāsīt*, and *ahvāsīt*; and *bhukṣiṣya* (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from *ybhuj*, unless we prefer to admit a secondary root *bhukṣ*, like *bhakṣ* from *bhaj*. In the later language have been found quotable from other roots only *glāsiṣ*, *adhmasiṣ*, *anāsiṣ*, *apāsiṣ*, *māsiṣ*, and *amnasīṣus*.

a. The participle *hāsamāna* and causative *hāsayanti* (RV.) show that *hās* had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside *hā* for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d slog.) is as follows: *agāsiṣam*, *ajñāsiṣam*, *ayāsiṣam*, *adhyāsiṣam*; *ajyāsiṣtām*, *ayāsiṣtām*; *ajñāsiṣma*; *ajñāsiṣta*, *āyāsiṣta*; *agāsiṣus*, *ayāsiṣus* (*ākṣiṣus* is from *yakṣ* *attain*).

a. Forms without augment are these: *jñāsiṣam*, *rañsiṣam*, *hāsiṣam*; *hāsiṣtām*; *hāsiṣtām*; *hāsiṣta*; *hāsiṣus*, *gāsiṣus*, *jñāsiṣus*. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, *gāsiṣat* and *yāsiṣat* (both RV.).

b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, *yāsiṣiṣthās* and *pyāsiṣimahi* (for which the AV. manuscripts read *pyāsiṣimahi*, altered in the edition to *pyāsiṣ*-); and doubtless *vañsiṣya* (AV., twice) is to be corrected to *vañsiṣya*, and belongs here. As to *bhukṣiṣya*, see above, 912.

c. The accent of *yāsiṣtām* (like *avīṣtām*, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and *yāsiṣta* (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous *i* for *i*.

915. Middle forms of this aorist, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in *-siṣi*, *-siṣthās*, etc., were not allowable, like those in *-iṣi*, *-iṣthās*, and the others of the *iṣ*-aorist.

7. The *sa*-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in *ञ्* *ç*, *प्* *ṣ*, or *क्* *h*—all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make *त्* *kṣ*; and they have *इ* *i*, *उ* *u*, or *ऋ* *r* as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows: *दिç*, *रिç*, *लिç*, *विç*, *क्लिç*, *क्रुç*, *रुç*, *मृç*, *अप्रç*; *त्विç*, *द्विç*, *क्षिç*, *विç*, *क्षृç*; *दिह*, *मिह*, *लिह*, *गुह*, *दुह*, *रुह*, *तृह*, *वृह*, *स्थृह*; from about half of them *sa*-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel *a* in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist.

917. As the tense-stem ends in *अ* *a*, the inflection is in the main like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation. But (according to the grammarians: the forms unfortunately have not been found quotable) the 1st sing. mid. ends in *इ* *i* instead of *ए* *e*, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in *आथाम्* *āthām* and *आताम्* *ātām*, as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrengthened.

918. As example of inflection we may take the root *दिष्* *diç* *point*. Thus:

active.				middle.	
s.	ā.	p.	s.	ā.	p.
1 <i>अदिक्षम्</i> <i>ādikṣam</i>	<i>अदिक्षाव</i> <i>ādikṣāva</i>	<i>अदिक्षाम</i> <i>ādikṣāma</i>	<i>अदिक्षि</i> <i>ādikṣi</i>	<i>अदिक्षावहि</i> <i>ādikṣāvahi</i>	<i>अदिक्षामहि</i> <i>ādikṣāmahi</i>
2 <i>अदिक्षन्</i> <i>ādikṣas</i>	<i>अदिक्षतम्</i> <i>ādikṣatam</i>	<i>अदिक्षत</i> <i>ādikṣata</i>	<i>अदिक्ष्याम्</i> <i>ādikṣāthās</i>	<i>अदिक्ष्याम्</i> <i>ādikṣāthām</i>	<i>अदिक्षध्वम्</i> <i>ādikṣadhvam</i>
3 <i>अदिक्षत्</i> <i>ādikṣat</i>	<i>अदिक्षताम्</i> <i>ādikṣatām</i>	<i>अदिक्षन्</i> <i>ādikṣan</i>	<i>अदिक्षत</i> <i>ādikṣata</i>	<i>अदिक्षताम्</i> <i>ādikṣatām</i>	<i>अदिक्षन्त</i> <i>ādikṣanta</i>

919. In the earlier language, the forms of the *sa*-aorist are hardly more than sporadic. They are made in RV. from seven roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add ten more, making nineteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have *i* or *u* or *r* as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with *s* to *kṣ*; but there are in the list also two

ending in *j*, namely *mṛj* and *vṛj*. All the examples noted are given below.

a. So far as the middle forms are concerned, this aorist would be fully explained as a transfer of certain *a*-aorists to an *a*-inflection. The marked difference in the strength of radical vowel in the active, however, stands in the way of the successful application of such an explanation to the active forms.

920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: *avṛkṣam*; *adrukṣas*, *adhukṣas*, *arukṣas*, *akrukṣas*, *asṛkṣas* (and MBh. adds *amṛkṣas*); *adikṣat*, *amikṣat*, *slikṣat*, *avikṣat*, *ākrukṣat*, *aghukṣat*, *adukṣat* and *ādhukṣat*, *ārukṣat*, *avṛkṣat*, *akṛkṣat*, *āmṛkṣat*, *āsṛkṣat*; *aghukṣatām*; *arukṣāma*, *amṛkṣāma*, *avṛkṣāma*; *ādhukṣan*, *apikṣan* (*ypis*), *arukṣan*, *asṛkṣan*; — in the middle, only *akṛkṣathās* (*ṽkrṣ*), *ādhukṣata*, and *amṛkṣanta* (and MBh. adds *amṛkṣata*?).

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: *ḍṛkṣam*, *mṛkṣam*; *dukṣas*, *rukṣas*, *mṛkṣas*; *dvikṣat*; *mṛkṣata*; *dhukṣān* and *dukṣān*; — in the middle, *dvikṣata*, *dukṣata* and *dhukṣata*, *dhukṣanta*.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are: in the active, *mṛkṣatam*; in the middle, *dhukṣāva*.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign *sá*, in analogy with the *a*-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the *ā*-class: a single exception is *dhukṣata*, which probably needs emendation to *dhukṣāta*.

f. The aspiration of initial *d* and *g*, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots *duh* and *guh*, but not from *druh* (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also *adukṣat* and *dukṣas*, *dukṣān*, *dukṣata*.

Precative.

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign *yá*: 770), *i* and *u* are lengthened; *r* is usually changed to *ri*, but to *īr* and *ūr* in those roots which elsewhere show *ir*- and *ur*-forms (so-called *r̥*-roots: 242), and to *ar* in *r̥* and *amṛ*; *ā* is changed to *e* in the roots *dā*, *dhā*, *sthā*, *pā* *drink*, *gā* *sing*, and a few others, in part optionally.

b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in *badhyāsam* from *ybandh*; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in *ucyāsam*, *ijyāsam*, *vidhyāsam*, *supyāsam*, *grhyāsam*; *ṽṇās* forms *ṇiyāsam* (compare 839, 854 c); and so on.

c. It has been pointed out above (837) that the active precative is an optative of the root-aorist, with a problematic insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending.

923. a. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, 508) to the root increased by *म्* s or *इप्* *is* — that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an *is*-aorist (but without augment).

b. The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the s and of the *is*-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before *इप् is*.

c. As was pointed out above (567) the middle precative is really the optative of certain aorists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftenest made from the s-aorist (895) and the *is*-aorist (907); but also from the root-aorist (837 b), the a-aorist (850 a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the *siṣ*-aorist (914 b); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root *भू* *bhū* *be*, which is said (no middle aorist or precative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the *is*-stem. Thus:

	a.	active. d.	p.
1	भूयासन् <i>bhūyāsam</i>	भूयास्व <i>bhūyāsva</i>	भूयास्म <i>bhūyāsma</i>
2	भूयान् <i>bhūyān</i>	भूयास्तम् <i>bhūyāstam</i>	भूयास्त <i>bhūyāsta</i>
3	भूयान् <i>bhūyāt</i>	भूयास्ताम् <i>bhūyāstām</i>	भूयासुम् <i>bhūyāsus</i>

	a.	middle. d.	p.
1	भविषीय bhaviṣīyá	भविषीवद् bhaviṣīváhi	भविषीमद् bhaviṣīmáhi
2	भविषीष्ठास् bhaviṣīṣṭhās	भविषीयास्थास् bhaviṣīyāsthām	भविषीढम् bhaviṣīḍhvám
3	भविषीष्ट bhaviṣīṣṭá	भविषीयास्ताम् bhaviṣīyāstām	भविषीरन् bhaviṣīrān

a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as *dhvam* or *ḍhvam*, see 226 c.

925. a. The precative active is a form of very rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (*Manu*, *Nala*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Çakuntalā*, *Hitopadeça*) it occurs once and no more, and not half-a-dozen forms have been found quotable from the epics. As to its value, see 573 c.

b. The precative middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The Bhp. has once *çriṣīṣṭa*, which is also a RV. form, belonging probably to the reduplicated aorist: see 870.

Uses of the Aorist.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after *mā* was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (570).

a. The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

a. Thus, *tataḥ sa gardabhaṁ laguḍena tāḍayāmāsa; tenā 'sāu pañcatvam agamat* (H.) *thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; tataḥ sā vidarbhaṁ agamat punaḥ; tāṁ tu bandhujanaḥ samapūjayat* (MBh.) *thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; pritimān abhūt, uvāca*

cāi 'nam (MBh.) *he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kṛṣṭhāḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.*

926. The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary *have*. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftener something which the speaker has experienced.

a. Examples from the Veda are: *pārī 'mé gām aneṣata pāry agnīm ahr̥ṣata, devēṣv akṛata ṣṛāvaḥ ká imān ā dadhar̥ṣati (RV.) these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods—who shall venture anything against them? yām ālchāma mānasā sō 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come; yēne 'ndro havīṣā kṛtv̐ ābhavad dyumny ūttamāḥ, idām tād akri devā asapatnāḥ kīlā 'bhuvam (RV.) that libation by which Indra, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods: I have become free from enemies.*

b. Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: *sā hā 'smiñ jyōg uvāsa... tāto ha gandharvāḥ sām ūdire: jyōg vā iyām urvācī manuṣyēṣv avātsit (QB.) she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvācī, forsooth, has dwelt a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tam ho 'vāca: apat-sata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.) his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; indrasya vṛtrāḥ jaghnūṣa indriyāḥ vīryāḥ pṛthivīm ānu vy ārchat tād oṣadhayo virūdho 'bhavan sā prajāpatiḥ upā 'dhāvad vṛtrāḥ me jaghnūṣa indriyāḥ vīryāḥ pṛthivīm ānu vy ārat tād oṣadhayo virūdho 'bhūvann iti (TS.) of Indra, when he had slain Vṛtra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants; he ran to Prajāpati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vṛtra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; avayām enam abhyudētya brūyād vr̥tīya kvā 'vātsiḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person, let him say: "Vṛtīya, where hast thou abode"? yād idānīm dvāu vivāda-mānāv eyātām ahām adarṣam ahām aṣṛauṣam iti yā evā brūyād ahām adarṣam iti tasmā evā praddadhyāma (QB.) if now two should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying: "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".*

929. a. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Brāhmaṇa language (including the older Upanishads and the Sūtras), and is closely observed; violation of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an

interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: *svāsasthe bhavatam indave na iti somo vāi rāje 'nduḥ somā-yāi 'vāi 'ne etad rājña āsade 'cikṣpat* (AB. i. 29. 7) "*be ye comfortable seats for our Indu*", he says; *Indu is king Soma; by this means he has made them* (instead of *makes them*) *suitable for king Soma to sit upon; vāruṇīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiṣiñcāti vāruṇam evāi 'nam akar* (MS. lv. 3. 10) *the waters are Varuna's; in that he bestows him with waters, he has made him Varuna; pañcābhīr vyāghārayati pāṅkto yajñō yāvān evā yajñās tām ālabdhā 'tho yāvān evā yajñās tasmād rākṣāṇy āpahanti* (MS. iii. 2. 6) *he smears with fies; fiefold is the offering; as great as is the offering, of it he has [thereby] taken hold; then, as great as is the offering, from it he smites away the demons.* This idiom is met with in all the Brāhmaṇas; but it is especially frequent in the MS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. THE verb has two futures, of very different age and character. The one has for tense-sign a sibilant followed by *ya*, and is an inheritance from the time of Indo-European unity. The other is a periphrastic formation, made by appending an auxiliary verb to a derivative noun of agency, and it is a recent addition to the verb-system; its beginnings only are met with in the earliest language. The former may be called the *s-future* (or the old future, or simply the future); the latter may be distinguished as the periphrastic future.

1. The s-future.

932. The tense-sign of this future is the syllable *स्य* *syá*, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel *इ* *i* (in the latter case becoming *इष्य* *iṣyá*). The root has the *guna*-strengthening. Thus, from *√दा* *dā* *give* is formed the future tense-stem *दास्य* *dāsyá*; from *√ग* *i* *go*, the stem *एष्य* *eṣyá*; from *√दुह* *duh* *milk*, the stem *धोक्ष्य* *dhokṣyá*; from *√भू* *bhū* *be*, the stem *भविष्य* *bhaviṣyá*; from *√सृध्* *rdh* *thrive*, the stem *अर्धिष्य* *ardhiṣyá*; and so on.

a. But from *√जि* *live* the stem is *जिष्य* *jīṣyá*, from *√उक्ष* *sprinkle* it is *उक्षिष्य* *ukṣiṣyá*, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign *syá* into *sia*; RV. has *kṣepiántas* once.

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in *अ* *a* (second general conjugation: 733 a). We may take as models of inflection the future of *√दा* *dā* *give*, and that of *√कृ* *kṛ* *make*. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 दास्यामि	दास्यावम्	दास्यामस्	दास्ये	दास्यावहे	दास्यामहे
dāsyāmi	dāsyāvas	dāsyāmas	dāsyē	dāsyāvahe	dāsyāmahe
2 दास्यसि	दास्यवस्	दास्यथ	दास्यसे	दास्येथे	दास्यध्वे
dāsyasi	dāsyāthas	dāsyātha	dāsyāse	dāsyēthe	dāsyādhve
3 दास्यति	दास्यतम्	दास्यन्ति	दास्यते	दास्येते	दास्यन्ते
dāsyāti	dāsyātas	dāsyānti	dāsyāte	dāsyēte	dāsyānte
1 करिष्यामि	करिष्यावम्	करिष्यामस्	करिष्ये	करिष्यावहे	करिष्यामहे
karīṣyāmi	karīṣyāvas	karīṣyāmas	karīṣyē	karīṣyāvahe	karīṣyāmahe
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

a. In the epics are found occasional cases of 1st du. and pl. in *ya* and *ma*: e. g. *raṁsyāva* (R.), *bhakṣyāva* (causative: MBh.); *eṣyāma* (MBh.), *vatīyāma* (R.).

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel *i* before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desiderative; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist

[s-aorist on the one side, or iḡ-aorist on the other), any correspondence is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a matter of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its conjugational system.

935. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxiliary vowel, of all the roots found quotable—for the most part, in the form of a specification of those which add the tense-sign directly to the root; in brackets are further mentioned the other roots which according to the grammarians also refuse the auxiliary vowel.

a. Of roots ending in vowels, the great majority (excepting those in ʔ) take no i. Thus, all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify; but compare c below);—those in i, as *kṣi* *possess*, *ci* *gather*, *ci* *note*, *mī*, *sī* or *sā* *bind* (*siḡya*), *hi*; from i, *kṣi* *destroy*, and *ji* occur forms of both classes; *ḡri* [and *ḡvi*] has i;—those in ī, as *krī*, *bhī*, *mī*, *vī*; but *ḡi* *lie* and *nī* have both forms [and *ḡi* takes i];—those in u, as *cū*, *dū*, *plu*, *ḡru*, *hu*; but *su* *press out* and *stu* have both forms [and *kṣu*, *kṣū*, *nū*, *yū*, *ru*, *snu* take i];—of those in ū, *dhū* and *bhū* take i; *sū* has both forms. But all in ʔ (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take i [those in changeable ʔ, or so-called ʔ-roots (942), are said by the grammarians to take either i or ī; no ī-forms, however, are quotable].

b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly. Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, *ḡak*;—in palatals: in c, *pac*, *muc*, *ric*, *vac*, *vīc*, *vraḡc*, *sic* (but *yāc* takes i); in ch, *prach*; in j, *bhañj*, *mṛj* (*mārḡḡya* and *mraḡḡya*), *yaj*, *bhuj*, *yuj*, *vṛj*, *sṛj* [also *bhraj*, *rañj*, *sañj*, *svañj*, *nij*, *ruj*], while *tyaj*, *bhaj*, and *maj* (*mañḡḡya* and *mañḡḡya*) have both forms, and *vij* (*vijḡḡya* and *vejiḡḡya*) and *vraḡj* take i;—in dentals: in t, *kṛt* *cut* and *vṛt* [also *ḡṛt* and *nṛt*] make both forms; in d, *ad*, *pad*, *ḡad* *fall*, *skand*, *syand*, *chid*, *bhid*, *vid* *find*, *nud* [also *had*, *khid*, *svid*, *kṣud*, *tud*]; while *sad* (*satsya* and *sidiḡya*) and *vid* *know* make both forms [also *chṛd* and *ṛd*], and *vad* has i; in dh, *vyadh* (*vetaya*), *rādh*, *sidh* *succeed*, *budh*, *yudh*, *rudh*, *vṛdh* [also *sādh*, *krudh*, *kṣudh*, *ḡudh*], and *bandh* and *sidh* *repel* have both forms; in n, *tan*, while *man* and *han* have both forms;—in labials: in p, *āp*, *kṣp*, *ḡp*, *tṛp*, *sṛp* (*srapaya* and *sarpeya*) [also *ḡap*, *lip*, *lup*], while *tap*, *vap*, *svap*, *ḡṛp*, and *kṛp* have both forms; in bh, *yabh* and *rabh*, *labh* having both forms; in m, *ram*, while *kram*, *kṣam*, *nam*, and *yam* make both forms.

c. Of the roots reckoned by the grammarians as ending in semivowels (781 d-g) all take i. And *vā* or *vi* *weave*, *vyā* or *vī* *envelop*, and *hvā* or *hū* *call* take a y-form, as in their present-system, to which then i is added: thus, *vayīḡya*, *vyayīḡya*, *hvayīḡya* (but also *hvāya*).

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in ḡ, *diḡ*, *viḡ*, *ḡṛḡ* (*drakḡya*), *sṛḡḡ* (*sprakḡya*) [also *dañḡ*, *riḡ*, *liḡ*, *kruḡ*, *mṛḡ*], while *naḡ* *be lost* has both forms (*nañḡya* and *naḡya*);—in ḡ, *piḡ*, *viḡ*, *ḡiḡ* [also

tvīṣ, dvīṣ, cīṣ, tuṣ, duṣ, puṣ, cūṣ], while *kṛṣ* has both forms (*krakṣya* and *karṣiṣya*); — in *s*, *vas shine*, *vas clothe* [also *ghas*], while *vas dwell* has both forms; — in *h*, *mih*, *duh*, *druh* [also *nah*, *dih*, *lih*], while *dah*, *vah*, *sah* and *ruh* have both forms.

e. In the older language, a majority (about five ninths) of simple roots add the *aya* without auxiliary *i*; of the futures occurring in the later language only, nearly three quarters have the *i*, this being generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character — as it is also uniformly taken in secondary conjugation (1018, 1036, 1050, 1068).

936. As the root is strengthened to form the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a stronger and a weaker form, the stronger form is used: thus, from *ybandh* or *badh bind*, *bhantṣya* or *bandhiṣya*.

a. By an irregular strengthening, *nañkṣya* (beside *naṣiṣya*) is made from *ynaṣ be lost*, and *mañkṣya* (beside *majjiṣya*) from *y:majj sink*.

b. But a few roots make future-stems in the later language without strengthening: thus, *likhiṣya*, *miliṣya* (also TS.), *vijiṣya* (also *vejiṣya*), *siṣya* (*yāṣ* or *si*), *sūṣya* (939 b), *sphuṣiṣya*; and *yvyadh* makes *vetṣya* from the weaker form *vidh*.

c. The GB. has once the monstrous form *agnuviṣyāmahe*, made upon the present-stem *agnu* (897) of *yāṣ attain*. And the later language makes *sidiṣya* and *jahiṣya* from the present-stems of *yāṣad* and *yāḥ*. Compare farther *hvyaiṣya* etc., 935 c. Also *khyāiṣya* from *y'khyā* (beside *khyāṣya*) appears to be of similar character.

d. A number of roots with medial *r* strengthen it to *ra* (241): thus, *krakṣya*, *trapsya*, *drapsya*, *drakṣya*, *mrakṣya* (beside *mārṣya*), *sprakṣya*, *sarakṣya*, *srapṣya* (beside *sarṣya*), and *mradiṣya* (beside *mardiṣya*); and *y'kṛp* forms *klapsya* (beside *kalpiṣya*).

e. The root *grah* (also its doublet *glah*) takes *i* instead of *l*, as it does also in the aorist and elsewhere.

937. This future is comparatively rare in the oldest language — in part, apparently, because the uses of a future are to a large extent answered by subjunctive forms — but becomes more and more common later. Thus, the RV. has only seventeen occurrences of personal forms, from nine different roots (with participles from six additional roots); the AV. has fifty occurrences, from twenty-five roots (with participles from seven more); but the TS. has occurrences (personal forms and participles together) from over sixty roots; and forms from more than a hundred and fifty roots are quotable from the older texts.

Modes of the s-future.

938. Mode-forms of the future are of the utmost rarity. The only example in the older language is *karṣyāṣ*, 2d sing. subj. act., occurring once (or twice) in RV. (AB. has once *notṣyāvāḥāi*, and GB. has *ṣyāmahāi*, *taṣyāmahāi*, *sthāsyāmahāi*, but they are doubtless false

readings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics: thus, dhakṣyet and maṇayeran (MBh.), and drakṣyeta (R.); also an imperative patṣyantu (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in dhvam are quotable from the epics: thus, vetṣyadhvam, saviṣyadhvam, and (the causative) kālayiṣyadhvam (PB.) and jīvaiṣyadhvam (MBh.; and one text has mokṣyadhvam at l. 133. 13, where the other reads mokṣayadhvam), and bhaviṣyadhvam (MBh. R.); it is a matter of question whether these are to be accounted a real imperative formation, or an epic substitution of secondary for primary endings (compare 543 a).

Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in ष a: namely, by adding in the active the ending न्त् nt, in the middle the ending मान māna; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, दास्यन्त् dāsyānt and दास्यमान dāsyāmāna, करिष्यन्त् kariṣyānt and करिष्यमाण kariṣyāmāṇa.

a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in āntī or in atī; but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare: see above, 440 e, f.

b. In RV. occurs once sūṣyantī, from ṣū, with anomalous accentuation.

Preterit of the s-future: Conditional.

940. From the future-stem is made an augment-preterit, by prefixing the augment and adding the secondary endings, in precisely the same manner as an imperfect from a present-stem in ष a. This preterit is called the conditional.

a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurait to the future aurait, or as the English would have to will have — nearly as the German würde haben to werden haben.

b. Thus, from the roots already instanced:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
१ घदास्यन्	घदास्याव	घदास्याम	घदास्ये	घदास्यावहि	घदास्यामहि
ádāsyam	ádāsyāva	ádāsyāma	ádāsyē	ádāsyāvahi	ádāsyāmahi

- 2 अदास्यन् अदास्यतम् अदास्यत अदास्यवाम् अदास्येवाम् अदास्यध्वम्
 ādāsyaṣ ādāsyaṣatam ādāsyaṣata ādāsyaṣathās ādāsyaṣethām ādāsyaṣadhvam
- 3 अदास्यत् अदास्यताम् अदास्यन् अदास्यत अदास्येताम् अदास्यसि
 ādāsyaṣat ādāsyaṣatām ādāsyaṣan ādāsyaṣata ādāsyaṣetām ādāsyaṣanta
- 1 अकारिष्यम् अकारिष्याव अकारिष्याम अकारिष्ये अकारिष्यावहि अकारिष्यामहि
 ākariṣyaṣam ākariṣyaṣāva ākariṣyaṣāma ākariṣyaṣe ākariṣyaṣāvahi ākariṣyaṣāmahī
 etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, *ābharīṣyat* *was going to carry off*, and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common—except in ṚB., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nala. Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeṣa; only one in Manu; and two in Çakuntalā. In the whole MRh. (Holtzmann) it is found about twenty-five times, from thirteen roots. The middle forms are extremely few.

II. The Periphrastic Future.

942. a. This formation contains only a single indicative active tense (or also middle: see 947), without modes, or participle, or preterit.

b. It consists in a derivative *nomen agentis*, having the value of a future active participle, and used, either with or without an accompanying auxiliary, in the office of a verbal tense with future meaning.

943. The noun is formed by the suffix त् तृ (or तर् tar); and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see 1182) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel इ i, the root itself being strengthened by guṇa, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दात् dātṛ from √दा dā *give*; कर्त्तृ kartṛ from √क् कृ *make*; भवित् bhavitṛ from √भू bhū *be*.

a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel i, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in र take no i; thus, कर्त्तर (against kariṣya); roots han and gam show the same difference; while वृत्, वृध, and syand have i here, though

not in the a-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (373), is used without auxiliary: thus, भविता bhavitā *he or she or it will be*; भवितारौ bhavitārau *both will be*; भवितारम् bhavitāras *they will be*. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of √द्यम् *as be* (636) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun.

a. Thus, from √दा *dā give*:

	active.		
	s.	d.	p.
1 दातास्मि	दातास्वम्	दातास्मम्	
dātāsmi	dātāsvas	dātāsmas	
2 दातासि	दातास्वम्	दातास्य	
dātāsi	dātāsthas	dātāstha	
3 दाता	दातारौ	दातारम्	
dātā	dātārau	dātāras	

b. Occasionally, in the epics and later (almost never in the older language), the norm of the tense as given above is in various respects departed from: thus, by use of the auxiliary in the 3d person also; by its omission in the 1st or 2d person; by inversion of the order of noun and auxiliary; by interposition of other words between them; by use of a dual or plural nom. with the auxiliary; and by use of a feminine form of the noun. Examples are: vaktā 'sti (MBh.) *he will speak*; nihantā (MBh.) *I shall or thou wilt strike down*, yoddhā 'ham (B.) *I shall fight*, ahaṁ draṣṭā (MBh.) *I shall see*, kartā 'haṁ te (BhP.) *I will do for thee*, tvaṁ bhavitā (MBh. Megh.) *thou wilt be*; asmi gantā (MBh.) *I shall go*; pratigrahita tām asmi (MBh.) *I will receive her*, hantā tvam asi (MBh.) *thou wilt slay*; kartārau svaḥ (MBh.) *we two shall do*; draṣṭry asmi (MBh.) *I (f.) shall see*, udbhavitṛī (Nāṣ.) *she will increase*, gantrī (Y.) *she will go*. AB. has once sotā as 2d sing., *thou wilt press*; JUB. makes the combination ṣmaçānāni bhavitāras *the cemeteries will be*.

c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used, in yoddhā syām *I would fight* (R. 1. 22. 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhuṁ yāsyāmi).

945. The accent in these combinations, as in all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or

adjective (592), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, *tārhi vā atināṣṭrō bhavitāsmi* (QB.) *then I shall be out of danger* (where *bhaviṣyāmi*, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: 1083 b), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the *nomina agentis* in *tṛ* or *tar*, like various other derivative nouns (271), but with especial frequency, are used in participial construction, governing the accusative if they come from roots whose verbal forms do so (1182). Often, also, they are used predicatively, with or without accompanying copula; yet without any implication of time; they are not the beginnings, but only the forerunners, of a new tense-formation. Generally, when they have a participial value, the root-syllable (or a prefix preceding it) has the accent. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which about thirty forms are quotable); and it grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere nearly so frequent as the *s*-future (it is quotable later from about thirty additional roots).

947. a. A few isolated attempts are made in the Brāhmaṇas to form by analogy middle persons to this future, with endings corresponding after the usual fashion to those of the active persons. Thus, TS. has once *prayoktāse I will apply* (standing related to *prayoktāsmi* as, for example, *ṣāse* to *ṣāsmi*); QB. has *ṣayitāse thou shalt lie* (similarly related to *ṣayitāsi*); and TB. has *yaṣṭāmahe we will make offering*. But in TA. is found (I. ii) *yaṣṭāhe* as 1st sing., showing a phonetic correspondence of a problematic character, not elsewhere met with in the language.

b. On the basis of such tentative formations as these, the native grammarians set up a complete middle inflection for the periphrastic future, as follows:

	a.	d.	p.
1	dātāhe	dātāsvahe	dātāsmāhe
2	dātāse	dātāsathe	dātādhe
3	dātā	dātārān	dātāras

c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) *darṣayitāhe* (Nāiṣ.).

Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

948. As the *s*-future is the commoner, so also it is the one more indefinitely used. It expresses in general what is going to take place at some time to come — but often, as in other languages, adding on the one hand an implication of will or intention, or on the other hand that of promise or threatening.

a. A few examples are: *varṣiṣyāty āṣāmah parjanya vṣṣtimān bhaviṣyati* (ÇB.) *it is going to rain: Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year; yās tān nā veda kim ṛcā kariṣyati* (RV.) *whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? ā vāi vayām agni dhāsyāmahé 'tha yūyām kim kariṣyatha* (ÇB.) *we are going to build the two fires: then what will you do? tām indro 'bhyādudrāva haniṣyān* (ÇB.) *him Indra ran at, intending to slay; yādy evā kariṣyātha sākām devāir yajñīyāso bhaviṣyatha* (RV.) *if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntās te cātsyanti* (AV.) *thy teeth will fall out; nā mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ* (AV.) *thou shalt not die: be not afraid; brūhi kva yāsyasi* (MBh.) *tell us; where are you going to go? yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi viṣam āsthāsy* (MBh.) *if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture or presumption: thus: ko 'yaṁ devo gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati* (MBh.) *who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva; adya svapsyanti* (MBh.) *they must be sleeping now.*

b. The spheres of future and desiderative border upon one another, and the one is sometimes met with where the other might be expected. Examples of the future taken in a quasi-desiderative sense are as follows: *yād dāṣṣe bhadrām kariṣyasi tāvé 't tāt satyām* (RV.) *what favor thou wilt to bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee becometh actual (is surely brought about); yāthā 'nyād vadiṣyānt sō 'nyād vādet* (ÇB.) *as if intending to say one thing, one were to say another.*

949. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance. It is especially often used along with *çvās tomorrow*.

a. A few examples are: *adyā varṣiṣyati ... çvō vṛṣṭā* (MS.) *it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yatarān vā ime çvaḥ kamitāras te jetāras* (K.) *whichever of two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prātār yaṣṭāmahe* (TB.) *we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityahé vaḥ paktāsmi* (ÇB.) *on such and such a day I will cook for you; tān ma ekām rātrim ānte çayitāse jātā u te 'yaṁ tārhi putró bhavitā* (ÇB.) *then you shall lie with me one night, and at that time this son of yours will be born. In other cases, this definiteness of time is wanting, but an emphasis, as of special certainty, seems perhaps to belong to the form: thus, bibhṛhī mā pārayiṣyāmi tvé'ti: kāmān mā pārayiṣyāsi 'ty āughā imāḥ sārvaḥ prajā nirvoḍhā, tātas tvā pārayitāsmi 'ti* (ÇB.) *support me and I will save you, said it. From what will you save me? said he. A flood is going to carry off all these creatures; from that I will save you, said it; paridevayām cakrire mahao chokabhayaṁ prāptāmaḥ* (ÇB.) *they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"; yajō 'yaksī yaṣṭāhe ca* (TA.) *I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice. In yet other cases,*

in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, *prajāyām enaṁ vijñātāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā* (AB.) *in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge; vak-tāsmo vā idaṁ devebhyah* (AB.) *we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evaṁ svārtham kariṣyāmi* (MBh.) *if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; katham tu bhavitāsy eka iti tvam nṛpa gocimi* (MBh.) *but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you.*

950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something *was going to be done*. And this value it has in its only Vedic occurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.

a. Thus, *yō vṛtrāya śnam ātrā 'bharīṣyat prā tam jānitri vidūṣa nvāca* (RV.) *him, who was going here to carry off Vritra's wealth; his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; ṣatāyurṁ gām akariṣyam* (AB.) *I was going to make (should have made) the cow live a hundred years* (in other versions of the same story is added the other clause, in which the conditional has a value more removed from its original: thus, in GB., *if you, villain, had not stopped [prāgrahīṣyah] my mouth*); *tāta evā 'aya bhayān vi 'yāya kāmād dhy ābheṣyad dvitīyād vāi bhayān bhavati* (QB.) *thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person; ūtpapāta cirān tān mene yād vīśaḥ paryādhāsyata* (QB.) *he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment; sā tād evā nā 'vindat prajāpatir yātrā hoṣyat* (MS.) *Prajāpati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evaṁ cen nā 'vakāyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyat* (GB.) *if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off; sā yād dhāi 'tāvad evā 'bhaviṣyat yāvatyo hāi 'vā 'gre prajāḥ sṛṣṭās tāvatyo hāi 'vā 'bhaviṣyan nā prā 'janiṣyanta* (QB.) *if he had been only so much, there would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they would have had no progeny; kim vā 'bhaviṣyat aruṇaś tamasāṁ vibhettā tam cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri nā 'kariṣyat* (Ṛ.) *would the Dawn, forsooth, be the scatterer of the darkness, if the thousand-rayed one did not set her on the front of his chariot?*

CHAPTER XIII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS: PARTICIPLES,
INFINITIVES, GERUNDS.

951. a. THOSE verbal adjectives, or participles, which are made from tense-stems, and so constitute a part of the various tense-systems, have been already treated. It remains to describe certain others, which, being made directly from the root itself, belong to the verbal system as a whole, and not to any particular part of it.

b. The infinitive (with a few sporadic exceptions in the older language) also comes in all cases from the root directly, and not from any of the derived tense-stems.

c. The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable participles.

Passive Participle in *tá* or *ná*.

952. By the accented suffix त *tá* — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न *ná* — is formed a verbal adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त *dattá given*; उक्त *uktá spoken*. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (771), the past passive participle.

a. When made from an intransitive or neuter verb, the same participle, as in other languages, has no passive but only an indefinite past sense: thus, गत *gatá gone*; भूत *bhūtá been*; पतित *patitá fallen*.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding त *tá* to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

a. Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel *i* to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add *ná* instead of *tá*, see below, 956, 957.

b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085 a.

954. The root before *ṭá* has usually its weakest form, if there is anywhere in the verbal system a distinction of weak and strong forms. Thus:

a. A penultimate nasal is not seldom dropped: examples are *aktá* (√*añ*), *baddhá* (√*bandh*), *ṣrabdha* (√*ṣrambh*), *daṣṭá* (√*dañṣ*), *śraṣṭá* (√*śrañś*), *bāḍha* (√*bāñh*).

b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are *uktá* (√*vac*), *uṣṭá* (√*vas shine*), *uptá* (√*vap*: also *vapta*), *ūḍhá* (√*vah*), *suptá* (√*svap*), *iṣṭá* (√*yaj*), *viddhá* (√*vyadh*); — and, by a similar procedure, √*prach* (or *praç*) makes *prṣṭá*, √*bhrañṣ* makes *bhrṣṭá* (beside the regular *bhraṣṭá*), and √*ṣrā* *boil* makes *ṣṛṭá* (beside *ṣrātá*).

c. Final *ā* is weakened to *i* in *gītá* (√*gā sing*), *dhītá* (√*dhā suck*), *pītá* (√*pā drink*), *sphītá*; and *jītá*, *vītá*, *ṣītá* are made from the roots *jyā*, *vyā*, *ṣyā*, (or *ji* etc.); — and further to *i* in *chitá* (beside *chātá*), *dita* (√*dā divide* and *dā bind*), *drita* (√*ḍrā sleep*), *hitá* (√*dhā put*: with *h* for *dh*; but *dhita* also occurs in V.), *mitá* (√*mā measure*), *ṣītá* (also *ṣāta*), *sītá*, *sthītá*.

d. A final *m* is lost after *a* in *gatá*, *natá*, *yatá*, *ratá* (from √*gam* etc.); and a final *n* in *kṣatá*, *tatá*, *matá*, *hatá*. As to the other roots in *am* and *an* taking *ta*, see 955 a, b.

e. More isolated cases are *-ūta* (RV.: √*av*), *utá* or *ūta* (√*vā weave*), *ṣiṣṭá* (also *ṣāsta*: √*ṣās*), *mūrtá* (referred to √*mūrch*). As to *-gdha* and *jagdhá*, see 233 f.

f. On the other hand, √*svad* makes *svāttá*.

955. Of more irregular character are the following:

a. A number of roots ending in *am* retain the nasal, and lengthen the radical vowel (as also in some others of their verbal forms: thus, *kāmtá*, *krāmtá*, *klāmtá*, *kṣāmta*, *cāmta*, *tāmtá*, *dāmtá*, *bhrāmta*, *vāmtá*, *ṣāmtá* (√*ṣam be quiet*), *ṣrāmtá* (from √*kam* etc.); and one in *an*, *dhvan sound*, makes *dhvāntá*.

b. A few roots in *an* make their participle from another root-form in *ā*: thus, *khātá*, *jātá*, *-vāta*, *sātá*; *dhām* has both *dhāmitá* and *dhmātá*.

c. Certain roots in *iv* take their *yū*-form (785 a): thus, *dyūtá* (√*div play*), *ṣṭhyūtá*, *syūtá*; but √*miv* makes *-mūta*.

d. From roots in changeable *ṣ* (generally taking *na*: 957 b) are made also *pūrtá* (√*pṛ* *fill*: beside *pṛta*), *ṣirta* and *ṣūrtá* (√*ṣṛ crush*); and *ṣirta* is further made from √*ṣṛi mix*.

e. Double forms are *mugdhá* and *mūḍha*, *sāḍhá* and *soḍha*, *dhūṛta* and *dhṛuta*, *hvyṛta* and *hrutá*.

f. The root *dā* *give* makes *dattá* (from the secondary root-form *dad*; but *dāta* also in V.). But the anomalously contracted form *-tta* (as if for *dāta*, with the radical vowel lost) is also frequent in composition, especially with prepositions: thus, *ātta*, *ānutta*, *pāratta*, *prātta*, *prātitta*; rarely with other elements, as *devātta*, *punaratta*, *mārutta* (?). And the same abbreviated form comes from *√dā divide* in *āvatta*.

g. The roots making participles in both *ta* and *ita*, or *ta* and *na*, or in all three, will be noted in the next two paragraphs.

956. The suffix with *ṛ i*, or in the form *ṛt itá*, is used especially with roots having finals that are only with difficulty, if at all, combinable with *ṛ t* according to the usual analogies of the language, and often with roots of a secondary, derivative, or late character; but also not seldom with original roots.

a. Thus, of roots presenting difficulties of combination:—1. all that end in two consonants (save those of which one consonant is lost by a weakening process: 954 a, b): e. g. *ṣaṅk*, *valg*, *vāñch*, *lajj*, *ubj*, *ceṣṭ*, *ghūrp*, *katth*, *nind*, *jalp*, *cumb*, *umbh*, *khall*, *pinv*, *ṣaṇs* (also *ṣastá*), *rakṣ*, *hiṃs*, *garh* (in all, over fifty); but *taḥṣ* makes *taṣṭá*;—2. all that end in liquids (including *ṣ* after *a* or *ā*): e. g. *st*, *truṭ*, *paṭh*, *luṭh*, *iḍ*, *vruḍ*, *bhaṣ*, *kaṣ*, *bhāṣ*;—3. all that end in sord spirants: e. g. *likh*, *grath*, *nāth*, *kuth*, *riph*, *guph*;—4. all that end in *l*: e. g. *cal*, *gil*, *mil*, *lul*, *khol*;—5. all that end in other persistent semivowels: namely, *carv* (also *cūrpa*), *jīv* (for the other roots in *iv*, see 955 c), *dhāv* *run*, *sev*, *day*, *vyay*, *pūy*;—6. *ujh*.—This class includes more than half of the whole number that take only *ita*.

b. Of other roots ending in consonants:—1. in gutturals, *cak*, *ḍhauk* (*ṣak* has both *ta* and *ita*); *ḍiagh*;—2. in palatals, *ac* (also *akná*), *uo*, *kuo*, *khac*, *yāc*, *ruc*; *ajp*, *kūj*, *vraj*, also *tyaj* and *mṛj* in late texts (usually *tyaktá* and *mṛṣṭá*);—3. in dentals, *at*, *pat*, *ṣent*, also *yat* in epos (elsewhere only *yattá*); *kṛad*, *khād*, *gaḍ*, *cud*, *naḍ*, *mud*, *mṛd*, *rad*, *rud*, *vaḍ*, *vid* *know*, *hrād*; also *nud* in epos (elsewhere *nuttá* and *nunna*); *maḍ* has both *mattá* and *maditá* (the majority of roots in *d* take *na*: 957 d); *edh*, *kṣudh*, *gad*, *dudh*, *nādh*, *bādh*, *spardh*; *an*, *in*, *kvan*, *dhvan*, *pan*, *ran* *ring*, *van*, *stan*, *evan*, and *dhvan* (also *dhvāntá*);—4. in labials, *cup*, *yup*, *rup*, and usually *kup* (*kupta* late) and *lap* (*lapta* epic), occasionally *kṣip*, *gup*, *tap*, *dṛp*, *vap*, *ṣap*, while *jap* has both *ta* and *ita*; *grabh* (*grbhítá*), *ṣubh*, *skabh*, and occasionally *lubh*, while *kṣubh* and *stabh* have both forms; *tim*, *dham*, *ṣam* *labor*, *stim*, and *kṣam* in epos (also *kṣānta*);—5. in spirants, *aṣ* *eat*, *iṣ*, *kāṣ*, *kṛṣ*, *vāṣ*, *ṣaṣ*.

while *piç* has both forms, and *mṛç* takes *ita* only late; *iç* *send*, *iç*, *kuç*, *ṛç*, *tvīç*, *pruç*, *miç*, *rūç*, *heç*, *hreç*, also *muç* except late, while *dhṛç*, *ruç*, and *hṛç* show both forms; *ās*, *bhas*, *bhās*, *ras*, *las*, *vas* *clothe*, *has*, also *as* *throw* occasionally, while *kas*, *gras*, *yas*, *vas* *shine*, *vas* *dwell*, *çās* (with *çīṣṭā* and *çāsta*), *çvas*, and *hras* make both forms; *ih*, *grah* (*grhītā*), *jah* (secondary form of *hā*), *mah*, *rah*, and occasionally *ūh* *remove*, while *gāh* has both forms.

c. Of roots ending in vowels, only *çī* *lie*, which makes *çayita* (with *guṇa* of root, as elsewhere: 829).

d. In general, a root maintains its full form before *ita*; but there are a few exceptions: thus, *grbhītā* and *grhītā* (the root being reckoned as *grabh* and *grah*: see 729), *uditā* (also *vadita* in the later language), *uṣita* (*vas* *shine*; beside *uṣṭā*), *uṣita* (*vas* *dwell*: also sporadically *vasita* and *uṣṭā*), *ukṣitā* (*vakṣ* *increase*), *çrthitā* (*çrath*). From *ymrj* are made both *mṛjita* and *mārjita* (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 827), beside *mṛṣṭā*.

e. Instead of *i*, long *ī* is taken in *grbhītā* and *grhītā*.

957. The suffix *ā* *nā* (always without auxiliary *ṣ* *i*) is taken instead of *ā* *tā* by a number of roots (about seventy). Thus:

a. Certain roots in *ā*: thus, *kaṣā*, *glā*, *drā* *run*, *drā* *sleep*, (also *dṛita*), *mlā* (also *mlātā*), *vā* *blow* (also *vāta*), *çyā* (also *çinā*), *styā*, *hā* *leave* (also *hīnā* and *hāta*), *hā* *go forth*; and *dā* *divide* makes *dīnā* (also *dita* and *-tta*). Further, certain roots in *i*- and *u*-vowels: thus, *kai* *destroy* (*kaṣīna*; also *kaṣitā*), *çī*, *pl*, *lī* *cling*, *vli*, *çī* or *çyā* *coagulate* (beside *çyāna* and *çīta*), *hri* (beside *hrita*); *dū* *burn* (also *duta*), *lū*, *çū*; and *div* *lament* makes *dyūna* (compare 785).

b. Roots in *ṛ*, which before the suffix becomes *īṛ* or *ūr*: the forms are, *arpa* (late; beside *ṛtā*), *kīṛṇa* (*ṛkṛ* *scatter*), *gīṛṇa* (*ṛgṛ* *swallow*), *jīṛṇa* and *jūrṇa* (*ṛjṛ* *waste away*), *tīṛṇa* and *tūrṇa* (also *tūrtā*), *dīṛṇa* (*ṛdṛ* *pierce*: also *dṛta*), *pūrṇa* (*ṛpṛ* *fill*: also *pūrtā* and *pṛta*), *mūrṇa* (*ṛmṛ* *crush*), *çīṛṇa* (*ṛçṛ* *crush*: also *çīṛta* and *çūrtā*), *stīṛṇa* (also *stṛta*). Of like character with these are *īṛṇa* from *ṛīṛ*, *oīṛṇa* (beside *carita*) from *ṛcar*, *gūrṇa* (beside *gūrtā*) from *ṛgur*, a secondary form of *gṛ*, and *cūrṇa* (beside *carvita*) from *ṛcarv*, which is also plainly a secondary root.

c. A few roots ending in *j* (which becomes *g* before the suffix against the usual rule of internal combination: 216 f): thus, *bhagna* (*ybhāñj*), *bhugna* (*ybhuj* *bend*), *magnā* (*ymañj*), *rugnā*, *vigna* (beside *vikta*). Further, two or three ending in *c* (similarly treated): thus, *aknā* (*ṛac* or *añc*: also *acita* and *añcita*), *vṛknā* (*ṛvraçc*), and apparently *pṛgṇa* (RV., once: with doubly irregular change of root-final, from *yppc*). And one root in *g*, *lagna*.

d. A considerable number, some of them very common ones, of roots in *d* (which, against ordinary rule, becomes *n* before the suffix; 157 b). The forms are: *unna* (also *utta*), *arṇṇa*?, *klinna*, *kṣunna*, *kṣvinna*, *khinna*, *channa*, *chinnā*, *chṛṇṇā*, *tunnā*, *ṭṛṇṇā*, *nunna* (also *nuttā* and *nudita*), *pannā*, *bhinnā*, *vinna* (*y'vid find*: also *vittā*), *ṣanna* (*y'ṣad fall*), *sannā* (also *sattā*), *skannā* (*y'skand*), *ayannā* (*y'ayand*), *svinnā*, *hanna*. And *ānna food*, in spite of its different accent, appears to be a like formation from *yad eat*.

958. The native grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are *kṣāma burnt*, *kṛṣā emaciated*, *pakvā ripe*, *phullā expanded*, *śūṣka dry*.

Past Active Participle in *tavant* (or *navant*).

959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix *वन्* *vant*, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, *तत् कृतवान्* *tāt kṛtāvān* *having done that*; *ताम् निगिरपयान्* *taṁ nigīrapayān* *having swallowed him down*. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (462 ff.); its feminine ends in *वती vati*; its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with participial meaning: *अर्चितवत्य अतिथौ* *one's guest having eaten* (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is hardly met with. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is chiefly used predicatively, and oftenest without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in a past tense: primarily, and not seldom, signifying immediate past, or having a true "perfect" value; but also (like the old perfect and the old aorist in later use) coming to be freely used for indefinite time, or with the value of the imperfect (779). For example: *माम्* *na kaṣeḍ dṛṣṭavān* *no one has seen (or saw) me*; *सा* *nakulaṁ vyāpāditavān* *he destroyed the ichneumon*; or, with copula, *माहात क्रेचराम् प्रापतवत्ये* *asi* *thou hast fallen upon great misery*. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in *ta* stands in the relation of an objective predicative), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, *कूटेना समङ्गितवती* (ḥ.) *has become united with the mango-tree*; *गतवती* (ib.) *she has gone*.

a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations: e. g. *दर्शितवन्त* *having shown*, *प्रबोधितवन्त* *having awakened*.

b. Possessives also in *in* made from passive participles are sometimes found used in an analogous manner, nearly as perfect active participles: e. g. *iṣṭin having sacrificed*, *vijitino manyamānāḥ (AB.) thinking themselves to have conquered*.

Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, sometimes treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in *ndus*, to which they correspond in meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely *या ya*, *तव्य tavya*, and *अनीय anīya*.

a. Derivatives in *ya* having this value are made in all periods of the language, from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin, being entirely wanting in the oldest Veda (RV.), and hardly known in the later. Other derivatives of a similar character, which afterward disappear from use, are found in the Veda (966).

963. The suffix *ya* in its gerundive use has nothing to distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adjectives and nouns of other character (see below, 1213). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

a. The original value of the suffix is *ia*, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of *e* and *o* to *ay* and *av* before it (see below).

b. Thus: 1. Final *ā* becomes *e* before the suffix: *dēya*, *dhyeya*, *khyēya*, *mēya* (perhaps *dā-ia* etc., with euphonic *y* interposed); but RV. has once *-jñāya*. — 2. The other vowels either remain unchanged, or have the *guṇa* or the *vṛddhi* strengthening; and *e* usually and *o* always are treated before the *ya* as they would be before a vowel: thus, *-kṣayya*, *jāyya*, *bhāyya*, *lāyya*; *nāyya*, *bhāvya*, *hāvya*, *bhāvya*; *vāyya*: and, in the later language, *nīya*, *jeya*, *dhūya* (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds *t*

before the suffix: thus, *itya*, *mitya*, *grūtya*, *stūtya*, *kṛtya* (the only Vedic examples).—3. Medial *a* remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, *dābhya*, *vāndya*, *sādyā*; *mādyā*, *vācya*.—4. Medial *i*-, *u*-, and *ṛ*-vowels are unchanged or have the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *īḍya*, *gūhya*, *dhṛṣya*; *dvēṣya*, *yōdhya*, *mārjya*.

c. The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds half as many more. Except in *bhāviā* (once), the accent in RV. is always on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the *i* of the suffix (hence written *ādyā*, *āḡyā*, *-vyādhyā*, *-dharṣyā*). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the *ya* follow a vowel.

964. a. The suffix *tavya* is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in *tu* (below, 968), made by adding the suffix *ya* (properly *īa*, whence the accent *yā*), before which the final *u*, as usual (1203 a), has *guṇa*-strengthening, and is resolved into *av*.

b. Hence, as regards both the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel *i* before the *tavya*, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).

c. No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, *janitavyā* and *hiṁsitavyā*. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and from the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, *kartavyā* or *kartāvya*; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former (the accent *tāvya* given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicons is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of Qṛ.: 88 c).

965. a. The suffix *aniya* is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix *īya* (1215) to a *nomen actionis* formed by the common suffix *ana*.

b. It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix *ana* (below, 1150).

c. This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in *upajivāniya* and *amantranīya* (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brāhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is less common than the gerundive in *tavya*. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix *īya*, is on the penult: thus, *karāṇīya*.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in *tua* or *tva*, apparently made from the infinitival noun in *tu* with the added suffix *a* (1209). They are *kārtua* (in two occurrences *kārtva*), *-gādītva*, *jāntua*, *jētua*, *nāntua*, *vāktua*, *sētua*,

snātva, hāntva, hētva, hōtva; and, with auxiliary i (or ī), jānītva, sātītva, bhāvītva.

b. Gerundives in enia or enya (compare 1217): they are Ikṣepīa, Iḍēnia, carēnia, dṛṣēnia, -dviṣēnia, bhūṣēnya, yudhēnia, vāreṇia (and bhajēnya BbP.); with one example from an apparent aorist-stem, yamsēnya, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1010, 1038, 1068 a).

c. Gerundives in āyia (once āyya: compare 1218): they are dak-āyia, panāyia, vidāyia, ṣravāyia, hnavāyia; with a few from secondary conjugation-stems (below, 1010, 1038, 1051, 1068 a); and stuṣāyia is of close kindred with them.

d. A few adjectives in elima, as pacelima, bhidellima (only these quotable), are reckoned as gerundives by the grammarians.

987. The division-line between participial and ordinary adjectives is less strictly drawn in Sanskrit than in the other Indo-European languages. Thus, adjectives in u, as will be seen later (1178), from secondary conjugational stems, have participial value; and in the Brāhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix uka (1180).

Infinitives.

988 The later language has only a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix तु tu, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel इ i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is तुम् tum or इतुम् itum. The root has the guṇa-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, एतुम् étum from √इ i; कर्तुम् kártum from √कृ kṛ; चरितुम् cāritum from √चर car; भवितुम् bhāvitum from √भू bhū.

a. As regards the use or omission of i, the infinitive (as also the gerund in tvā: 991) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle (956). Examples are (with the gerund added) as follows: dagdhā, dagdhum, dagdhvā from √dah; bhinnā, bhéttum, bhittvā from √bhid; matā, mántum, matvā from √man; ūḡhā, vōḡhum, ūḡhvā from √vah; patitā, pátitum, patitvā from √pat; yācitā, yācītum, yācītvā from √yāc; ṣayitā, ṣāyitum, ṣayitvā from √qi. But certain exceptions and special cases require notice. Thus:

b. Of roots having no quotable participle, infinitive stems in tu are made from ad, sagh; in itu from uñch, ūh consider, kṣap, luph, lok, svar; and in both from yabh.

c. Of roots making participles of both forms, an infinitive stem in *tu* only is quotable for *kṣip*, *kṣubh*, *tap*, *tyaj*, *mṛṣ*, *lubh*, *vas shine*, *ṣak*, *stabh*; only in *itu* for *gāh*, *carv*, *jap*, *mad*, *yat*, *van*, *ṣaṇs*, *ṣvas*; in both for *as throw*, *ūh remove*, *gup*, *car*, *mṛ* (*mārṣtu*, *mār-jitu*), *lap*, *vas dwell*, *ṣap*, *ṣās*.

d. Also in a number of other cases (besides those already noticed) an infinitive stem is made both with and without *i*. Thus, in addition to the more regular form, a stem in *itu* is occasionally met with from roots *aṣ* *attain*, *iṣ* *seek*, *bandh*, *bhaj*, *yaj* (*ijitum*), *rudh* *obstruct*, *ruh*, *vṛṣ*, *sad* (*sāditum*), *sah*, *han*, *hṛ*; and one in *tu* from roots *ās*, *bhāṣ*, *vid* *know*. Both forms occur also from certain *am*-roots, namely *nam*, *yam*, *ram*, and, with *ā* before *tu* as in the *ppl*, *kram* and *bhram* (*kṣam* has only *kṣāmtu*, against the analogy of *kṣāmta*); further, from certain roots in variable *ṛ*, namely *tṛ* (*tartu*, *tarītu*), *vṛ* *cover* (*vārtu*, *varītu*), and *stṛ* (*stārtu*, *stārītu*, *stārītu*) (but from *ṣṛ* *crush* occur only *ṣārītu*, *ṣarītu*, and from *vṛ* *choose* only *varītu*; while *gṛ* *scallow* and *pṛ* *fill* make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely *giritum*, *pūritum*); further, from a few vowel-roots, namely *nī*, *cyu*, *sū* (*sūtu*); and finally from *kṛṣ*, *nṛ*, *ṣuc*.

e. Against the analogy of the participle, infinitive-stems in *itu* after a final consonant are made from the roots *av*, *kṣan*, *khan* and *jan* (the *ppls* coming from *khā* and *jā*), *guh*, *jabh*, *tam*, *dīv* *play* and *dīv* *lament* (both *devitu*), *majj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *ṣṛp*; and after a final vowel, from roots in *ū*, namely *pū*, *bhū*, *sū* (also *sūtu*), and from *ṣṛi* and *ṣṛi*; as to roots in variable *ṛ*, see just above, d.

f. As the infinitive is made from the (accented and) strengthened root, so it naturally has, as a rule, the stronger or fuller root-form where a weaker or contracted form is taken by the participle (and gerund in *tvā*): e. g. *vāktu* against *uktā* (and *uktvā*), *yāṣtu* against *iṣṭa* (and *iṣṭvā*), *baddhū* against *baddhā* (and *baddhvā*), and so on. Deserving special notice are *gātu* (*ṽgā sing*) against *gītā*, and *dhātu* (*ṽdhā suck*) against *dhītā*; and so from *dā* *give* and *hā* *leave* are made only *dātu* and *hātu*; but *dhā* *put*, *mā* *measure*, and *sthā* add to the regular *dhātu*, *mātu*, *sthātu* the late forms *-dhitu*, *-mitu*, *-sthitu*; and *sā* or *si* has *sātu*, *sātu*, and *-sītu*; *vā* *seize* (*ppl* *utā*) has both *vātu* and *ōtu*; *hū* or *hvā* has *havītu*, *hvāyītu*, and *hvātu*. The root *vyadh* makes its only quotable infinitive, *veddhū*, from its *vidh*-form; from *sañj* or *saj* occur both *sañktu* and *saktu*. The anomalous epic forms *ijitum* (*ṽyaj*) and *sāditum* (*ṽsad*), were mentioned above. The root *grah* makes *grāhītu*.

g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with *kāma* and *manas* (especially the former): e. g. *syāptukāma* *having the wish to sleep*, *yaṣṭukāma* *desirous of sacrificing*, *vaktumanas* *mindful to speak*.

h. In very rare instances, dative infinitives in *tave* or *tavāi* are

made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the earlier: 970 b): thus, *pratihatave* (BhP.). And *jivase* (973 a) is once found in MBh. (i. 3. 67 = 732), in a quasi-Vedic hymn to the Ācīns.

969. In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa, however, a number of verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages — although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.

970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:

a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its accusative in *am*, its dative in *e* or (from ā-roots) *āi*, its genitive and ablative in *as*, and its locative in *i*.

b. The verbal noun in *tu* is so used in its accusative in *tum*, its dative in *tave* or *tavāi*, and its ablative and genitive in *tos*.

Of other nouns only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as used with infinitive value; thus:

c. From the verbal noun in *as*, the dative in *ase*; and also, in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in *se* (or *ṣe*), from a noun formed with *s* simply.

d. From nouns in *man* and *van*, datives in *mane* and *vane*.

e. From nouns in *ti*, datives in *taye*, or (from one or two verbs) in *tyāi*.

f. From nouns in *i*, datives in *āye*.

g. From nouns in *dhi* and *ṣi*, datives in *dhyāi* and *ṣyāi*.

h. A few infinitives in *ṣapi* are perhaps locatives from nouns in *an* added to a root increased by *s*.

i. From a single root, *dhr*, are made infinitively used forms in *tāri*, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

j. Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treatment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from suffixes not found in other uses, or for both reasons, are those in *ṣe ṣapi*, *tari*, *dhyāi*, and *tavāi*.

k. Except the various cases of the derivative in *tu*, and of the root-noun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rīg-Veda.

l. Other suffixes and forms than those noticed above might be added; for it is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses: thus, *prajāpatiḥ praṇām āitām* (TS.) *they went to ask Prajāpati*; *viśvaḥ jivāḥ prasuvānti carāyāi* (RV.) *quickenings every living being to motion*; *apāḥ sarmāya codāyan* (RV.) *impelling the waters to flow*; *ṣaknuvād grāhaṇāya* (instead of the usual *grāhitum*: QB.) *may be able to apprehend*; *ā tamanāt* (instead of the usual *tamitoḥ*: S.) *until exhaustion*. And the so-called infinitives

are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns: a. g. *cāritave ... ābhogāya iṣṭāye rāyē* (RV.) *to go abroad, to enjoy, to seek wealth; ārtatrāpāya na prahartum anāgaśi* (Ṛ.) *for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurling, at the innocent.*

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form (except that it does not take an added *t*: 363 f), and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in *ā* (*khyā, dā, dhā, pā, mā, yā*), from two or three in *i-* and *u-*vowels (*hi, mī, bhū*), and from one or two in changeable *r*, which takes the *ir*-form (*tir, stir*).

a. The roots in *ā* form the accus. in *ām*, the dat. in *āi*, the abl. in *ās* (understanding *avasā* before *ā* as for *avasās* and not *avasāi* in RV. III. 53. 20), and the locative in *e* (only two examples, of which one is perhaps better understood as dative).

972. The infinitive noun in *tu* is made freely from roots of every form. The root takes the *gupa*-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel *i* before the suffix (according to the rules already stated, 968). The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, *kārtum, śtave, hāntos*; but *nīkartum, nīretave, nīrhantos*.

a. The dative in *tavāi* is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending *āi* along with a strengthened *u*; and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending *āi*: thus, *śtavāi, hāntavāi, ātyetavāi, āpabhartavāi*.

973. a. The infinitive in *ase* is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in AV. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In nearly three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: a. g. *rājāse, jivāse, bhiyāse, tujāse*; the exceptions are *cākṛāse*; *dhāyāse* (with *y* inserted before the suffix: 258); and *āyāse, bhārāse, spārāse, hārāse* (with *gupa*-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by *javāse, dohāse, bhojāse, gobhāse*. In *puṣyāse* is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

b. The ending *se* is extremely rare, being found only in *jiṣé* and perhaps *stuṣé*, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in *mane* are made from only five roots: thus, *trā-mane, dāmane, dārmāne, bhārmāne*, and (with different accent) *vid-māne*. From *ydā* comes *dāvāne*; *turvāne* may come directly from *ytr*, or through the secondary root *turv*; *dhūrvāne* is rather from *ydhūrv* than from *ydhvṛ*.

975. a. The infinitives in *tay* are *iṣṭāye* (*yṣ*), *pītāye* (*yṣ*), *vitāye, sātāye*, and perhaps *ūtāye* (*ūtāye nṣn* to help his men:

RV.). In *tyāi*, the only examples noted are *ityāi* (RV.) and *sāḍhyāi* (MS. AB.).

b. With *aye* are formed *iṣāye*, *tujāye*, *dr̥ṣāye*, *mahāye*, *yudhāye*, *sanāye*; and *citāye* (VS.), *gr̥hāye* (K.).

976. The ending *dhyāi* is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always an *a* before it; and in the majority of cases it is accented upon this *a*, and added to a weak form of root: thus, *ṣucādhyāi*, *pṛṇādhyāi*, *dhiyādhyāi*, *huvādhyāi*. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, *ṣayādhyāi*, *stavādhyāi*, *tarādhyāi*, *jarādhyāi*, *mandādhyāi*, *vandādhyāi*. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, *kṣarādhyāi*, *gāmadhyāi*, *yājādhyāi* (but once or twice also *yajādhyāi*), *vāhadhyāi*, *sāhadhyāi*, *bhāradhyāi*. In a single instance, *pibādhyāi*, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, *vāvṛdhādhyāi*, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in *ay*: thus, *mādayādhyāi*, *riṣayādhyāi*, etc.

a. This infinitive is by no means rare in RV., being made in thirty-five different forms (with seventy-two occurrences). But it is hardly known outside of the RV.; the AV. has it but once (in a passage found also in RV.); and elsewhere half-a-dozen examples have been noticed, in mantra-passages (one of them TS. falsely reads *gāmadhyé*); in the Brāhmaṇa language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in *gyāi*: thus, *rōhiṣyāi* (TS.), *avyathiggyāi* (K. Kap.; MS. *avyāthiṣe*; VS. *vyathigat*), and perhaps *-dhāsyāi* (PGS.).

978. The infinitives in *ṣāṇi* are: *iṣāṇi* (?) from *viṣ send*, *-bhūṣāṇi* from *vbhū*; *ṣūṣāṇi* from *ṣṣū* or *ṣvā*; *neṣāṇi* from *ṇi*; *sakṣāṇi* from *ṣah*; *parṣāṇi* from *ṣpṛ*; *tariṣāṇi* from *ṣṭṛ*; and *gr̥ṣiṣāṇi* and *-str̥ṣiṣāṇi* from *ṣṣṛ* and *str̥* — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. *gr̥ṣiṣé*, 884 d.).

979. The only infinitive in *tari* is *dhartāri* (with its compound *vidhartāri*), from *ṣdhr̥*.

Uses of the Infinitives.

980. The uses of the so-called infinitives are for the most part closely accordant with those of the corresponding cases from other abstract nouns. Thus:

981. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in *tu*, is used as object of a verb.

a. Especially, of forms from the root *ṣak be able*, and *arh be worthy*, have the right or the power. Thus, *ṣakéma tvā samīdham* (RV.) *may we accomplish thy kindling*; *mā ṣakan pratidhām iṣum* (AV.) *may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string*; *māno vā imāṁ sadyāḥ pāry-*

āptum arhati mānaḥ pāribhavitum (TS.) *the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her*; kó hy étaśyá 'rhati gúhyaṁ náma grāhītum (ÇB.) *for who is worthy to take his secret name?* In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

b. Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dáksipāni hótum eti (TS.) *he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts*; indraṁ pratíram emy áyuh (RV.) *I go to Indra for (i. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life*; — of y'dhṛ persiat in, undertake: as, sá idám jātāḥ sārvaṁ evā dāgdhuḥ dadhre (ÇB.) *he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe*; — of verbs meaning desire, hope, notice, know, and the like: as, pācān vicītaṁ vettha sārvaṁ (AV.) *thou knowest how to loosen all bonds*; tasmād agnīm ná "driyeta párihantum (ÇB.) *therefore one should not be careful to smother the fire*; — and of others.

982. Of the infinitive datives, the fundamental and usual sense is that expressed by *for, in order to, for the purpose of*.

Examples are: víçvaṁ jivāṁ caśāse bodháyanti (RV.) *awakening every living creature to motion*; tán ūpa yāta píbadhyāi (RV.) *come to drink them*; náī 'tām te devā adadur áttave (AV.) *the gods did not give her to thee for eating*; prāī "d yudháye dāsyum índraḥ (RV.) *Indra went forward to fight the demon*; cākṣur no dhehī vikhyāī (RV.) *give us sight for looking abroad*.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cakāra sūryāya pānthāṁ ānvetaṁ u (RV.) *he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following)*; çīçite ççāge rákṣobhyo vinīkṣe (RV.) *he wets his horns to pierce the demons*; rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmaḍvīge çārave hāntavā u (RV.) *I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater*; asmābhyāṁ dṛçāye sūryāya pūnar dātām āsum (RV.) *may they grant life again, that we may see the sun*.

b. An infinitive with y/ky make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā 'ndhāṁ çronāṁ cākṣasa étave kṛthaḥ (RV.) *ye make the blind and lame to see and go*; agnīm samidhe cakārtha (RV.) *thou hast made the fire to be kindled*. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: as, yád im uçmāsi kártave kárat tát (RV.) *what we wish to be done, may he do that*; kavīñr loçhāmi samidṛṣe (RV.) *I desire to see the sages*.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes

with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, *agnir iva ná pratidhīṣe bhavati* (TS.) *like fire, he is not to be resisted*; *mahimā te anyēna ná samāṇaṣe* (VS.) *thy greatness is not to be attained by another*; *nākim indro nīkartave ná cakrāḥ pāriṣaktave* (RV.) *Indra is not to be put down, the mighty one is not to be overpowered*.

d. Sometimes an infinitive so used without a copula has quite nearly the value of an imperative: thus, *tyā me yaçāsā . . . āuçijō huvādhyāi* [asti] (RV.) *these glorious ones shall the son of Uçij invoke for me*; *sūktébhir vah . . . indrā nv āgni āvase huvādhyāi* [staḥ] (RV.) *with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid*; *vandādhyā agnīm nāmobhiḥ* [asmi] (RV.) *let me greet Agni with homage*; *asmākāsaq ca sūrayo viçvā āçās tariṣāṇi* (RV.) *and let our sacrificers cross all regions*; *tān nāi 'vāḥ kártavāi* (MS.) *that must not be done to*; *brahmadviṣaḥ çārave hāntavā u* (RV.) *let the arrow slay the brahmin-haters*. The infinitives in *dhyāi* and *çāṇi* (which latter is in all its uses accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (especially in ÇB.) the dative in *tavāi* is not seldom used with a verb signifying *speak* (*brū, vac, ah*), to express the ordering of anything to be done: thus, *tāsmād ōçadhīnām evā mūlāny ūçchettavāi brūyāt* (ÇB.) *therefore let him direct the roots of the plants to be cut up* (*speak in order to their cutting up*: cf. *yē vaçāyā ādānāya vādanti* who dissuade from giving the cow: AV.).

983. The ablative infinitive — which, like the accusative, is made only from the root-noun and that in *tu* — is found especially with the prepositions *ā* until and *purā* before.

a. Thus, *ā tāmitoḥ* (TS. etc.) *until exhaustion*; *purā vācāḥ prāvaditoḥ* (TS.) *before utterance of the voice*. In the Brāhmaṇa language, this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative (it occurs also with *prāk, arvāk*, etc.); in the Veda, the latter is used also after *çtē* without, and after several verbs, as *trā* and *pā* *protect, yu* *separate, bhī*, etc.

b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated above for the dative (982 a), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in the ablative beside it: thus, *purā vāgbhyaḥ sampravaditoḥ* (PB.) *before the utterance together of the voices*; *trādhvaḥ kartād avapādaḥ* (RV.) *save us from falling down into the pit*; *purā dakṣiṇābhyo netoḥ* (Āpast.) *before the gifts are taken away*.

984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ablative) is in common use in the Brāhmaṇa language as dependent on *īçvarā* *lord, master*, employed adjectively in the sense of *capable or likely or exposed to*.

a. Examples are: *tā* [devātāḥ] *īçvarā enaḥ pradāhaḥ* (TS.) *they are likely to burn him up*; *ātha ha vā īçvarō 'gnīm citvā kīncid dāuritām āpattor ví vā hvālitoḥ* (ÇB.) *so in truth he is liable,*

after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger; *īqvaram vāi rathantaram udgātuḥ cakṣuḥ pramathitoḥ* (PB.) *the rathantara is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter.*

b. The dative is used in ÇB. instead of the genitive in a single phrase (*īqvarāu jānayatavāi*); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. In a case or two the masc. sing. nom. *īqvarah* is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, *tāsyē "īqvarāḥ prajā pāpiyasī bhāvitoḥ* (ÇB.) *his progeny is liable to deteriorate.* And in a very few instances the word *īqvara* is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, *dve madhyahndinam abhi pratyetoḥ* (AB.) *two may be added to the noon libation; tāto dikṣitāḥ pāmanō bhāvitoḥ* (ÇB.) *then the consecrated is liable to get the itch.*

c. This construction with *īqvara*, which is the only one for the genitive infinitive in the Brāhmaṇa, is unknown in the Veda, where the genitive is found in a very small number of examples with *madhyā*, and with the root *īq*: thus, *madhyā kartoḥ* (RV.) *in the midst of action; īqē rāyo dātoḥ* (RV.) *he is master of the giving of wealth; īqē yotoḥ* (RV.) *is able to keep away.*

985. Unless the infinitives in *gaṇi* and *tari* are locative in form (their uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has so little that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any account of. An example is *uśāso budhī* (RV.) *at the awakening of the dawn.*

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the accusative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to comparatively much greater frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The disappearance in the classical language of all excepting the accusative in tum (but see 988 h) is a matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in tum is ofteneest used in constructions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, *na vāṣpam aṣakat soḍhum* *he could not restrain his tears; tam draṣṭum arhasi* *thou oughtest to see him; prāptum icchanti* *they desire to obtain; saṁkhyātum arabdham* *having begun to count.* But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, *avasthātum sthānāntaram cintaya* *devise another place to stay in; tvām anveṣṭum ihā* *"gataḥ he has come hither to seek for thee;—* but likewise of the genitive: thus, *samartho gantum* *capable of going; saṁdhātum īqvarāḥ* *able to mend.* Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, *yuktaṁ tasya mayā samācāvā-*

sayitum bhāryām (MBh.) *it is proper for me to comfort his wife*; *na naptāraṁ svayaṁ nyāyyaṁ çaptum evaṁ* (R.) *it is not suitable thus to curse one's own grandson*; *tad vaktum na pāryate* (Çatr.) *it is not possible to say that*.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, *kartum ārabdhaḥ* *begun to be made*; *çrotum na yujyate* *it is not fit to be heard (for hearing)*. This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of *ṽçak*: thus, *tyaktum na çakyate* *it cannot be abandoned*; *çakyāv ihā* *"netum they two can be brought hither*; *na ca vibhūtaṣaḥ çakyam avāptum ūrjitāḥ* *nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained*.

Gerunds.

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally as adjunct to the logical subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes.

a. Thus, for example: *çrutvāi 'va cā 'bruvan* *and hearing (or having heard) they spoke*; *tebhyaḥ pratijñāyā 'thāi 'tān pariprapraccha* *having given them his promise, he then questioned them*.

990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes *tvā* and *ya*, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix—or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

a. To this distribution of uses between the two suffixes there are occasional exceptions. Thus, gerunds in *ya* from simple roots are not very rare in the epic language (e. g. *gṛhya*, *uçya* [*ṽvas dwell*], *arçya*, *ikṣya*, *cintya*, *tyajya*, *lakṣya*; also from causatives and denominatives, as *vāçya*, *yojya*, *plāvya*), and are not unknown elsewhere (e. g. *arçya* and *ikṣya* M., *prothya* AGS., *sthāpya* ÇvU.). And gerunds in *tvā* from compounded roots are met with in considerable numbers from AV. (only *pratyarpayitvā* down: e. g. *samirayitvā* MS., *viroçayitvā* TĀ., *utkṣiptvā* U., *pratyuktvā* S., *pratyasitvā* S., *prahasitvā* MBh., *samdarçayitvā* MBh., *vimuktvā* R., *nivedayitvā* R., *proktvā* Pañc., *anupitvā* VRS.: the great majority of them are made from the causative stem.

b. The prefixion of the negative particle, *a* or *an*, does not cause the gerund to take the form in *ya*: thus, *akṛtvā*, *anīrayitvā* (but *R.* has *acintya*). Of compounds with other than verbal prefixes, *RV.* has *punardāya*, *karnagṛhya*, *pādagṛhya*, *hastagṛhya*, *aramḥkṛtya*, *akḥḥallkṛtya*, *mithaspṛdhya*; *AV.* has further *namaskṛtya*.

991. The suffix *त* *tvā* has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but often also with interposition of the auxiliary vowel *ṛ* *i* — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, the formation nearly agrees with that of the participle in *त* *ta* (952 ff.).

a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of *i* were given above, 988 a; further specifications are called for, as follows:

b. The quotable roots in variable *ṛ* (342) change it to *īṛ*: thus, *tīrtvā*, *stīrtvā* (also *stṛtvā*); and *car* makes also *cīrtvā* (like *cīrṇa*); — roots in *ā* show in general the same weakening as in the participle; but from *dhā* *put* is quotable only *dhitvā* (*hitvā*), from *mā* *measure* *mitvā* and *mītvā*, from *dā* *give* only *dattvā*, from *chā* *chāyitvā*; — of roots in *am*, *kram* and *bhram* and *yam* make forms both with and without *i* (as in the infinitive), but *ram* has *ratvā* and *rañtvā*, and *dam* and *vam* make *damitvā* and *vamitvā*.

c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots *gras*, *muṣ*, *ṣap*, and *ṣās* (*ṣāsitvā*) (whose participles have both forms); also by *cāy*, *nṛt* (*nar-titvā*), *lag*, and *avaṣ* (against analogy of *pple*); and *ṣuc* makes *ṣocitvā*. On the other hand, from *ruj* (*rugṇa*) and *vraṣ* (*vṛkṇa*) come *ruktvā* and *vṛṣṭvā*. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from *car*, *vas* *decoll* (*uṣtvā*, *uṣitvā*), *nī* (*nītvā*, *nayitvā*), and *mṛj* (*mṛṣṭvā*, *mārjitvā*).

d. While the formation is in general one requiring, like the passive participle (e. g. *uptvā*, like *uptā*; *uditvā*, like *uditā*), a weak or weakened root, there are some cases in which it is made from a strong or strengthened root-form. Thus (besides the instances already given: *chāyitvā*, *rañtvā*, *ṣāsitvā*, *cāyitvā*, *ṣocitvā*, *nayitvā*, *mārjitvā*), we find *charditvā* (*Āpast.*), *dañṣtvā*, and *spharitvā*, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, *añktvā*, *bhañktvā*, *bhuñktvā*, *syanttvā* (beside *aktvā* etc.); *cayitvā*, *smayitvā*, *smaritvā* (beside *cītvā* etc.); *roditvā* (beside *ruditvā*), and *sīñcitvā* (beside *sīktvā*). The last shows the influence of the present-stem; as do also *mārjitvā* (above) and *jighritvā* (*yghrā*). The form *ṣṭhutvā* (*Āpast.*) is doubtless a false reading, for *ṣṭhyūtā*.

992. The suffix *य* *ya* is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending

in a short vowel takes *त्य* *tya* instead of *य* *ya*: thus, *जित्य* -*jitya*, *स्तृत्य* -*stútya*, *कृत्य* -*kṛtya*.

a. Roots in variable *ṛ* (242) change that vowel to *īr* or *ūr*: thus, *kīrya*, *gīrya*, *tīrya* (and *tūrya*), *dīrya*, *pūrya*, *qīrya*, *stīrya* (also *stṛtya*);—roots in *ā* have for the most part -*āya*; but *dhā suck* makes *dhīya*, and double forms are found from *gā sing* (*gāya*, *gīya*), *pā drink* (*pāya*, *piya*), *dā give* (*dāya*, *dādyā*), *dā divide* (*dāya*, *ditya*), *mā measure, exchange* (*māya*, *mītya*), *sā bind* (*sāya*, *syā*); *lī cling* has *lāya* or *liya*, as if an *ā*-verb; and *khan* and *dham* make *khāya* and *dhmāya*, from their *ā*-forms;—the roots in *an* and *am* making their participle in *ata* (954 d) make the gerund in *atya*, but also later in *anya*, *amya* (e. g. *gātya*, *gamyā*; *hātya*, *hanya*; but *tan* makes as second form *tāya*, and from *ram* only *ramya* is quotable);—the roots in *iv* add *ya* to their *iv*-form: thus, *qthīvyā*, *sīvyā*;—a few roots in *i* and *u* add *ya* to the lengthened vowel besides adding *tya*: thus, *i go* (*iya*, *ītya*; also *ayya*), *ci gather* (*ciya*, *cītya*), and *plu, yu unite*, *su, stu* (*plūya*, *plutya*, etc.); while *kṣi destroy* has only *kṣīya*.

b. This gerund, though accented on the root-syllable, is generally a weakening formation: thus are made, without a strengthening nasal found in some other forms, *ācya*, *āja*, *idhya*, *ūdyā*, *ubhya*, *grathya*, *tācya*, *daqya*, *bādhya*, *bhājya*, *līpya*, *lūpya*, *vlāgya*, *qṛabhya*, *sājya*, *skābhya*, *stābhya*, *syadya*, *svājya*; with weakening of other kinds, *gḥya* and *gḥbhya*, *prachya*, *ūcya*, *udya*, *ūpya*, *ūcya* (*vas dwell*), *ūhya*, *vidhya*, *viya*, *vṛqeya*, *spḍhya*, *hūya*;—but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, *manthā* and *māthya*, *mārjya* and *mṛjya*, *rundhya* and *rūdhya*, *qaṇsya* and *qāsya*, *qāsya* and *qīqya*, *skāndya* and *skādyā*, *srāṇsya* and *sraśya*;—and only strong forms are found from roots *ard*, *av*, *cāy*, *qi* (*qayya*), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e. g. *uñoh*, *kamp*, *nand*, *lamb*, *qañk*; isolated cases are *ogya* (*yus burn*), *prothya* (also *prūthya*).

c. Other special cases are *ūhya* and *ūhya* (*yūh remove*), *gurya* and *gūrya*, *guhya* and *gūhya*, *rūhya* and *rūhya*, *bhramya* and *bhrāmya*, *āyya* (beside *ītya*, *īya*), *ghrāya* and *jighrya*; and *ūrṇutya* (beside *vṛtya*).

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of *ya* is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in *i* or *ti*). In AV., long *ā* appears only once in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of *tvā* alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely *tvā*, *tvāya*, and *tvī*. Of these three, *tvī* is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of *tvā*); but it is unknown

in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; *tvāya* is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth Book), twice in AV., and but half-a-dozen times elsewhere (in ÇB., once from a causative stem: *spāṇayitvāya*). The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

c. Two other gerund suffixes, *tvānam* and *tvīnam*, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, though not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

a. Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

b. In general, the gerund is an adjunct to the subject of a sentence, and expresses an act or condition belonging to the subject: thus, *vājreṇa hatvā nīr apāḥ saasarja* (RV.) *smiting with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters*; *pītvī sōmasya vāvṛdhe* (RV.) *having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong*; *tē yajñāsya rāsam dhritvā vidūhya yajñām yūpēna yopayitvā tirō 'bhavan* (ÇB.) *having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry, having blocked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared*; *çrutvāi 'va cā 'bruvan* (MBh.) *and having heard, they said*; *taṁ ca dūre dṛṣtvā gardabhi 'yam iti matvā dhāvitaḥ* (H.) *and having seen him in the distance, thinking 'it is a she-ass', he ran*.

c. But if the logical subject, the real agent, is put by the construction of the sentence in a dependent case, it is still qualified by the gerund: thus, *striyam dṛṣtvāya kitavām tatāpa* (RV.) *it distresses the gambler* (i. e. *the gambler is distressed*) *at seeing his wife*; *tām hāi 'nam dṛṣtvā bhīr viveda* (ÇB.) *fear came upon him* (i. e. *he was afraid*) *when he saw him*; *vidhāya proṣite vṛttim* (M.) *when he stays away after providing for her support*; *kiṁ nu me syād idam kṛtvā* (MBh.) *what, I wonder, would happen to me if I did this*; — and especially, when a passive form is given to the sentence, the gerund qualifies the agent in the instrumental case (282 a): thus, *tataḥ çabdād abhijñāya sa vyāghreṇa hataḥ* (H.) *thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognized him by his voice*; *tvayā sa rājā çakuntalām puraskṛtya vaktavyaḥ* (Ç.) *presenting Çakuntalā, thou must say to the king*; *haṁsānām vacanam çrutvā yathā me* (gen. for instr.) *nāiçadho vṛtaḥ* (MBh.) *as the Nishadhan was chosen by me on hearing the words of the means*: this construction is extremely common in much of the later Sanskrit.

d. Occasionally, the gerund qualifies an agent, especially an indefinite one, that is unexpressed: thus, *tadā 'trāi 'va paktvā khādītavyaḥ* (H.) *then he shall be eaten [by us] cooking him on the spot*; *yad anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya dīyate* (M.) *that, after being promised* (lit. *when one has promised her*) *to one, she is given again to another*; *aucintya co 'ktaṁ suvicārya yat kṛtam* (H.) *what one says after mature thought,*

and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically, after *alam*: thus, *alam vicārya* (Ç.) *enough of hesitation*; *tad alam te vanam gatvā* (R.) *so have done with going to the forest*.

e. Other less regular constructions are met with, especially in the older language: thus, in the manner of a participle with *man* and the like (268 a), as *tām hiṁsitvè 'va mene* (ÇB.) *he thought he had hurt him*; *tā adbhir abhicīya nijāsyāi vā 'manyata* (AB.) *having sprinkled them with water, he believed himself to have exhausted them*;—in the manner of a participle forming a continuous tense with *vi* (1075 a), as *indram evāi 'tair ārabhya yanti* (AB.) *by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra*;—as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as *puroḍācam evā kūrmām bhūtvā sārpaṇtam* (ÇB.) *to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise*; *ayodhyām . . . saṣṇenām sasvanām bhūtvā jalormim iva* (R.) *into Ayodhyā, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring*;—even absolutely, as *ātithyēna vāi devā iṣṭvā tānt samād avindat* (ÇB.) *when the gods had sacrificed with the guest-offering, strife befel them*.

f. As in the two examples before the last, a predicate word with *bhūtvā* is put in the same case with the subject: thus, further, *tād iyām evāi 'tad bhūtvā yajati* (ÇB.) *so having thus become this earth he makes offering*; *yena vāmanenā 'pi bhūtvā* (Vet.) *by whom, even when he had become a dwarf*. The construction is a rare one.

g. A number of gerunds have their meaning attenuated sometimes to the semblance of a preposition or adverb: such are *adhikṛtya* *making a subject of*, i. e. *respecting, of*; *ādāya*, *upāgṛhya* *taking*, i. e. *with*; *ud-
diṣya* *pointing toward*, i. e. *at*; *āsādyā*, *arivati at*, i. e. *along, by*; *ārabhya* *beginning*, i. e. *from*; *sambhūya* *being with*, i. e. *with*; *samhatya* *striking together*, i. e. *in unison*; *prasahya* *using force*, i. e. *violently*; *tyaktvā*, *parityajya*, *muktvā*, *vihāya*, *uddhṛtya*, *varjayitvā* *leaving out etc.*, i. e. *excepting, without*; and others. Examples are: *ṣakuntalām adhikṛtya bravimi* (Ç.) *I am speaking of Ṣakuntalā*; *tam uddiṣya kṣiptalaguḍaḥ* (H.) *having thrown the cudgel at him*; *nimittaṁ kiṁcid āsādyā* (H.) *for some reason or other*.

h. The gerund is in the later language sometimes found in composition, as if a noun-stem: e. g. *prasahyāharaṇa* *taking with violence*; *pretyabhāva* *existence after death*; *vibhajyapaṭha* *separate enunciation*; *sambhūyagamana* *going together*. It is also often repeated (1260), in a distributive sense: e. g. *sā vāi sammṛjya-sammṛjya pratāpya-pratāpya prā yacchati* (ÇB.) *in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over*; *gṛhitvā-gṛhitvā* (KÇS.) *at each taking*; *unnamyo-'nnamya* (Pañc.) *every time that they arise*.

Adverbial Gerund in *am*.

995. The accusative of a derivative *nomen actionis* in *a*, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accord-

ant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

a. No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a dozen adverbial accusatives are to be classed as representing the formation: thus, *abhyākramam*, *pratāṅkam*, *prapōdam*, *nilāyam*, *abhiśkādam*, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, where it is not rare; in the epics it is extremely infrequent; later, also, it occurs very sparingly.

b. A final vowel has *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening before the suffix: thus, *nāvam*, *grāvam*, *kāram*; final ā adds *y*: thus, *khyāyam*, *yāyam*; a medial vowel has *guṇa* (if capable of it: 240): thus, *kṣepam*, *kroṣam*, *vartam* (but *ikṣam*, *pūram*); a medial *a* before a single consonant is lengthened: thus, *krāmam*, *cāram*, *grāham*, *svādam* (but *grantham*, *lambham*). The accent is on the radical syllable. No uncompounded examples are found in the older language, and extremely few in the later.

c. Examples are: *kāmaṁ vā imāny āṅgāni vyatyāsaṁ gata* (ÇB.) *he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure*; *uttarām-uttarāṁ ṣākhāṁ samālāmbhaṁ rôhet* (ÇB.) *he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb*; *aparipu mahānāgām ivā 'bhisamsāraṁ didṛkṣitāraḥ* (ÇB.) *hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him*; *nāmāny āsām etāni nāmagrāham* (ÇB.) *with separate naming of these their names*; *yō viparyāsam avagūhati* (ÇB.) *whoever buries it upside down*; *bāhūtkṣepaṁ kranditum pravṛtta* (Ç.) *she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing)*; *navacūtapallavāni darṣaṇ-darṣaṇ madhukarāṇāṁ kvaṇitāni grāvaṁ-grāvaṁ paribabhrāma* (DKC.) *he wandered about, constantly seeing the young shoots of the mango, and hearing the humming of the bees*. Repeated forms, like those in the last example, are approved in the later language; they do not occur earlier (but instead of them the repeated ordinary gerund: 994 h).

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. SECONDARY conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also

usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

a. We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations; the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are—with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency—much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.

997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.

a. The passive is classed here as a secondary conjugation because of its analogy with the others in respect to specific value, and freedom of formation, although it does not, like them, make its forms outside the present system from its present-stem.

I. Passive.

998. The passive conjugation has been already in the main described. Thus, we have seen that—

a. It has a special present-system, the stem of which is present only, and not made the basis of any of the remaining forms: this stem is formed with the accented class-sign *Ū yá*, and it takes (with exceptions: 774) the middle endings. This present-system is treated with the others, above, 768 ff.

b. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist, -ending in *3 i*: it is treated above, 842 ff.

c. In the remaining tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense.

d. But the passive use of middle forms is not common; it is oftenest met with in the perfect. The participle to a great extent takes the place of a past passive tense, and the gerundive that of a future. On the other

hand, in the oldest language (RV.), middle forms of other present-systems are in a considerable number of cases employed with passive meaning.

e. According to the grammarians, there may be formed from some verbs, for passive use, a special stem for the aorist and the two future systems, coinciding in form with the peculiar 3d sing. aorist.

f. Thus, from *ṛdā* (aor. 3d sing. *adāsi*, *dāsyé*, *datāhe*, also *ādāyīsi*, *dāyīsyé*, *dāyītāhe*. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to *grah*, *drç*, and *han*. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not half-a-dozen are quotable from the later (we find *adhāyīsi* and *asthāyīsi* in DKC., and *anāyīṣata* in Kuval.).

g. As to the alleged passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see below, 1072.

h. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771. 5), the passive has a past participle in *ñ ta* (952), or *ñ na* (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

999. As already pointed out (382 a), the language, especially later has a decided predilection for the passive form of the sentence. This is given in part by the use of finite passive forms, but oftener by that of the passive participle and of the gerundive: the participle being taken in part in a present sense, but more usually in a past (whether indefinite or proximate past), and sometimes with a copula expressed, but much oftener without it; and the gerundive representing either a pure future or one with the sense of necessity or duty added. A further example is: *tatrāi 'ko yuvā brāhmaṇo dr̥ṣṭaḥ: taṁ dr̥ṣṭvā kāmena piḍitā samjātā: sakhyā agre kathitam: sakhi puruṣo 'yaṁ gṛhītvā mama mātuh samīpam ānetavyaḥ* (Vet.) *there she saw a young Brahman; at sight of him she felt the pangs of love; she said to her friend: "friend, you must take and bring this man to my mother"*. In some styles of later Sanskrit, the prevailing expression of past time is by means of the passive participle (thus, in Vet., an extreme case, more than nine tenths).

a. As in other languages, a 3d sing. passive is freely made from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, *ihā 'gamyatām come hither; tvayā tatrāi 'va sthīyatām do you stand just there; sarvāir jālam adāyo 'ḍḍiyatām* (H.) *let all fly up with the net*.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is that one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already

described. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (842 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

a. The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or the intensification of the action expressed by the primary conjugation of a root.

1001. According to the grammarians, the intensive conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the language—the exceptions being roots of more than one syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056), and in general those beginning with a vowel.

a. In fact, however, intensives in the later language are very rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra-texts; AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many of them in RV. passages; from the later language are quotable about twenty of these, about forty more, but for the most part only in an occurrence or two.

b. Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there in use.

1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in three different ways:

I. a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (590); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical *a* and *ṛ* (or *ar*) being reduplicated with *ā*, an *i*-vowel by *e*, and an *u*-vowel by *o*.

Examples are: *vāvad*, *bābadh*, *çāçvas*, *rārandh*; *dādṛ*, *dādṛ*; *oekit*, *tetiḥ*, *nenī*, *vēvli*; *çoçuc*, *popruth*, *ooçku*, *johū*.

II. b. The reduplicating syllable has a final consonant, taken from the end of the root. With an exception or two, this consonant is either *r* (or its substitute *l*) or a nasal.

Examples are: *carcar*, *calcal*, *sarsr*, *marmrj*, *jarhr̥*; *caṅkram*, *jaṅghan*, *taṇatan*, *dandaç* (y^{daṇ}ç or *daç*), *jaṇjabh* (y^{jaṇ}bh or *jabh*), *taṇtas* (y^{taṇ}s or *tas*), *nannam* (y^{na}m), *yaṇyam* (y^{ya}m). The nasal is assimilated to the initial consonant.

c. Only roots having a or ʀ as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

d. Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r or n in the reduplication, *badbadh*; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, *jaṅgah* (RV.), *jaṇjap* (QB.; and *jaṅguyat* PB. is perhaps from y^{gu}; the later language has further *dandah*); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, *jarḥhur* from y^{bhur} (compare the Vedic perfect *jabhāra* from y^{bhr}, 789 b), *galgal* from y^{gal}; with various treatment of an ʀ or ar-element, *dardar* and *dardir*, *carkar* and *carkir*, *tartar* and *tartur*, *carcar* and *carour*, *jargur* and *jalgul*.

e. The roots i and ʀ are the only ones with vowel initial forming an intensive stem: i makes *iyāy* (? PU., once); ʀ makes the irregular *alar* or *alp*. As to the stem *īya*, see below, 1021 b.

III. f. The reduplication is dissyllabic, an i-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This i-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: *gaṇigam* (but *gānigmatam*), *varīvṛt*, *vanīvāh*, *canīṣkad*, *saṇiṣvan*; *navinu*, *dauidyut* (and the participles *dāvidhvāt* but *tāvītuat*). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is *davidhāva*.

g. This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by about thirty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (once m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, *pan*, *phan*, *san*, *svan*, *han*; *gam*; *krand*, *çand*, *skand*, *syand*; of roots having final or medial ʀ, and r in the reduplicating syllable, *kṛ make*, *tṛ*, *bhr̥*, *vṛ*, *mṛj*, *mṛç*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *app*; also *mluc* (*malimluc*); — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only *vah* (QB.: the grammarians allow also *kas*, *pat*, *pad*; and *panīpad* is quotable later; and AÇS. has *canīkhudat*, for which TH. reads *kānīkhunat*); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowel, with *av* before the i-vowel, *tu*, *dhū*, *nu*, *dyut*.

h. In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (590) are violated in the case of *ghanighan* and *bharibhr̥*, and of *gaṇigam*, *karikṛ* (but the regular *carikṛ* also occurs), *kanīkrand*, and *kaniṣkand* (but also *canīṣkand* occurs); also in *kanīkhun*.

i. The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in *cekīṭ*, and *jaṅghan* and *ghanighan*, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (216, 1).

1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, *dādṛ* and *dardṛ*; *dādṛ* and *dardṛ*; *cācal* and *cācar* (and *cācur*); *tartar* (and *tartur*) and *taritṛ*; *jaṅgam* and *ganigam*; *jaṅghan* and *ghanighan*; *paṃphan* and *paṇiphan*; *marmṛj* and *marimṛj*; *marmṛ* and *marimṛ*; *varvṛt* and *varivṛt*; *jarbhṛ* and *bharibhṛ*; *dodhū* and *davidhū*; *nonu* and *navinu*; *bābadh* and *badbadh*.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (642 ff.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in respect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But deviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are in general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.

a. The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an *i* between the stem and ending. According to the grammarians, this is allowed in all the strong forms before an ending beginning with a consonant; and before the *i* a final vowel has *guṇa*-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present-System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root *विद्* *vid know*, of which the intensive stem is *वेविद्* *vevid*, or, in strong forms, *वेवेद्* *véved*.

a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

a.	d.	p.
1. वेवेमि, वेविदीमि	वेविहम्	वेविभम्
vévedmi, vévidīmi	vevidhām	vevidbhām

2	वेवेत्ति, वेविदीधि	वेवित्थम्	वेवित्थ
	vêvetsi, vèvidīṣi	vevitthàs	vevitthā
3	वेवेत्ति, वेविदीति	वेवित्थम्	वेविदति
	vêvetti, vèvidīti	vevittās	vèvidati

b. From $\sqrt{\text{वृ}} \text{hū}$, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be $\text{जोक्वामि } jōhavīmi$, $\text{जोक्वोधि } jōhavīṣi$, $\text{जोक्वोति } jōhavīti$.

1007. a. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., carkarmi, veveṣmi ; 2d sing., alarṣi, dārdarṣi ; 3d sing., $\text{ālarti, dādharti, veveti, nenekti, jāṅghanti, kānikrantti, ganigaṁti}$; 3d du., jarbhṛtās ; 1st pl., nonumas ; 2d pl., jāgratha ; 3d pl., $\text{dādhṛati, nānadati, bharibhṛati, vārvṛtati, dāvidyutati, nēnījati}$, and, irregularly, veviṣanti ; and, with the auxiliary vowel, $\text{jōhavīmi, cākaṣīmi}$; $\text{cākaṣīti, nonavīti, dardarīti, jarbhurīti}$. No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary ī in any of its forms.

b. A single dual form with ī and strong stem occurs; namely, tār-tarīthas .

c. The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., jōguve, nenije ; 3d sing., nenīktē, sarsṛte ; and, with irregular accent, tētīkte, dēdīṣte ; with irregular loss of final radical nasal, nānnate ; with ending e instead of te , $\text{cākite, jāṅgahe, jōguve, yoyuve, bābadhe}$, and (with irregular accent) badbadhē ; 3d du., sarsrāte ; 3d pl., dēdīṣate .

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only $\text{jāṅghānāni, jāgarāsi}$ (AV.); and, in the middle, tantaśāte (3d du.).

b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., $\text{jāṅghanas, jālgulas}$; 3d sing., $\text{jāgarat, cākitat, bobhavat, cārkrṣat, jāṅghanat, bārbrhat, mārmrjat, mārmrjat, parpharat, dardirat, canīṣkadat, dāvidyutat, sanīṣvanat}$; 1st du., jāṅghanāva ; 1st pl., $\text{carkirāma, vevidāma}$; 3d pl., $\text{pāpatan, cōṣucan, carkiran}$; and, with double mode-sign, cākaṣān (AV.). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, $\text{jāṅghananta, jarhṛanta, marmṛjanta, nonuvanta, cōṣucanta}$.

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (566), accented. Thus:

s.	d.	p.
1 वेविद्याम् vevidyām etc.	वेविद्याव vevidyāva etc.	वेविद्याम vevidyāma etc.

a. The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, *veviṣyāt* (AV.), *jāgryās* (KB.), *jāgriyāt* (AB.), *jāgryāma* (VS. MS.; but *jāgriyāma* TS.); RV. has only *cākanyāt* (pft. ?); middle, *nenijita* (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

s.	d.	p.
1 वेविदानी vévidāni	वेविदाव. vévidāva	वेविदाम vévidāma
2 वेविद्धि veviddhi	वेवित्तम् vevittām	वेवित vevittá
3 वेवेतु. वेविदीतु vévettu, véviditu	वेविताम् vevittām	वेविदतु vévidatu

1011. a. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (*jañghānāni*, the only accented example, does not correspond with the model, but is in conformity with the subjunctive of the reduplicating present); the proper imperatives are: 2d sing., *dādṛhi*, *dardṛhi*, *carkṛdhi*, *jāgṛhi*, *nenigdhi*, *rāranddhi*; the ending *tāt* is found in *carkṛtāt* and *jāgṛtāt*; and the latter (as was pointed out above, 571 b) is used in AV. as first person sing.; *barbṛhi* shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of *h* before the ending *hi*; 3d sing., *dādhartu*, *veveṣtu*, *dardartu*, *marmarttu*; 2d du., *jāgṛtam*; 3d du., *jāgṛtām*; 2d pl., *jāgṛtā*; *caṅkramata* (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel. In the middle voice is found only *nenikṣva* (ÇB.).

b. Of imperative forms with auxiliary *i*, RV. has none; AV. has *vāvaditu* and *johavitu*, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, *taṁstanihi* and *jañghanīhi*; VS. has *cākaṣihi*.

5. Present Participle.

1012. The intensive participles, both active and middle, are comparatively common in the older language. They are formed and inflected like those of the reduplicating present, and have the accent on the reduplicating syllable.

Examples are: active, cākaçat, nānadat, cēkitat, mēmyat, çoçu-
cat, rōruvat, dardrat, marmṛjat, jāṅghanat, nānnamat, pāni-
phanat, kānikradat, dāvidyutat;—middle, bābadhāna, mēmyāna,
cēkitāna, yōyuvāna, rōrucāna, jārbhurāpa, sārārāpa, jāṅjabhāna,
nānnamāna, dāndaçāna. No middle participle shows the dissyllabic
reduplication.

1013. a. On account of their accent, rārahāpā, rārakṣāpā, and
jāhrṣāpā (beside jāhrṣāpa) are probably to be regarded as perfect parti-
ciples, although no other perfect forms with heavy reduplication from the
same roots occur. The inference is, however, rendered uncertain by the
unmistakably intensive badbadhānā and marmṛjānā (beside marmṛjana).
As to çūçucāna etc., see 806 a.

b. The RV. has once jāṅghnatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast
out; kānikrat appears to be used once for kānikradat; if cākāt is to
be referred to ykū (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive
from a root in ā, and its accent is anomalous. Marmṛçantas (AB.) is
perhaps a false reading; but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are
found repeatedly in the epics and later: thus, lelihan, dedīpyantīm
(MBh.), jājvalant (MBh. R.), sariṣṣantāu (BhP.), rāraṣantī (R.).

8. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

	s.	d.	p.
1	अवेदिम् āveidam	अवेविह āveidva	अवेविम āveidma
2	अवेवेत्, अवेविदीम् āvevet, āvevidis	अवेवितम् āvevittam	अवेवित् āvevitta
3	अवेवेत्, अवेविदीत् āvevet, āvevidīt	अवेवित्ताम् āvevittām	अवेविदुम् āvevidus

1015. The imperfect forms found in the earlier texts are not numer-
ous. They are, including those from which the augment is omitted, as
follows: in active, 1st sing., acākaçam, dediçam; 2d sing., ajāgar,
adardar, dārdar; 3d sing., adardar, adardhar, avarivar, dardar,
kāniṣkan, dāvidyot, nāvinot; 2d du., adardṛtam; 1st pl., marmṛjmā;
3d pl., anannamus, adardirus, acarkṛṣus, ājohavus, anonavus;
and, with auxiliary ī, in 3d sing., avāvacit, āvāvacit, āvāvarit,
āvoyavit, āroravit, ājohavit; and, irregularly, in 3d du., avāvacitām.
The middle forms are extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ādediṣṭa, ānan-
natā (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl.
marmṛjata, and avāvaçanta (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer
to an a-stem).

1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign ण्र *yá*, along with middle endings only. It has not, however, a passive value, but is in meaning and use indistinguishable from the simpler conjugation.

a. A final vowel before this *yá* is treated as before the passive-sign *ya* (770).

b. The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in *a* in the middle voice: thus, from *√mrj*, intensive stem *marmrj*, is made the present indicative *marmrjyé*, *marmrjyāse*, *marmrjyāte*, etc.; optative *marmrjyēya*, *marmrjyēthās*, *marmrjyēta*, etc.; imperative *marmrjyāsva*, *marmrjyātām*, etc.; participle *marmrjyāmāna*; imperfect *āmarmrjye*, *āmarmrjyathās*, *āmarmrjyats*, etc. subjunctive forms do not occur.

c. In a very few sporadic cases, these *yá*-forms are given a passive value: thus, *jañghanyamāna* in *MdU.*; *bambhramyate*, *dādhmāyamāna*, *popiyamāna* in the later language. And active participles (529 a) are not unknown: thus, *dedipyantim* (*MBh.*), *dodhūyant* (*MBh. BhP.*).

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is more common than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

a. In *RV.*, *yá*-forms are made from eight roots, five of which have also forms of the simpler conjugation; the *AV.* adds one more; the other earlier texts (so far as observed) about twenty more, and half of them have likewise forms of the simpler conjugation. Thus: from *√mrj*, *marmrjyāte* etc., and *marimrjyeta*; from *√tr*, *tartūryante*; from *√car*, *carcūryāmāna*; from *√nī*, *neniyēran*, etc.; from *√vi*, *veviyate*; from *√rih*, *rerihyāte* etc.; from *√ij*, *vevijyāte*; from *√sku*, *coṣkūyāse* etc.; from *√dic*, *dedicyate*; from *√kāṣ*, *cākaṣyāte* etc.; from *√vad*, *vāvadyāmāna*; from *√nam*, *nannamyadhvam*; from *√vah*, *ganīvāhyēta* etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from *√krand*, *kanikradyāmāna*; from *√vrt*, *varivartyāmāna* (*QB.* ? the text reads *amarimṛtyanta*); from *√yup*, *yoyupyānte* etc.; from *√nud*, *anonudyanta*; from *√vli*, *avevliyanta*; from *√jabh*, *jañjabhyāte* etc.; from *√jap*, *jañjapyāmāna*; and so on.

Perfect.

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, 1070 ff.) is to be admitted.

a. No example of an intensive periphrastic-perfect has anywhere come to light (except from *jāgr*: 1020 a). A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, *davidhāva* and *nónāva*, 3d sing., and *nonuvus*, 3d pl.; and there occur further *dodráva* (TS.), *yoyāva* and *lelāya* (MS.), and *lelāya* (? ÇB.), all used in the sense of presents. To them may be added *jāgara* 1st sing. and *jāgāra* 3d sing.; but as to these, see below, 1020 a.

Aorist, Future, etc.

1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel *ṣ* i where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

a. Thus, from *yvid*, intensive stem *vevid*, would be made the aorist *avevidiṣam* with precative *vevidyāsam*, the futures *vevidiṣyāmi* and *veviditāmi*, the participles *vevidita*, *veviditavya*, etc., the infinitive *veviditum*, and the gerunds *veviditvā* and *-vevidya*. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the aorist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.

b. Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has *cārkr̥ṣe*, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like *hiṣe* and *stuṣe* (894 d), and the gerundives *vitantasāyya*, and *marmṣjēnya* and *vāvṛdhēnya*; and ÇB. has the participle *vanīvāhitā*, and the infinitive *dēdīyitavāi*. As to *jāgarīṣyānt* and *jāgaritā*, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

a. The root *gr* (or *gar*) *wake* has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, *jāgr*, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class, and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with

the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, *jāgara* etc.; with the participle *jāgrvāns*; and a future *jāgarisyā-*, a passive participle *jāgaritā*, and a gerundive *jāgaritavyā*, are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, *ājīgar*. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with additional reduplication, *jājāgāra* etc., an iṣ-aorist, *ajāgarīṣam*, with precative *jāgaryāsam*, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation. The perf. *jājāgāra* is quotable from the epics and later, as also the periphrastic *jāgarām* 3sa. And MBh. has the mutilated *jāgrmi*, and also a-forms, as *jāgarati* and *jāgramāna*.

1021. a. The stem *irajya* (active only) *regulate*, from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from *yraj* or *ṛj*. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of *iradh propitiate* (only *iradhanta* and *irādhyāi*, apparently for *iradhadyāi*).

b. The middle-stem *īya*, not infrequent in the oldest language, is often called an intensive of *yi go*, but without any propriety, as it has no analogy of form whatever with an intensive. The isolated 1st pl. *Imahe*, common in RV., is of questionable character.

1022. The root *li totter*, with constant intensive reduplication, *leli*, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., *lelāyati* and *lelāyate*, pples *lelāyānti* and *lelāyatas* (gen. sing.) and *lelāyamāna*, impf. *alelāyat* and *alelet* and *aleliyata*, perf. *lelāya* and *lelāya* (ṛ).

1023. The RV. anomalous form *dart* (or *dard*), 2d and 3d sing. from *ydr̥* or *dar*, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from *dardar*. RV. has once *avarivus* (or *-vur*) where the sense requires a form from *yvrt̥*, as *avarivṛtus*. The form *rarāpātā* (RV., once) seems corrupt.

1024. A marked intensive or frequentative meaning is not always easily to be traced in the forms classed as intensive; and in some of them it is quite effaced. Thus, the roots *cit*, *nij*, *viṣ* use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with *gr̥* (*jāgr̥*). The grammarians reckon the inflection of *nij* and *viṣ* as belonging to the reduplicating present-system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way *vic* and *vij*; *jāgr̥*, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

a. Also *daridrā*, intensive of *ydrā run*, is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugational forms: as *dadaridrāu*; *adaridrāsīt*, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language (unless *dāridrat* TS., for which VS. MS. read *dāridra*). The so-called root *vevi flutter* is a pure intensive.

1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from *vevid*, pass. *vevidyé*; desid. *vévidiṣāmi*; caus. *vevidāyāmi*; desid. of causative, *vévidayiṣāmi*. But such formations are excessively rare; quotable are *varivarjāyanti* AV., *jāgarāyant* TB. etc.; *dādhārayati* JB., *dandaçayitvā* DKC.

III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root: thus, *पिबामि pibāmi I drink*, desid. *पिपासामि pipāsāmi I wish to drink*; *जीवामि jīvāmi I live*, desid. *जिजीविषामि jijīviṣāmi I desire to live*. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.

a. The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brāhmaṇas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about a hundred) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: 1. a reduplication, which always has the accent; 2. an appended *ṣ sa* — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel *ṛ i*, becoming *ṛṣ iṣa*.

a. A few instances in the concluding part of QB. in which the accent is otherwise laid — thus, *tiṣṭhāset*, *viyāsāntam*, *vividīṣānti*, *īpsāntas* — must probably be regarded as errors.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final *i* or *u* is lengthened before *sa*: thus, *cikṣiṣa*, *cikṣa*, *jigīṣa*; *çuçrūṣa*, *juhūṣa*, *cukṣūṣa*.

b. A final *ṛ* becomes *īr* or *ūr* before *sa*: thus, *cikīṛṣa*, *titīṛṣa* (also irregularly *tūtūrṣa* RV.), *didhīṛṣa*, *aisīṛṣa*, *tistīṛṣa* (also *tutūrṣa*), *jīhīṛṣa*; *bubhūrṣa*, *mumūrṣa* (the only examples quotable).

c. Before *iṣa*, a final *i-* or *u-* or *ṛ-*vowel necessarily, and a penultimate *i* or *u* or *ṛ* optionally, have the *guṇa*-strengthening; no examples are quotable from the older texts; later occur *çīṣayīṣa*, *çīṣarīṣa*; *cikartīṣa*, *ninartīṣa*, *mimardīṣa*, *vivarīṣa*, *çuṣobhīṣa*; but *rurudīṣa*.

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in *ā* weaken this vowel to *i* or even *i:*: thus, *jīḡiṣa* from *yḡā go*; *pipīṣa* (beside *pipāsa*) from *yṣā drink*, *jihīṣa* (AV.) from *yhā remove* (Jihite: 864); *didhīṣa* (beside *dhitsa*) from *ydhā*.

e. A few roots in *an* or *am* lengthen the vowel: thus, *jigāṇsa* (beside *jigamiṣa*) from *ygam*; *jighāṇsa* from *yhan*; *mimāṇsa* from *yman*; and *tītāṇsa* from *ytan*.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in *cikiṣa* from *yci*, *cikitsa* from *ycit*, *jīḡiṣa* from *yji*, *jighāṇsa* from *yhan*; and *yhi* is said to make *jighīṣa* (no occurrence).

g. The roots *van* and *śan* make *vivāsa* and *śiṣāsa*, from the root-forms *vā* and *śā*.

h. The root *jīv* forms *juyīṣa* (ÇB.: *jijīviṣa*, VS.); and the other roots in *iv* (795) are required to make the same change before *sa*, and to have *guṇa* before *iṣa*: thus, *susyūṣa* or *siseviṣa* from *yāiv*. Swap forms *auṣapsa*. *Dhūrv* forms *dudhūrṣa*.

i. Initial *s* is usually left unchanged to *ṣ* after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has *ṣ* (184 e): thus, *sisanḡṣa* (ÇB.: *yśaṅj*), and *susyūṣa* and *sisanīṣa*, according to the grammarians; but *tuṣṭūṣa* is met with.

j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: *ninanḡṣa* (or *ninaṣīṣa*) from *ynaḡ be lost*; *mimāṇḡṣa* from *yṁajj* (occurs in *mimāṇḡṣu*); *mimārjīṣa* (or *mimṛḡṣa*) from *yṁrj*.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is *ṣ i* if the root has an *a*-vowel, or *ṣ ṛ*, or an *i*-vowel; it is *ṣ u* if the root has an *u*-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, *bībhatsa* from *ybadh* or *bādh*; *mīmāṇsa* from *yman*; and *tūtūrṣa* (RV.) from *ytur*; *dadhīṣu* (AV.) and *dadanḡṣu* (C.) are probably false forms.

b. From *yac* is made (ÇB.) *açīṣiṣa*, and from *yedh* (VS.) *edidhīṣa* (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating aorist: 862). In the older language, these are the only roots with initial vowel which form a desiderative stem, except *āp* and *ṛdh*, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further *açīṣiṣa* (*yīṣ seek*) and *īcīḡiṣa* (*yīḡṣ*); and the grammarians add others, as *arjīṣa* (*yārḡ*), *undidīṣa* (*yund*), *ardidhīṣa* (*yṛdh*).

c. RV. has the stems *īnakṣa* and *īyakṣa*, regarded as desideratives from *√naṣ* *attain* and *yaḥ*, with mutilated reduplication.

1030. A number of roots, including some of very common use, form an abbreviated stem apparently by a contraction of reduplication and root together into one syllable: thus, *इप्स* *Ipsa* from *√आप्* *āp*; *दित्स* *ditsa* from *√दा* *dā*.

a. Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: *dhitsa* (beside *didhīṣa*) from *√dhā*; *ditsa* (beside *didāsa*) from *√dā*; *dipsa* (*dhīpsa* JB.) from *√dabh*; *ḡikṣa* from *√ḡak*; *sikṣa* from *√sah*: these are found in RV.; in AV. are added *īpsa* from *√āp* (RV. has *apea* once), and *irtsā* from *√rdh*; the other texts furnish *līpsa* (QB.) or *līpsā* (TB.) from *√labh*, *ripsa* (GB.) from *√rabh*, *pitsa* (QB.) from *√pad*, and *dhikṣa* (QB.) from *√dah* (not *√dih*, since no roots with *i* as medial vowel show the contracted form). In the later language are further found *pitsa* from *√pat* also, *jñīpsa* from the causative quasi-root *jñāp* (below, 1042 j), and the anomalous *mitsa* from *√mā* *measure* (allowed also from roots *mī* and *mī*); and the grammarians give *ritsa* from *√rādh*. Also *mokṣa* is (very questionably) viewed as a desiderative stem from *√muc*.

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel *ṛ* *i* is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not been found in actual use.

a. It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (934, 943 a).

b. No example of the use of *i* is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (*pīpatīṣa*), VS. (*jījīviṣa*), and TS. (*jīgamiṣa*). The other examples noted in the early texts are *aḡīḡīṣa*, *cikramīṣa*, *jīgrahīṣa* (with *ī* for *i*, as elsewhere in this root), *cīcariṣa*, *edidhīṣa*, *jījaniṣa*, *didīkṣiṣa*, *bībādhīṣa*, *ruruciṣa*, *vivadiṣa*, *vividīṣa*, *ḡīḡāsiṣa*, *tiṣṭighīṣa*, *jīhiṣiṣa*: most of them are found only in QB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots *gam*, *grah*, *car*, *jīv*, *pat*, *bādh*, *vid*.

1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other *a*-stems (733 a), in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take

as active model ईप्सा *īpsa seek to obtain*, from √आप् *āp obtain*;
as middle, तितिक्षे *titikṣa endure*, from √तिज् *tij be sharp* (see
below, 1040).

1. Present Indicative.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	d.
1 ईप्सामि ईप्सावम् ईप्सामस् तितिक्षे तितिक्षावहे तितिक्षामहे					
<i>īpsāmi</i>	<i>īpsāvas</i>	<i>īpsāmas</i>	<i>tītikṣe</i>	<i>tītikṣāvaha</i>	<i>tītikṣāmahe</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1 ईप्सानि ईप्साव ईप्साम तितिक्षे तितिक्षावहे तितिक्षामहे					
<i>īpsāni</i>	<i>īpsāva</i>	<i>īpsāma</i>	<i>tītikṣai</i>	<i>tītikṣāvahai</i>	<i>tītikṣāmahai</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

3. Present Optative.

1 ईप्सेयम् ईप्सेव ईप्सेम तितिक्षेय तितिक्षेवहि तितिक्षेमहि					
<i>īpseyam</i>	<i>īpseva</i>	<i>īpsema</i>	<i>tītikṣeya</i>	<i>tītikṣevahi</i>	<i>tītikṣemahi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

4. Present Imperative.

2 ईप्स ईप्सतम् ईप्सत तितिक्षस्व तितिक्षेधाम् तितिक्षधम्					
<i>īpsa</i>	<i>īpsatam</i>	<i>īpsata</i>	<i>tītikṣasva</i>	<i>tītikṣedhām</i>	<i>tītikṣadhvam</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

5. Present Participle.

ईप्सन्त् *īpsant* (f. ईप्सन्ती *īpsantī*) तितिक्षमाणा *tītikṣamāṇa*

6. Imperfect.

1 ऐप्साम् ऐप्साव ऐप्साम अतितिक्षे अतितिक्षावहि अतितिक्षामहि					
<i>āipsam</i>	<i>āipsāva</i>	<i>āipsāma</i>	<i>ātītikṣe</i>	<i>ātītikṣāvahi</i>	<i>ātītikṣāmahi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

a. There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in *masi*, or 2d pl. in *thana* or *tana*, is met with; of the impv. in *tāt*, only *īpsatāt*. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in *sāni*, *sāt* and *sat*, *sān*, and *santa*. KBU. has *jijāṣaita* (cf. 738 b). But the fem. pple *sīṣāsati* (instead of *sīṣāsantī*) occurs once or twice in the older texts; and RV. has *dīdhiṣāṇa*.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the non-a-

conjugation: thus, *sīṣṛkṣmas* (BhP.), *titikṣmahe* and *bubhūṣate* 3d pl. (MBh.); and the fem. participles *līpsati* and *cikīṣati* (MBh.: against 449 b). The anomalous *jighāṁsiyāt* occurs also in MBh. and Vas.

1033. a. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem *mimikṣ*—thus, *mimikṣāthus*, *mimikṣātus*, *mimikṣūs*; *mimikṣe*, *mimikṣire*—along with the present forms *mimikṣati*, *mimikṣa* etc., *mimikṣant* (pple): they show that *mimikṣ* or *mikṣ* has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, *lṛtsis* and *acikṛtsis*, and a participle or two from *mīmāṁsa* (see below, 1037 a, 1039 a)—all of them from stems which have lost their distinct desiderative meaning, and come to bear an independent value. The forms noted from the other earlier texts will be given in full below.

b. In the later language, a complete system of verbal forms is allowed to be made in the desiderative conjugation, the desiderative stem, less its final vowel, being treated as a root. Thus:

1034. Perfect. The desiderative perfect is the periphrastic (1070 ff.).

a. Thus, *īpsām cakāra* etc.; *titikṣām cakre* etc. Such forms are made in ÇB. from *y/kram*, *dhūrv*, *bādh*, *ruh*; and in ChU. from *man*.

b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from *mimikṣ* in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viit. 21. 10) has once *didāṁsiṭha* *thou hast desired to give*.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the *iṣ*-form: thus ऐप्सिषम् *āipsiṣam*, अतितितिषि *átitikṣiṣi*.

a. The AV. has *acikṛtsis*, and *lṛtsis* (augmentless, with *mā* prohibitive: 579). TB. has *āipsit*; ÇB. *ālṛtsit*, *acikīṣis* and *ajighāṁsis*, and *amīmāṁsiṣṭhās*; KB. *jijñāsiṣi*; JUB. *āipsiṣma*; and AA. *adhitiṣam*. No examples have been found in the later language.

b. A precative is also allowed—thus, *īpsyāsam*, *titikṣiṣiṣya*; but it never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel *ṛ i*: thus, ईप्सिष्यामि *Ipsiṣyāmi* and ईप्सितास्मि *Ipsitāsmi*; तितितिष्ये *titikṣiṣyē* and तितितिताहे *titikṣitāhe*.

a. The ÇB. has *titikṣiṣyate* and *didṛkṣitāras*. Such forms as *jijñāsyāmas* (MBh.), *didhākṣyāmi* (R.), and *mīmāṁsyant* (GGS.) are doubtless presents, with *-aya-* blunderingly for *-sa-*.

1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel \tilde{e} i, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

a. In the older language have been noted: participle in *ta*, *mīmāṣ-**atā* (AV., GB.), *jijyūṣita* (AB.), *ṣuṣrūṣitā* and *dhīkṣitā* (QB.); — gerundive in *tavya*, *lipsitavya* (AB.), *didhyāsitavyā* (QB.); in *ya*, *jijñāsyā* (QB.); — gerund in *tva*, *mīmāṣaitvā* (K.).

1038. Of other declinable stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjective in *ū* — e. g. *titikṣu*, *dipsū*, *bībhatsū*, *siṣāsū* (RV. once *didṛkṣu*) — and the abstract noun in *ā* — e. g. *ipsā*, *bībhatsā*, *mīmāṣsā*, *ṣuṣrūṣā* — both of which are made with increasing freedom from an early epoch of the language: especially the former, which has the value and construction (271 a) of a present participle. A few adjectives in *enya* (having a gerundive character: 368 b) occur in the earlier language: thus, *didṛkṣēnya* (RV.), *ṣuṣrūṣēnya* (TS.), *niniṣēnya* (PB.), *jijñāsenya* (AB.), and, with irregular reduplication (apparently) *papṛkṣēnya* (RV.), *dadhīṣēnya* (JB.); and *didṛkṣēya* (RV.) is a similar formation. RV. has also *siṣāsāni* and *rurukṣāni*, and *siṣāsātu* (P). In the later language, besides some of the formations already instanced (those in *u* and *ā*, and in *syā* and *sitavya*), are found a few derivatives in *aka*, as *cikitsaka*, *bubhūṣaka*; in *ana*, as *jijñāṣana*, *didhyāṣana*; and, very rarely, in *anīya* (*cikitsanīya*) and *tr* (*ṣuṣrūṣitr*); further, secondary derivatives (doubtless) in *in* from the noun in *ā*, as *ipsin*, *jigīṣin* (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of an adjective in *a* we have an example in *bībhatsā* (B.S., and later), and perhaps in *avalipsa* (AVP.); such words as *ajugupsa*, *duṣeikitsa*, are rather to be understood as possessive compounds with the noun in *ā*. As to noun-stems in *is*, see 392 d.

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign *ṭ yā* to the desiderative root (or stem without final *a*): thus, *इप्स्यते* *Ipsyáte* *it is desired to be obtained*; — and a causative, by adding in like manner the causative-sign *ṣy āya* (1041): thus, *इप्सयामि* *Ipsáyāmi* *I cause to desire obtainment*.

a. Of these formations in the older language are found *mīmāṣyā-māna* (doubtless to be read for *-sāmāna*, AV.), *lipsyāmāna* (QB.), and *rurūṣayāmāna* (K.). Half-a-dozen such passives are quotable later, and one or two causatives: e. g. *cikitsyate*, *vivakṣyate*, *jijñāsyate*; *cikīṣayant*, *cikitsayīṣyati*.

b. For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas, see below, 1052 b.

1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are *cikits cure*, *jugups despise*, *titikṣ endure*, *bibhats abhor*, *mimāṃśa ponder*, *ṣuṣrūṣ obey*. Doubtless some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin: e. g. *ṣikṣ*, desiderative of *ṣak*.

a. On account of the near relation of desiderative and future (cf. 948 b), the former is occasionally found where the latter was rather to be expected: thus, *rājānaṃ prayiṣāntam* (ÇB.) *a king about to depart* *prāṇa uccikramiṣan* (ChU.) *the breath on the point of expiring*; *mumūrṣur ivā 'bhavat* (H.) *he was fain to die*.

IV. Causative.

1041. a. In the later language is allowed to be made from most roots a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign *अय* *aya* to the, usually strengthened, root.

b. But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign *अय* *aya* are of causative value; and the grammarians regard a part of them as constituting a conjugation-class, the tenth or cur-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others (775).

c. In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1056).

d. The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than three hundred roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1046) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign *अय* *aya* is as follows:

a. Medial or initial *i*, *u*, *r*, *l* have the *guṇa*-strengthening (if capable of it: 240); thus, *vedaya* from *√vid*, *codaya* from *√oud*, *tarpaya* from *√trp*; and *kalpaya* from *√kṛp* (only example): but *cintaya*, *gulphaya*, *ḍṛhaya*.

b. But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, *cit* (*citaya* and *cetaya*), *iṣ*, *il*, *riṣ* (*riṣaya* and *reṣaya*), *vip* (*vipaya* and *vepaya*), *tuj*, *tur*, *tuṣ* (*tuṣaya* and *toṣaya*), *dyut* (*dyutaya* and *dyotaya*), *ruc* (*rucaya* and *rocaya*), *ṣuc* (*ṣucaya* and *ṣocaya*), *qubh* (*qubhaya* and *qobhaya*), *kṛp*, *mṛḍ*, *apṛh*; and *grabh* makes in RV. *grbhaya*. *Duṣ* and *guh* lengthen the vowel instead. *Mṛj* sometimes has *vrddhi*, as in other forms: thus, *mārjaya* (beside *marjaya*). On the other hand, *guṇa* appears irregularly (240 b) in *srevaya* (beside *ṣrivaya*), *heḍaya*, *mekṣaya*. Similar irregularities in the later language are *giraya*, *tulaya* (also *tolaya*), *churaya* (also *choraya*), *muṣaya*, *aphuraya*. No forms made without strengthening have a causative value in the older language.

c. A final vowel has the *vrddhi*-strengthening: thus, *cāyaya*, *ḡāyaya*, *cyāvaya*, *bhāvaya*, *dhāraya*, *sāraya*.

d. But no root in *i* or *ī* has *vrddhi* in the Veda (unless *pāyaya* [*k*, below] comes from *pī* rather than *pā*) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable: only RV. has *kṣayaya* (beside *kṣepaya*) from *√kṣi* *possess*; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, 1. In B. and S., however, occur *ḡāyaya* and *sāyaya* (*/si* or *sā*); and later *-āyaya*, *cāyaya*, *smāyaya*, *ḡāyaya*, *nāyaya*.

e. A few roots have a form also with *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *cru*, *dru*, *plu*, *yu* *separate*, *ṣru*, *pū*, *stu*, *eru*; *jṛ* *waste away*, *ḍṛ* *pierce*, *ṣṛ*, *smṛ*, *hṛ*; *√vr̥* *choose* makes *varaya* later (it is not found in V.; epic also *vāraya*).

f. A medial or initial *a* in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, *bhājaya*, *avāpaya*, *adaya*; *janaya*, *ṣrathaya*, *anaya* (but *mandaya*, *valgaya*, *bhakṣaya*).

g. The roots in the older language which keep their short *a* are *jan*, *pan*, *evan*, *dhan*, *ran*, *stan*, *gam* (*gāmaya* once in RV.), *tam*, *dam*, *raḡ* (usually *raḡjaya*), *prath*, *ṣrath*, *ṣnath*, *vyath*, *svad*, *chad* *please* (also *chandaya*), *nad*, *dhvas* (also *dhvaṇsaya*), *rah*, *mah* (also *maḥhaya*), *nabh* (also *nambhaya*), *tvar*, *svar*, *hval*. In the later language, farther, *kvaṇ*, *jvar*, *trap*, *day*, *paṇ*, *rac*, *ran* *ring*, *vadh*, *val*, *vaḡ*, *ḡath*, *akhal*, *sthag*. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by *ad*, *kal*, *kram*, *kṣam*, *khan*, *ghaṭ*, *cam*, *cal*, *jval*, *tvar*, *dal*, *dhvan*, *nad*, *nam*, *pat*, *bhram*, *math*, *mad*, *yam*, *ram*, *lag*, *lal*, *vam*, *vyadh*, *ḡam* *be quiet*, *ḡram*, *ḡvas*, *svap*. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous.

h. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: e. g. *dambhaya*, *daṇḡaya*, *indhaya*,

limpaya, rundhaya, çundhaya, kṛntaya, dr̥haya. From a number of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made: thus (besides those mentioned above, g), kuñcaya and kocaya, granthaya and grathaya, bṛñhaya and barhaya, bhrañçaya and bhrāçaya, çundhaya and çodhaya, sañjaya and sajjaya, siñcaya and secaya. In a few of these is seen the influence of present-stems.

i. Most roots in final ā, and the root ṛ, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpaya.

j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots kṣā, khyā, gā sing (also gāyaya), glā, ghrā, jñā, dā give, dā divide, drā run, dhā put and dhā suck, mā measure, mlā, yā, vā blow, sthā, snā, hā remove; the later language adds kēmā, dhmā, and hā leave. From jñā and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jñapaya and anapaya, and from çrā only çrapaya (not in RV.). Also, in the later language, glā forms glapaya, and mlā forms mlapaya.

k. Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, gāyaya (also gāpaya) from √gā sing, chāyaya, pāyaya from √pā drink (or pi), pyāyaya from √pyā or pyāy; sāyaya from √sā (or si); also, later, hvāyaya from √hvā (or hū);—and further, from roots vā weave, vyā, and çā (or çī), according to the grammarians.

l. The same p is taken also by a few i- and ī-roots, with other accompanying irregularities: thus, in the older language, kṣepaya (RV., beside kṣayaya) from √kṣi possess; jāpaya (VS. and later) from √ji; lāpaya (TB. and later; later also lāyaya) from √li cling; çrāpaya (VS., once) from √çri; adhyāpaya (S. and later) from adhi + √i;—in the later, kṣapaya (beside kṣayaya) from √kṣi destroy; māpaya from √mī; smāpaya (beside smāyaya) from √smi; hrepaya from √hri;—and the grammarians make further krāpaya from √kri; cāpaya (beside cāyaya) from √ci gather; bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhīçaya) from √bhi; repaya from √ri, and vlepaya from √vli. Moreover, √ruh makes ropaya (B. and later) beside rohaya (V. and later), and √knū makes knopaya (late).

m. More anomalous cases in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun, are: pāpaya from √pā protect; prīpaya from √pri; linaya (according to grammarians) from √li; dhūnaya (not causative in sense) from √dhū; bhīçaya from √bhi; ghātaya from √han; sphāvaya from √sphā or sphāy.

n. In the Prakṛit, the causative stem is made from all roots by the addition of (the equivalent of) āpaya; and a number (about a dozen) of like formations are quotable from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the latest period: but three, kṛiāpaya, jivāpaya, and dīkṣāpaya, occur in the epics; and two, açāpaya and kṣālāpaya, even in the Sūtras. ✓

1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other

stems in ऋ a (733 a): it will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धारय *dhāraya*, from √धृ *dhṛ*. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

active.		
s.	d.	p.
1 धारयामि <i>dhārayāmi</i> etc.	धारयावस् <i>dhārayāvas</i> etc.	धारयामस् <i>dhārayāmas</i> etc.
middle.		
s.	d.	p.
1 धारये <i>dhāraye</i> etc.	धारयावहे <i>dhārayāvahe</i> etc.	धारयामहे <i>dhārayāmahe</i> etc.

a. The 1st pl. act. in *masi* greatly outnumbers (as ten to one) that in *mas* in both RV. and AV. No example occurs of 2d pl. act. in *thana*, nor of 3d sing. mid. in *e* for *ate*.

2. Present Subjunctive.

For the subjunctive may be instanced all the forms noted as occurring in the older language:

active.		
1	dhārāyāpi	dhārāyāva dhārāyāma
2	{ dhārāyāsi	dhārāyāthas dhārāyātha
	{ dhārāyās	
3	{ dhārāyāti	dhārāyātas dhārāyān
	{ dhārāyāt	
middle.		
1	dhārāyāi	dhārāyāvahāi
2	dhārāyāse	{ dhārāyādhve
		{ dhārāyādhvāi
3	{ dhārāyāte	dhārāyāite
	{ dhārāyātāi	

b. Only one dual mid. form in *āite* occurs: *mādayāite* (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in *āi*, except in 1st du., is *mādayādhvāi*. The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

active.		
1 धारयेयम् <i>dhārayeyam</i> etc.	धारयेव <i>dhārayeva</i> etc.	धारयेम <i>dhārayema</i> etc.

middle.

१ धारयेय	धारयेवहि	धारयेमहि
dhāráyeya	dhāráyevahi	dhāráyemahi
etc.	etc.	etc.

c. Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV., two in AV.); they become more common in the Brāhmaṇas. A 3d sing. mid. in *īta* instead of *eta* (cf. 738 b) occurs once in B. (*kāmayīta* AB.), is not very rare in S. (a score or two of examples are quotable), and is also found in MBh. and later. Of a corresponding 3d pl. in Iran only one or two instances can be pointed out (*kāmayīran* AÇS., *kalpayīran* AGS.).

4. Present Imperative.

active.

१ धारय	धारयतम्	धारयत
dhāráya	dhāráyatam	dhāráyata
etc.	etc.	etc.

middle.

१ धारयस्व	धारयेवाम्	धारयध्वम्
dhāráyasva	dhāráyethām	dhāráyadhvam
etc.	etc.	etc.

d. Imperative persons with the ending *tāt* occur: *dhārayatāt* (AV.) and *cyāvayatāt* (ÇB.) are 2d sing.; *pātayatāt* (ÇB.) is 3d sing.; *gamayatāt* and *cyāvayatāt* (K. etc.), and *vārayatāt* (TB.) are used as 2d pl. *Vārayadhvāt* (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only known example of such an ending (see above, 549 b).

5. Present Participle.

धारयन् dhāráyant धारयमाण dhāráyamāṇa.

e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually made in *anti* (449 c). But a very few examples in *ati* are met with (one in the older language: *namayati* Āpast.).

f. The middle participle in *māna* is made through the whole history of the language, from RV. (only *yātāyamāna*) down, and is the only one met with in the earlier language (for *īrayānas* [sic], MS. II. 7. 12, is evidently a false reading, perhaps for *īrayā nas*). But decidedly more common in the epics and later is one formed with *āna*: e. g. *kāmayāna*, *cintayāna*, *pālayāna*, *vedayāna*. It is quotable from a larger number of roots than is the more regular participle in *māna*. As it occurs in no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.

6. Imperfect.

active,

1 धारयम्	धारयाव	धारयाम
ādhārayam	ādhārayāva	ādhārayāma
etc.	etc.	etc.

middle.

1 धारये	धारयावहि	धारयामहि
ādhāraye	ādhārayāvahi	ādhārayāmahi
etc.	etc.	etc.

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem *aya* outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in *syāmi*, one passive participle (*coditā*), and ten infinitives in *dhyāi*; also one or two derivative nouns in *tr* (*bodhayitr̥*, *codayitrī*), five in *iṣu*, seven in *itnu*, and a few in *a* (*atipārayā*, *nidhārayā*, *vācamitākhayā*, *viṣvamejaya*), and in *u* (*dhārayū*, *bhāvayū*, *mandayū*). In AV., also two *s*-future forms and four gerunds in *tvā*; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (*gamayāṁ cakāra*). In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1071 a); a derivative noun in *ā* is made from the causative stem, and to its accusative, in *ām*, is added the auxiliary: thus,

धारयां चकार *dhārayāṁ cakāra* (or *āsa*: 1070 b)

धारयां चक्रे *dhārayāṁ cakre*

a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — *gamayāṁ cakāra* — in AV., and but half-a-dozen in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the *mantra*-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, except in ÇB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of the imperfect as its narrative tense).

1046. Aorist. The aorist of the causative conjugation is the reduplicated, which in general has nothing to do with the causative stem, but is made directly from the root.

a. It has been already fully described (above, 858 ff.).

b. Its association with the causative is probably founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth; in the Veda, it is made from a

considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in *aya*.

c. The causative aorist of $\gamma\sqrt{\text{dh}}$, then, is as follows:

१ घदीधरम्	घदीधराव	घदीधराम
ádīdharam	ádīdharāva	ádīdharāma
etc.	etc.	etc.
१ घदीधरे	घदीधरावहि	घदीधरामहि
ádīdhare	ádīdharāvahi	ádīdharāmahi
etc.	etc.	etc.

An example was inflected in full at 804.

1047. In a few cases, where the root has assumed a peculiar form before the causative sign—as by the addition of a *p* or *q* (above, 1042 i ff.)—the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, *atiṣṭhipam* from *sthāp* (stem *sthāpaya*) for *ṣsthā*. Aorist-stems of this character from quasi-roots in *āp* are *arpipa* ($\gamma\sqrt{\text{r}}$), *jījapa* or *jījīpa*, *jijāpa* or *jijīpa*, *qīqrapa*, *tiṣṭhipa*, *jīhipa*; the only other example from the older language is *bībhīṣa* from *bhīṣ* for $\gamma\sqrt{\text{bh}}$.

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an *iṣ*-aorist from causative conjugation-stems are met with: thus, *dhvanayīt* (RV.; TS. has instead the wholly anomalous *dhvanayit*), *vyathayis* and *ālayīt* (AV.), *pyāyayīṣṭhās* and *avādayīṣṭhās* (KBU.), in the older language (RV. has also *ūnayis* from a denominative stem); in the later, *ahlādayīṣata* (DKU.), and probably *aghātayīthās* (MBh.; for *-iṣṭhās*: cf. 904 d). The passive 3d sing. *aropī*, from the causative *ropaya*, has a late occurrence (Çatr.).

1049. A precativa is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary *i* substituted for its final *a*; in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

धार्यामम् dhāryāsam etc. धारयिषीय dhārayiṣīya etc.

This formation is to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary $\sqrt{\text{i}}$, which takes the place of its final *a*. Thus:

S-Future.

धारयिष्यामि dhārayiṣyāmi etc. धारयिष्ये dhārayiṣyē etc.
धारयिष्यन् dhārayiṣyānt धारयिष्यमाण dhārayiṣyāmāṇa

Conditional.

अधारायिष्यम् *ādhārayiṣyam* etc. अधारायिष्ये *ādhārayiṣye* etc.

Periphrastic Future.

धारयितास्मि *dhārayitāsmi* etc.

a. It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the s-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only *adhārayiṣyat* QB.; *alāpayiṣyathās* CbU.); of the latter, QB. affords two instances (*pārayitāsmi* and *janayitāsi*). Examples of both formations are quotable from the later language (including the middle form *darṣayitāhe*: 947c).

1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are made in two different ways: either 1. from the full causative stem (in the same manner as the futures, just described); or 2. from the causatively strengthened root-form (with loss of the causative-sign).

a. To the latter class belong the passive participle, as *dhārīta*; the gerundive and gerund in *ya*, as *dhārya*, *-dhārya*; and the gerund in *am*, as *dhāram*; also, in the older language, the root-infinitive, as *-dhāram* etc. (970a). To the former class belong the infinitive and the gerund in *tvā*, as *dhārayitum*, *dhārayitvā*, and the gerundive in *tavya*, as *dhārayitavya* (also, in the older language, the infinitives in *tavāi* and *dhyāi*, as *jānayitavāi*, *īrayādhyāi*, etc.). The auxiliary *i* is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

b. Examples of the passive participle are: *īritā*, *vāsita*, *grāvitā*. But from the quasi-root *jñap* (1042j) is made *jñapta*, without union-vowel.

c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in *tvā* are: *jōṣayitum*, *dhārayitum*; *kalpayitvā*, *arpayitvā*. But in the epics, and even later, infinitives are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign; e. g. *ṣeṣitum*, *bhāvitum*, *dhāritum*, *mocitum*.

d. Examples of the gerunds in *ya* and *am* are: *-bhājya*, *-ghārya*, *-pādyā*, *-vāya*, *nāya*, *-sthāpya*; *-bhājam*, *sthāpam*. But stems showing in the root-syllable no difference from the root retain *ay* of the causative-sign in the gerund, to distinguish it from that belonging to the primary conjugation: e. g. *-kramāyya*, *-gamāyya*, *-janāyya*, *-jvalāyya*, *-kalāyya*, *-ṣamayya*, *-racayya*, *-āpayya*.

e. Examples of the gerundive in *tavya* are: *tarpayitavyā*, *gamayitavyā*, *hvāyayitavyā*; of that in *ya*, *sthāpya*, *hārya*, *yāya*; of that in *aniya*, *sthāpaniya*, *bhāvanīya*.

f. Examples of other formations occurring in the older language are as follows: root-infinitive, -sthāpam, -vāsas; — infinitive in tu, other cases than accusative, -janayitavāi, jānayitavāi, pāyayitavāi, -çoot-ayitavāi; çamayitos; — infinitive in dhyāi, iṣayādhyāi, trayādhyāi, taṇsayādhyāi, nāçayādhyāi, mandayādhyāi, mādayādhyāi, riṣayādhyāi, vartayādhyāi, vājayādhyāi, syandayādhyāi (all RV.); — gerundive in āyya, paṇayāyya, sprhayāyya, trayayāyya (? ytrā).

g. Other noun-derivatives from the causative stem are not infrequent, being decidedly more numerous and various than from any other of the secondary conjugation-stems. Examples (of other kinds than those instanced in 1044) are: āraṇa, dāraṇa, priṇa, bhīṇa; jñāpaka, ropaka; paṭayālū, sprhayālū; jānayati, jñapti.

h. All the classes of derivatives, it will be noticed, follow in regard to accent the analogy of similar formations from the simple root, and show no influence of the special accent of the causative-stem.

1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. From the causative stem are made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign णि या to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, धारयति dhāryāte.

b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only bhājyā- AV.), but some thirty instances are met with in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras: examples are jñapyā- (TS.), sadya- (K.), pādyā- (AB.), vādyā- (TB.), sthāpyā- (GB.); and they become quite common later.

c. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign इय iṣa, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दिद्वारयिषति didhārayiṣati.

d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later (about forty stems are quotable): examples are pipāyayīṣa (K.), bibhāvayīṣa and cikalpayīṣa and lulobhayīṣa (AB.), didrāpayīṣa and rirādhayīṣa (GB.), and so on.

e. As to causatives made from the intensive and desiderative stems, see above, 1025, 1039.

V. Denominative.

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

a. It is a view now prevallying held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations analogous with a

present-system, are in their ultimate origin denominative; and that many apparent roots are of the same character. The denominatives which are so called differ from these only in that their origin is recent and undisguised.

1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an ण् (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

a. But such formations are rare in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is *bhiṣákti he heals*, from *bhiṣáj physician*; it is made like a form of the root-class; *abhiṣṇak* seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class; and *pátyate he rules* appears to be a denominative of *páti master*; other possible cases are *iṣaṇas* etc., *kṛpāṇanta*, *taruṣema* etc., *vanuṣanta*, *bhuraṇanta*, *vānanvati*. From the other older texts are quotable *kavyānt* (TS.), *āḥlonat* (TB.), *unmūlati* (SB.), *svadhāmahe* (ṚṢ.). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language: e. g. *kalahant* (MBh.), *arghanti* (Pāṇi.), *abjati* (Çatr.), *gardabhati* (SD.), *utkaṇṭhate* (SD.), *jagannetrati* (Pras.), *kelīqvetasahasrapatrati* (Pras.).

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign ण् *yá*, which has the accent.

a. The identity of this *ya* with the *ya* of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final *a* of a noun-stem the causative-sign *aya*, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the *ya* of the *ya*-class (759), of the passive (768), and of the derivative intensive stem (1016), is much more doubtful.

1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are *mantráyate speaks, takes counsel*, (from *mantra*, *yman + tra*), *kirtáyati commemorates* (from *kirti*, *ykr praise*), *artháyati or -te makes an object of, seeks* (from *ártha goal, object*), *varṇáyati depicts* (from *varṇa color*), *katháyati or -te gives the how of anything, relates* (from *katham how?*), and so on. These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class, the *cur*-class (above, 607, 775).

1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

a. They are frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns); AB., less than twenty; QB., hardly more than a dozen; and so on. In the later language they are quotable by hundreds, but from the vast majority of stems occur only an example or two; the only ones that have won any currency are those that have assumed the character of "cur-class" verbs.

1058. The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: *be like, act as, play the part of; regard or treat as; cause to be, make into; use, make application of; desire, wish for, crave* — that which is signified by the noun-stem.

a. The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various; and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form; but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign *yá*, will be the best one to follow.

1059. From stems in a. a. The final a of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, *amitráyāti plays the enemy, is hostile; devayāti cultivates the gods, is pious.*

b. But final a is also often lengthened: thus, *aghāyāti plans mischief; priyāyāto holds dear; aqvāyāti seeks for horses; aqanāyāti desires food.*

c. While in the Veda the various modes of denominative formation are well distributed, no one showing a marked preponderance, in the later language the vast majority of denominatives (fully seven eighths) are of the two kinds just noticed: namely, made from a-stems, and of the form *aya* or *āya*, the former predominating. And there is seen a decided tendency to give the denominatives in *aya* an active form and transitive meaning, and those in *āya* a middle form and intransitive or reflexive meaning. In not a few cases, parallel formations from the same stem illustrate this distinction: e. g. *kaluṣayati makes turbid, kaluṣāyate is or becomes turbid; taruṇayati rejuvenates, taruṇāyate is rejuvenated; qithilayati loosens, qithilāyate grows loose.* No distinct traces of this distinction are

recognizable in the Veda, although there also corresponding forms with short *a* and with long *ā* sometimes stand side by side.

d. Final *a* is sometimes changed to *ī* (very rarely *i*): thus, *adhvariṃyāti* performs the sacrifice; *taviṣṭiyāti* is mighty; *putriyāti* or *putriyāti* desires a son; *māṇṣiyāti* craves flesh; *sajjīyate* is ready; *candrakāntiyāti* is moonstonelike. Not fifty stems of this form are quotable.

e. It is occasionally dropped (after *n* or *r*): thus, *turaṇyāti* is rapid; *adhvaryāti* performs the sacrifice.

f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of *ṣ*, as in *stanasyāti* seeks the breast; the change of *a* to *e*, as in *vareyāti* plays the wooer.

1060. From stems in *ā*. Final *ā* usually remains, as in *gopāyāti* plays the herdsman, protects; *pr̥tanāyati* fights; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an *a*-stem; thus, *pr̥tanyati* fights; *tilottamiyati* acts Tilottama.

1061. From stems in *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū*. Such stems are (especially those in *u*, *ū*) very rare. They show regularly *ī* and *ū* before *ya*: thus, *arāṭiyāti* (also *-tiy-*) plots injury; *janīyāti* (also *-niy-*) seeks a wife; *sakhīyāti* desires friendship; *nāriyate* turns woman; — *ṣatrūyāti* acts the foe; *r̥jūyāti* is straight; *vasūyāti* desires wealth; *asūyāti* grumbles, is discontented; with short *u*, *gātuyāti* sets in motion.

a. More rarely, *i* or *u* is treated as *a* (or else is gunated, with loss of *y* or *v*): thus, *dhunayāti* comes snorting; *laghayati* makes easier. Sometimes, as to *a* (above, 1059 f), a sibilant is added: thus, *aviṣyāti* is vehement; *uruṣyāti* saves. From *dhī*, RV. makes *dhīyāyate*.

1062. From other vowel-stems. a. Final *r̥* is changed to *rī*: thus, *mātriyāti* treats as a mother (only quotable example).

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, *gavyāti* seeks cattle, goes a-raiding.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before *ya*: thus, *bhīṣajyāti* plays the physician, cures; *ukṣajyāti* acts like a bull; *apasyāti* is active; *namasyāti* pays reverence; *sumanasyāte* is favorably disposed; *taruṣyāti* fights.

a. But a final *n* is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, *rājāyāte* or *rājīyāti* is kingly, from *rājan*; *-karmayati* from *-karman*; *svāmīyati* treats as master, from *svāmin*: *vṛṣāyāte* from *vṛṣan* is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, *ojāyāte* from *ojas*, *-manāyate* from *-manas*; — while, on the other hand, an *a*-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before *ya*: thus, *iṣayāti* from *iṣ*, *satvanāyati* from *satvan*.

1064. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a *s* before the *ya*; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denominative-sign virtually *say*

—or even, with *a* also added after an *i*- or *u*-vowel, *asya*; and this comes to be recognized by the grammarians as an independent sign, forming denominatives that express desire: thus, *sumakhasyāte* is *merry*; *jīvanasya* (in *-syā* *love of life*); *vṛṣasyati* *desires the male* (the only quotable examples); *madhuṣyati* or *madhvasyati* *longs for honey*; *kṣīrasyati* *craves milk*.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in *kāmya* what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having *kāma* as its final member: thus, *rathakāmyati* *longs for the chariot* (K.: only example found in the older language); *arthakāmyati* *desires wealth*; *putrakāmyati* *wishes a son* (the only quotable examples); coming from the possessive compounds *rathakāma* etc. And *arthapāyati* *treats as property* is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Prakritic causative form (1042 n),

a. Stems of anomalous formation are *drāghaya* from *dīrgha*, *draḍhaya* from *dr̥gha*, and perhaps *mradaya* from *mṛdu*.

1066. a. A number of denominative stems occur in the Veda for which no corresponding noun-stems are found, although for all or nearly all of them related words appear: thus, *aṅkūyā*, *stabhūyā*, *iṣudhya*; *dhīṣanyā*, *riṣanyā*, *ruvanya*, *huvanya*, *iṣanyā*; *ratharyā*, *qratharyā*, *sāparya*; *iyasya* (ÇB.), *irasryā*, *daṣasyā*, *makhasyā*, *panasyā*, *sacasyā*. Those in *anya*, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in *āya*, which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the *nā*-class (732), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, *gr̥bhāyāti* beside *gr̥bhṇāti*. Of such, RV. has *gr̥bhāyā*, *mathāyā*, *pruṣāyā*, *muṣāyā*, *qrathāyā*, *skabhāyā*, *stabhāyā*. A few others have no *nā*-class companions: thus, *damāyā*, *qamāyā*, *tudāyā* (AV.); and *panāya*, *naṣāya*, *vṛṣāya* (√*vṛṣ* *rain*), *vasāyā* (√*vas* *clothe*), and perhaps *aṣāya* (√*aṣ* *attain*).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from onomatopoeic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition: e. g. *kiṭakiṭāya*, *thatathatarāya*, *miṣamiṣāya*, *qaraqarāya*.

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. *aṅkhāya*, *arthāya*, *iṣāya* (also *iṣayā*), *ūrjāya*, *ṛtāya*, *kṛpāya*, *mantrāya*, *mṛgāya*, *vavrāya*, *vājāya* (also *vājayā*), *vīlāya*, *suṣvāya* (also *suṣvayā*); AV. adds *kīrtāya*, *dhūpāya*, *pālāya*, *virāya*, *sabhāgāya*.

a. The accent of *ānniya* and *hāstaya* (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in *Ṭa* (733a) throughout the present-system. Forms outside of

that system — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or *cur*-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

a. In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, except *ūnayis* (with *mā* prohibitive), an *ig*-aorist 3d sing. (cf. 1048). Further examples of this aorist are *āsūyit* (ÇB.), *pāpayiṣṭa* (TS.: pl., with *mā* prohibitive), and *avṛṣāyīṣata* (VS.: etc.). The form *āsaparyāit* (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with *ai* for *i* (555c), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; *amanasyāit*, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (il. 3. 85). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas: e. g. the futures *gopāyīṣyati* (ÇB.), *meghāyīṣyānt*, *kaṇḍūyīṣyānt*, *çikāyīṣyānt* (TS.), the participles *bhiṣajyitā* (? JB. -jita) and *iyasitā* (ÇB.), *kaṇḍūyitā*, *çikīṭā*, and *meghitā* (TS.), the gerund *saṃçlākāṇya* (ÇB.), and so on. In the later language, also, forms outside the present-system (except the participle in *ta*) are only sporadic; and of tertiary conjugation forms there are hardly any: examples are the causatives *dhūmāyaya* and *asūyaya* (MBh.), and the desiderative *abhiṣiṣeṇayīṣa* (Çiq.).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in *u* and *ā* (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in *ana* prevails over all others. ✓

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. ONE periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (942 ff.), since it has become in the later language a recognized part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is —

The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brāhmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.

a. It is made by prefixing the acusative of a derivative noun-stem in *या ऌ* (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of *यक् कृ make*, more often of *यश्म as be*, and very rarely of *यभू bhū be*.

b. In the older language (see below, 1073 d), *कृ* is almost the only auxiliary used in making this tense, *as* occurring very few times, and *bhū* never. Later, also, *bhū* is quite rare (it is found nine times in MBh., six times in Kgh., and a few times elsewhere), but *as* gains very greatly in currency, having become the usual auxiliary, while *कृ* is only exceptional.

c. Somewhat similar formations with yet other auxiliaries are not absolutely unknown in the later language: thus *varayām pracakramus* (MBh.), *pūrayām* (etc.) *vyadhus* (Vīracaritra), *mṛgayām avātsit* (ib.).

1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:

a. It is the accepted perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in *या ऌ* being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from *यबुध् budh*, intensive *बोबुधाम् bobudhām*, desiderative *बुभुत्साम् bubhutsām*, causative *बोधयाम् bodhayām*; denominative *मन्त्रयाम् mantrayām*.

b. The formation from causative stems (including those denominatives which have assumed the aspect of causatives: 1058) is by far the most frequent. Only a few desideratives are quotable (1034 a), and of intensives only *jāgarām āsa* (1020 a; beside *ja jāgāra*).

c. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, *यासाम् āsām* from *यआस् ās sit*; *ईक्षाम् īkṣām* from *यईक्ष् īkṣ see*; *उज्जाम् ujjhām* from *यउज्क् ujh forsake*; *एधाम् edhām* from *यएध् edh thrive* (the only examples quotable).

d. Excepted are the roots *āp* and *āñch*, and those beginning with a before two consonants (and taking *ān* as reduplication: 788).

e. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, *cakāsām*. But *ūrpu* (713) is said to form *ūrponāva* only; while *jāgr* (1020) makes a perfect of either formation, and *daridrā* (1024a) is said to do the same.

f. A few other roots make the periphrastic in addition to the usual reduplicated perfect. Thus, in the older language only are found the stems *cāyām*, *tāyām*, *nilayām*, *vāsām* (*yvas dicat*), *vidām* (*y'vid know*), *vyayām*, and the reduplicated stems *bibhayām* and *juhavām*; the later language adds *ayām*, *jayām*, *dayām*, *nayām*, *smayām*, *hwayām*, and the reduplicated *bibharām*; and the grammarians teach like formations from *uṣ*, *kās*, and the reduplicating *hri*. The stem is made in every case from the present-stem with *guṇa* of a final vowel.

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is made with the middle inflection of *ykr*. For passive use, the auxiliaries *as* and *bhū* are said to be allowed to take a middle inflection.

a. One or two late examples of *bhū* with middle inflection have been pointed out, but none of *as*.

b. It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use: for that of *ykr*, see 800k; of *ybhū*, see 800d; of *yas*, see 800m.

c. The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not occasionally allowed to come between them: thus, *mimāṣām evā cakre* (ÇB.) *he merely speculated*; *vidām vā idam ayaṁ cakāra* (JB.) *he verily knew this*; *prabhrāñçayām yo naghūṣaṁ cakāra* *who made Naghusa fall headlong* (Rgh.).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in *ām* as it appears especially in the later language; earlier, its aspect is rather that of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a noun with various forms of the root *kr*. Thus:

a. Of the periphrastic perfect occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, *gamayām cakāra* (AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas examples from causative stems begin to appear more freely, but are everywhere few in number except in ÇB. (which has them from twenty-four roots, and a few of these in several occurrences). From desiderative stems they are yet rarer (only seven occurrences, five of them in ÇB.: see 1034a); and from intensives they are unknown. The periphrastic perfects of primary conjugation were noted above (1071f: in ÇB.,

eight stems and about eighty occurrences, chiefly from *ikṣ*, *bhī*, and *vid*; that from *vid* is found in the greatest number of texts).

b. Forms with the aorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with *akar* occur *ramayām* (K.), *janayām* and *sādayām* and *svadayām* and *sthāpayām* (MS.); and with *akran*, *vidām* (TS. TB. MS.). With the aorist optative or precative has been found only *pāvayām kriyāt* (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown: thus, *juhavām karoti* (ÇÇS.). So also in the later language, where have been found quotable half-a-dozen such cases as *vidām karoti* (Pañc.), *vidām karotu* and *kurvantu* (Pañc. etc.).

d. Only two or three cases of the use of *ās* instead of *kṛ* as auxiliary are met with in the older language: they are *mantrayām āsa* (AB. GB.), *janayām āsa* (ÇvU.), and *ikṣām āsa* (ÇÇS.).

e. A single example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accentuated texts: namely, *atiracayām cakrús* (ÇB.). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (compare 945).

Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

1074. The frequent use, especially in the later language, of a past or a future passive participle with the copula (or also without it) to make participial phrases having a value analogous to that of verb-tenses, has been already noticed (899). But other similar combinations are not unknown in any period of the language, as made with other auxiliaries, or with other participles.

a. They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brāhmaṇas, and become again of minor account in the later language.

1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows:

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb *i* go. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: *áyajvano vibhájann éti védāḥ* (RV.) *he ever gives away the wealth of the non-offerer*; *yathā śūcya vāsaḥ saṁdadhad iyād evam evāi tābhīr yajñasya chidraṁ saṁdadhad eti* (AB.) *just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice*; *agnir vā idam vāiçvānaro dahann āit* (PB.) *Agni Vaiçvānara kept burning this creation*; *tē 'surāḥ parā-jitā yānto dyāvāpṛthivī ūpāçrayan* (TB.) *those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth*; *tē 'śya gṛhāḥ paçāva upamūryā-māṇā iyuḥ* (ÇB.) *the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed*.

b. The same with the verb *car go* (continually or habitually) signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: *agnāv agniṣ carati praviṣṭaḥ* (AV.) *Agni is constantly present in the fire*; *adaṇḍyaṁ daṇḍena ghnantaḥ caranti* (PB.) *they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment*.

c. The same with the verbs *ās sit* and *sthā stand*, with a like meaning. Thus, *juhvata āsate* (K.) *they continue sacrificing*; *te 'pakramya prativāvadato 'tiṣṭhan* (AB.) *they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing*. In the later language, *sthā* is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A present or future or perfect participle with *as* and *bhū be*. The participle is oftenest a future one; *as* only is used in the optative, *bhū* usually in other forms. Thus: *yaḥ pūrvam anijānaḥ syāt* (AB.) *whoever may not have made sacrifice before*; *samāvad eva yajñe kurvāṇā āsan* (GB.) *they did the same thing at the sacrifice*; *parikrīḍanta āsan* (MS.) *they were playing about*; *yātra suptvā pūnar nā 'vadṛāsyān bhavati* (CB.) *when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again*; *havyaṁ hi vakṣyan bhavati* (AB.) *for he is intending to carry the sacrifice*; *dāsyant syāt* (K.) *may be going to give*; *yena vāhanena syantsyānt syāt* (CB.) *with what vehicle he may be about to drive*. True expressions for perfect and pluperfect and future perfect time are capable of being made by such means, and now and then are made, but in no regular and continued fashion.

Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation — of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) — occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions (according to the original use of that term), or the verbal prefixes.

a. Practically, in the later language, it is as if a compounded root were formed, out of root and prefix, from which then the whole conjugation (with derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: 1081 a-c), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Sir Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however,

are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below in alphabetic order with their fundamental meanings:

- अति *āti across, beyond, past, over, to excess*;
 अधि *ādhi above, over, on, on to*;
 अनु *ānu after, along, toward*;
 अन्तर *antār between, among, within*;
 अप *āpa away, forth, off*;
 अपि *āpi unto, close upon or on*;
 अभि *abhi to, unto, against (often with implied violence)*;
 अव *āva down, off*;
 आ *ā to, unto, at*;
 उद् *úd up, up forth or out*;
 उप *ūpa to, unto, toward*;
 नि *ní down; in, into*;
 निम् *nis out, forth*;
 परा *pārā to a distance, away, forth*;
 परि *pāri round about, around*;
 प्र *prā forward, onward, forth, fore*;
 प्रति *prāti in reversed direction, back to or against, in return*;
 वि *vi apart, asunder, away, out*;
 सम् *sām along, with, together*.

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: *pra, ā, vi, sam, abhi, ni, ud, pari, anu, upa, prati, ava, nis, ati, apa, parā, adhi, api, antar*. *Api* is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, *too, also*.

b. The meanings given above are only the leading ones. In combinations of root and prefix they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative — yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental sense are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of a

root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix. An intensive force is not infrequently given by *pari*, *vi*, and *sam*.

1078. Prefixes essentially akin with the above, but more distinctly adverbial, and of more restricted use, are these:

✓ *ācha* (or *āchā*) *to, unto*: tolerably frequent in RV. (used with over twenty roots), but already unusual in AV. (only two roots), quite restricted in B., and entirely lost in the later language;

✓ *āvis* *forth to sight, in view*: used only with the roots *bhū*, *as*, and *kṛ*;

✓ *tirās* *through, crossways; out of sight*: hardly used except with *kṛ*, *dhā*, *bhū* (in RV., with three or four others);

✓ *purās* *in front, forward*: used with only half-a-dozen roots, especially *kṛ*, *dhā*, *i*;

✓ *prādūs* *forth to view*: only with *bhū*, *as*, *kṛ*.

a. A few others, as *bahis* *outside*, *vinā* *without*, *alam* (with *bhū* and *kṛ*) *sufficiently, properly*, *sāksāt* *in view*, are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of yet more limited use, and of noun- rather than adverb-value, are:

✓ *grad* (or *grath?*), only with *dhā* (in RV., once also with *kṛ*): *graddhā* *believe, credit*;

✓ *hiñ*, only with *kṛ* (and obsolete in the classical language): *hiñkṛ* *make the sound hing, low, murmur.* ✓

a. And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, 1091.

1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning, each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But *एत* *ā* is almost never allowed, either earlier or later, to be put in front of any of the others.

a. The very rare cases of apparent prefixion of *ā* to another prefix (as *āvihanti* MBh., *āvitānvānāḥ* BbP.) are perhaps best explained as having the *a* used independently, as an adverb.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix stands immediately before the verbal form.

a. In the earlier language, however (especially in the Veda; in the Brāhmaṇa less often and more restrictedly), its position is quite

free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

b. Thus, *sā devān é 'hā vakṣyati* (RV.) *he shall bring the gods hither*; *prā ṇa āyūṅṣi tāriṣat* (AV.) *may ye lengthen out our lives*; *tāv ā yātam ūpa dravāt* (RV.) *do ye two come hither quickly*; *gāmad vājebhir ā sā naḥ* (RV.) *may he come with gifts hither to us*; *pāri mām pári me prajāṁ pári ṇaḥ páhi yād dhānam* (AV.) *protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own*; *yātaḥ sadyā ā ca párá ca yānti* (AV.) *from whence every day they advance and retire*; *vy āhām sārveṇa pāpmānā [avṛtam] ví yākṣmeṇa sām āyuṣā* (AV.) *I have separated from all evil, from disease, [I have joined myself] with life*; *vi hy enena paçyati* (AB) *for by it he sees*; *ví vā oṣā prajāyā paçubhir ṛdhyaṣe* (TB.) *he is deprived of progeny and cattle*.

c. Three or four instances have been cited from the later language of a prefix separated from, or following, a verb; perhaps the prefix in every such case admits of being regarded as an adverb.

1082. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two independent words.

1083. a. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above (592), is ordinarily unaccented; before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

b. If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

c. That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.

d. Examples are: *pāre 'hi nāri pūnar é 'hi kṣiprām* (AV.) *go away, woman; come again quickly*; *āthā 'staṁ vipāretana* (RV.) *then scatter ye away to your home*; *samācinuṣvā 'nusamprayāhi* (AV.) *gather together, go forth together after*; *yād gṛhṇ upodānti* (AV.) *when he goes up to the house*; *evā ca tvāṁ sarama ājagāntha* (RV.) *now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither*; *yēnā 'viṣṭitaḥ pravivēṣithā 'pāḥ* (RV.) *enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters*.

1084. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a noun; in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.

a. There is in RV. a considerable number of cases (some thirty) in which the *pada*-text gives unnecessarily, and probably wrongly, an independent accent to a prefix before an accented verb (or other prefix): resolving, for example, *āruhat* into *ā āruhat*, *vyācet* into *vī ācet*, *abhyāvarṣīt* into *abhi āvarṣīt*, *vyāsarat* into *vī ā asarat* (instead of *ā-āruhat* etc.).

1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verb-system — with participles, infinitives, and gerunds — the general rule is that the prefix loses its accent, in favor of the other member of the compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely, when combined —

a. with the passive participle in *ta* or *na*: thus, *pāreta gone forth*; *antārḥita concealed*; *āvapanna fallen*; *sāmpūrṇa complete* (cf. 1284).

b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e. g., in RV., *nicitā*, *niṣkṛtā*, *praçastā*, *niçattā*, etc.; in AV., *apakṛitā*.

c. with the infinitive in *tu* (972), in all its cases: thus, *sāmhartum to collect*; *āpidhātave to cover up*; *āvagantos of descending*. The doubly accented dative in *tavāi* retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, *ānvetaṁ for following*; *āpabhartavāi for carrying off*.

1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e. g. 185, 192), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.

1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:

a. In the later language, *api*, *adhi*, and *ava*, in connection with certain roots and their derivatives, sometimes lose the initial vowel: namely, *api* with *nah* and *dhā*, *adhi* with *sthā*, *ava* with *gāh* etc.: e. g. *pinaddha*, *pihita*, *dhiṣṭhita*, *vagāhya*, *vataṇsa*, *vaḍānya*, *vaṣṭabhya*, *vamajjana*, *vekṣaṇa*, *valepana*. In the Veda, on the other hand, *iṣ* is in a few cases found instead (apparently) of *nis* with *√kr̥*.

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an *i*, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: e. g. *pratīkāra*, *nīvyt*, *parīhāra*, *virūdh*, *adhivāsā*, *āpīvyta*, *abhivartā*; *anūrūdh*; *avāyatī*, *prāvṛṣe*, *ūpāvasu*. In the Veda, the initial of *anu* is sometimes lengthened after negative *an*: e. g. *anānūdā*, *anānukṛtyā*.

c. In combination with *√i go*, the prefixes *parā*, *pari*, and *pra* sometimes change their *r* to *l*. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem *palāy* *flee*, inflected according to the *a*-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it sometimes takes the augment prefixed: thus, *apalāyiṣṭhās* (ÇS.), *apalāyata* (R.), *apalāyanta* (MBh.); it makes

the periphrastic perfect *palāyām cakre*. The stem *pālyay*, similarly inflected, occurs only in one or two texts (ÇB. JB. JUB.); and *plāy* has been found nowhere except in MS. Also the imperfect *nīlāyata* (TS. TB.: not separated in the pada-text) and perfect *nīlāyām cakre* (ÇB.) are doubtless a corresponding formation from *yī* with *nis*, though nearly akin in form and meaning with forms from *yī* + *nī*. So also *pari* becomes *pālī* in the combination *pālāṅg* (ÇB. ÇÇS.), whether viewed as a denominative formation or as *yāṅg* + *pari*. And MS. has once *plākṣārayan* (iii. 10. 2; in an etymology).

d. The root *kṛ* *make* sometimes assumes (or retains from a more original condition) an initial *s* after the prefixes *sam*, *pari*, *nis*, and *upa*: thus, *saṁskurute*, *samaśkurvan*, *saṁskṛta*, etc.; *parīśkrūvanti*, *parīśkrīta*, etc.; *nīr askṛta*; *upaskṛta*. And *ṽkṛ* *scatter* is said by the grammarians to add *s* in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after *apa* and *prati* (only *apaskiramāṇa*, *praticaskare*, both late, are quotable).

e. The passive participle of the roots *dā* *give* and *dā* *cut* has often the abbreviated form *tta* after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if *i*, is lengthened (compare 955f, and the derivative in *ti*, below, 1157c).

f. In a few sporadic cases, the augment is taken before a prefix, instead of between it and the root: thus, *avaśaṭkāṛīt* (ÇB.); *udaprapaṭat* (AB.); *anvasaṁharat*, *pratyasaṁharat*, *pratyavyūhat*, *anvavikṣetām*, *apṛāṣīt*, *asambhramat* (MBh.); *abhyanimantrayat* (Har.); *vyāvasthāpi* (SDS.); compare also the forms from *palāy*, above, c. And AB. has once *niniyoja* (for *niyuyoja*, as read in the corresponding passage of ÇÇS.). Some of the apparent roots of the language have been suspected of being results of a similar unification of root and prefix: a. g. *āp* from *ā* + *ap*, *vyac* from *vi* + *ac*, *tyaj* from *ati* + *aj*.

g. The loss of the initial *s* of *sthā* and *stambh* after the prefix *ud* has been noticed above (233c). Also (137a, c), certain peculiarities of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbial uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. As to the combination of the particles *a* or *an* privative, *duḥ*, and *su* *well*, with verb-forms, see 1121b, g. 1. As to the addition of the comparative and superlative suffixes *tarām* and *tamām* to verbs, see above, 473c.

Other Verbal Compounds.

1090. It has been seen above that some of the prepositional prefixes are employed in combination with only very small classes of roots, namely those whose meaning makes them best fitted for auxiliary and periphrastic uses — such as *kṛ* *make*, *bhū* and *as* *be*, *dhā* *put*, *i* *go* — and that the first of these are widely used in com-

bination with a derivative in *ām* to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. a. The older language has a number of (mostly) reduplicative onomatopoeitic compounds with roots *kṛ* and *bhū*, the prefixed element ending in *ā* or *i* (generally the former): thus, in RV., *akkhalikṛtya* *croaking*, *jañjanābhāvāt* *flimmering*, *alalābhāvāt* *making merry*, *kikirīḥ* *kṛṇu* *tear*; in AV., *maṣmaṣā* *karam* *I have crushed*; in VS., *mas-maśā* (also TS.; MS. *mṛamṣā*) *kuru*; in TS., *malmalābhāvāt*; in K., *manmalābhāvāt*, *kikkitākāra*; in MS., *bibibābhāvāt*, *bharbharā* *bhavat*; in AB., *bababākurvant*. The accentuation, where shown, is like that of a verb-form with accompanying prefix.

b. Further, combinations with $\sqrt{kṛ}$ of utterances used at the sacrifice, and mostly ending in *ā*: thus, *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *svagā*; also *vāṣaṭ*. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix: e. g. *svagākarōti* (ÇB.; but *svadhā karōti* [?] TA.), *vāṣaṭkuryāt* (MS.); and, with another prefix, *anuvāṣaṭkarōti* (ÇB.).

c. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, *ḡlā* *kuryāt* (ÇB.) *may roast on a pū* (*ḡlā*); *anṛṇākartos* (AB.) *of getting clear of debt*; *āikyābhāvayant* (AA.) *uniting*.

1092. a. The noun *namas* *obedience*, *homage*, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with $\sqrt{kṛ}$: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in *namaśkṛtya* (beside *hastagṛhya* and *karṇagṛhya*: above, 990 b).

b. A solitary combination with \sqrt{i} *go* is shown by the accusative *āstam* *home*; which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles—in *astamīyānt*, *astameṣyānt*, *astamita* (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix)—and in the Brāhmaṇas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, *astamēti* (ÇB.).

c. Other ordinary accusative forms of adjectives in combination with verbal derivatives of *kṛ* and *bhū* are found here and there in the older language: thus, *ṣṛṭamśkṛtya* and *nagnamśkṛtya* (TS.); *nagnambhāvuka*, *pāmanambhāvuka* etc. (TS. et al.); *ānaruṣkarōti* (ÇB.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with *kṛ* or *bhū* (and very rarely with *as*), in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending *i* (of doubtful origin).

a. There is no instance of this in RV., unless the *i* of *akkhalikṛtya* (above, 1091 a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure

vātikṛta and vātikarā, is found only phalīkarāṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TS., *çyeti*, *mithuni*, *muṣṭi*; in TB., further, *phali*, *krūrī*, *udvāsī*; in ÇB., besides some of these, also *ekī*, *kālvālī*, *tivri*, *daridrī*, *brāhmaṇī*, *mithunī*, *svī*; and *açvābhīdhānī*, of which (as of *muṣṭi*) the *i* might be that of an ordinary grammatical form; in K., *dvī*; in GB., *pravapī*; in SB., *vajrī*; in AB., *matī* (from *matya*). From Upanishad and Sūtra are to be added *dvāiti* (MU.), *samī* (KÇS.), *navī* and *kuçali* (AGS.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1091): e. g. *krūrīkurvānti*, *svīkṛtya*, *brāhmaṇībhūya*, *mithunībhāvantyāu*, *phalīkartavālī*, *krūrīkṛta*; but sometimes a mere collocation takes place; thus, *mithunī bhāvanti* (TS.), *phali kriyāmsnānām* (TB.), *vajrī bhūtvā* (TA.). The *i* is variously treated: now as an uncombinable final, as in *çyeti akuruta* and *mithunī abhavan* (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in *mithunī ānayā syām*, *mithunī ābhiḥ syām*, and *svīakurvata* (ÇB.).

b. Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the following rule:

1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots कृ *kr* and भू *bhū* (and of *यन्* as also; but such cases are extremely rare), in the manner of a verbal prefix. If the final of the stem be an *a*- or *i*-vowel, it is changed to *इ* *i*; if an *u*-vowel, it is changed to *उ* *u*.

a. Examples are: *stambhībhavati* becomes a post; *ekacittībhūya* becoming of one mind; *upahārīkaroṣi* thou makest an offering; *nakṣaprahārajarjarikṛta* torn to pieces with blows of the claws; *çithilībhavanti* become loose; *kupḍalīkṛta* ring-shaped; *surabhīkṛta* made fragrant; *ādīhikarāṇa* pawning; *çjūkṛtya* straightening; *hetūkarāṇa* taking as cause. As in the case of the denominatives (1058 c), the combinations with *a*-stems are the immense majority, and occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language, but for the most part only once or twice each; those made with *i*- and *u*-stems are a very small number. In a few instances, stems in *an* and *as*, with those finals changed to *i*, are met with: e. g. *ātmi-kr*, *yuvī-bhū*; *unmanīkr*, *amanī-bhū*; final *ya* after a consonant is contracted to *i*: e. g. *kāṇsī-kr*; and anomalous cases like *kāṇḍīçī-bhū* occur. Final *ṛ* is said to become *ri*, but no examples are quotable. The combinations with *kr* are about twice as frequent as those with *bhū*, and examples with *as* do not appear to have been brought to light.

b. Similar combinations are occasionally made with elements of questionable or altogether obscure character: e. g. *urarī-kr*, *urī-kr*.

c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of *ā* as

final of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1091): thus, *duḥkhā-kṛ*, *niṣkula-kṛ*, *ṣambhā-kṛ*, and one or two others.

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind above treated of are quite common with passive participles and gerunds.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDECLINABLES.

1096. THE indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language—especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.

Adverbs.

1097. Adverbs by suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.

a. There is no ultimate difference between such suffixes and the case-endings in declension; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.

1098. With the suffix *tas* are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in *ātas*, *itās*, *tātas*, *yātas*, *kūtas*, *amūtas*, *svatas* (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems in *t* or

d (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, *mattás* (only example in V.), *tvattas*, *asmattas*, *yusmattas*; and from pronominal derivatives: thus, *itarátas*, *katarátas*.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: e. g. *mukhatás*, *agratás*, *ṛbhutás*, *ṛktás*, *hṛttás*, *qīrṣatás*, *janmatas*, *nastás*, *yajuṣtas*, *pārátas*, *anyátas*, *anyatarátas*, *sarvátas*, *dakṣinatás*, *abhipatás* (once, in RV., from a case-form: *patsutás*).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, *abhítas*, *parítas*, *ántitas*.

d. Examples of ablative construction are: *áto bhūyaḥ* (RV.) *more than that*; *tátaḥ ṣaṣṭhāt* (AV.) *from that sixth*; *áto 'nyéna* (QB.) *with any other than this*; *sarvato bhayāt* (AGS.) *from all fear*; *kutaḥ cid deqād āgatyā* (H.) *arriving from some region or other*; *purād itaḥ* (R.) *from this city*; *tasmāt pretakāyataḥ* (KSS.) *from that dead body*.

e. But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more general, especially a locative, value: thus, *agratás* *in front*; *asmatsampatas* *in our presence*; *dharma-tas* *in accordance with duty*; *chāgatās* (H.) *with reference to the goat*; *guṇato 'dhikaḥ* (M.) *superior in virtue*.

1099. With the suffix *tra* (in the older language often *trā*) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

a. These adverbs are very few, compared with those in *tas*. They are formed chiefly from pronominal stems, and from other stems having a quasi-pronominal character: namely, in *tra*, *ātra*, *tātra*, *yātra*, *kūtra*, *amūtra*, *anyātra*, *viśvātra*, *sarvātra*, *ubhayātra*, *aparatra*, *uttara-tra*, *itarātra*, *anyatarātra*, *pūrvātra*, *paratra*, *samānātra*, *ekatra*, *anekatra*, *ekālkatra*; in *trā*, *asmatrā*, *satrā*, *purutrā*, *bahutrā*, *dakṣinatrā*. But a few in *trā* come from ordinary nouns: thus, *devatrā*, *martyatrā*, *puruṣatrā*, *manuṣyatrā*, *pākatrā*, *ṣayutrā*, *kuru-pañcālātrā*. Those in *trā* are distinguished from the others by their accent.

b. Examples of locative construction are: *hāsta ā dakṣinatrā* (RV.) *in the right hand*; *yātrā 'dhi* (RV.) *in which*; *ekatra puruṣe* (MRh.) *in a single man*; *ātra mārātmake* (H.) *in this murderous creature*; *prabhutvaṁ tatra yujyate* (H.) *sovereignty befits him*. And, as the locative case is used also to express the goal of motion (304), so the adverbs in *tra* have sometimes an accusative as well as a locative value: thus, *tatra gaccha* *go there or thither*; *pathó devatrā yānān* (RV.) *roads that go to the gods*.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. *ha*, in *ihā* *here*, *kūha* *where?* and the Vedic *viśvāha* (also *viśvāhā*, *viśvāhā*) *always* (compare below, 1104 b); and *ihā* (Hkz *ātra* etc.:

1099 b) is sometimes used with locative-case value: e. g. *tha samaye* (H.) *at this conjuncture*.

b. *tāt*, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, *prāktāt*, *ūdaktāt*, *tāvattāt*; to adverbial ablatives, *ārāttāt*, *uttarāttāt*, *parākāttāt*; and to prepositional adverbs, *paścātāt*, *adhāstāt*, *avāstāt*, *parāstāt*, *purāstāt*, *bahīṣtāt*. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form *stāt* in *upāṣṭāt* (and Bhp. has *udastāt*).

c. *hi*, in *uttarāhi* (QB.) and *dakṣiṇāhi* (not quotable).

1101. By the suffix *thā* are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

a. Thus, *tāthā*, *yāthā*; *kathā* and *itthā* (by the side of which stand *kathām* and *itthām*; and QB. has *itthāt*); and the rare *imāthā* and *amūthā*. And *ātha* (V. often *āthā*) *so then* doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal character: thus, *viśvāthā*, *sarvāthā*, *anyāthā*, *ubhayāthā*, *aparāthā*, *ītarāthā*, *yatarāthā*, *yatamāthā*, *katarāthā*, *katamāthā*, *pūrvāthā*, *pratnāthā*, *ūrdhvāthā*, *tiraścāthā*, *ekathā* (JB.), *ṛtuthā*, *nāmāthā* (once, AV.); and *evāthā*.

b. *Yāthā* becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of *iva* after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, *tāyāvo yāthā* (RV.) *like thieves*.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

a. *ti*, in *īti thus*, very commonly used, from the earliest period, especially as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

b. Examples are: *brahmajāyē 'yām īti cēd āvocan* (RV.) *if they have said "this is a Brahman's wife"*; *tām devā abruvan vrātya kim nū tiṣṭhasi 'ti* (AV.) *the gods said to him: "Vrātya, why do you stand?"* Often, the *iti* is used more pregnantly: thus, *yāḥ ṣraddadhāti śānti devā īti* (AV.) *whoever has faith that the gods exist*; *tam vyāghraḥ munir mūṣiko 'yam īti paśyati* (H.) *the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse*; *yūyaḥ kim īti sīdatha* (H.) *why (lit. alleging what reason) do you sit?*

c. But *iti* is sometimes used in a less specialized way, to mark an onomatopoeia, or to indicate a gesture: e. g. *bahīṣ te astu bāl īti* (AV.) *let it come out of you with a splash*; *īty āgre kṛṣāty āthē 'ti* (QB.) *he ploughs first this way, then this way*; or it points forward to something to be said: e. g. *yan nv ity āhur anyāni chandāṁsi varāyāṁsi kasmād bṛhaty ucyata īti* (PB.) *when now they say thus: "the other metres are greater; why is the bṛhatī spoken?"* It also makes a number of derivatives and compounds: e. g. *ititha* *the so-many-eth*; *itivat* *in this fashion*; *ityartham* *for this purpose*; *itihāsa* *a story or legend* (lit. *thus forsooth it was*). As to the use of a nominative with *iti* as predicate to an accusative, see 268 b.

d. With the suffix of *īti* is to be compared that of *tāti* etc. (519). The word is abbreviated to *ti* two or three times in ÇB.

e. *va* in *iva* (toneless) *like*, *as*, and *evā* (in V. often *evā*), earlier *thus*, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for *thus* is used later the related *evām*, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with *yvid*: *as*, *evām vidvān knowing thus*.

f. In later Vedic (AV. etc., and the later parts of RV.) *iva* more often counts for only a single syllable, **va*.

1103. a. By the suffix *dā* are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.

b. Thus, *tadā*, *yadā*, *kadā* (in RV. also *kādā*), *idā* (only in V.); and *sādā*, beside which is found earlier *sādam*. Besides these, in the older language, only *sarvadā*; later a few others, *anyadā*, *ekadā*, *nit-yadā*. A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as *kadācid divase* (R.) *on a certain day*.

c. By the perhaps related *dānim* are made *idānim*, *tadānim*, *viçvadānim*, *tvadānim* (toneless). *Viçvadāni* occurs as adjective in TB.

d. With *rhi* are made, from pronominal roots, *tārhi*, *etārhi*, *yārhi*, *kārhi*, *amūrhi*.

e. The suffix *dī*, found only in *yādī if*, is perhaps related with *dā*, in form as in meaning. *Sadadī* (MS.) is of doubtful character.

1104. By the suffix *dhā* are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying *-fold*, *times*, *ways*, etc.

a. Thus, *ekadhā*, *dvidhā* (also *dvidhā* and *dveddhā*), *trīdhā* (in the the older language usually *tredhā*), *ṣaḍdhā* (also *ṣoḍhā* and *ṣaḍ-dhā*), *dvādaçadhā*, *ekānaviṇçatīdhā*, *sahasradhā*, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, *anekadhā*, *katīdhā tatīdhā*, *bahudhā*, *purudhā*, *viçvādhā*, *çaçvadhā*, *aparimitadhā*, *yāvaddhā*, *etāvaddhā*, *māsadhā*. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, *mitradhā* (AV.), *priyadhā* (TS.; *predhā*, MS.), *ṛjudhā* (TB.), *urudhā* and *citradhā* (BhP.); and from one adverb, *bahīrdhā*.

b. The particle *ādhā* or *ādhā*, a Vedic equivalent of *ātha*, probably belongs here (*purudhā* and *viçvādhā*, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also *addhā* in *truth*; and perhaps *sahā with*, which has an equivalent *sadha-* in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in *ha* (1100 a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with *a*: namely, *dvīś*, *trīś*, and *catūr* (probably, for *catūra*): 489 a.

a. The corresponding word for *once*, *sakṛt*, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to *pañcakṛtvas*, *navakṛtvas*, *aparimitakṛtvas*, etc., though *kṛt* and *kṛtvas* are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier

texts (AV. ṚB. MS.) have *saptā kṛtvas*, *dāṣa kṛtvas*, *dvādaṣa kṛtvas*, *aṣṭāv evā kṛtvas*, etc. AB. has the redundant combination *triṣ kṛtvah*.

b. The quasi-suffix *dyus*, from a case-form of *div day*, is in a similar manner added to various determining words, generally made to end in *e*: e. g. *anyedyūs another day*, *ubhayedyus (AV. -yadyūs) on either day*, *pūrvedyūs the day before*.

1106. By the suffix *ṣās* are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively.

a. Examples are: *ekaṣās one by one*, *ṣataṣās by hundreds*, *ṛtuṣās season by season*, *paśchaṣ foot by foot*, *akṣaraṣās syllable by syllable*, *gaṇaṣās in crowds*, *stambaṣās by bunches*, *paraṇṣās limb by limb*, *tāvacaṣās in such and such number or quantity*: and, in a more general way, *sarvaṣās wholly*, *mukhyaṣās principally*, *kṛcchraṣās stingily*, *manmaṣās as minded*.

1107. By the suffix *vāt* are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying *after the manner of*, *like*, etc.

a. Thus, *aṅgirasvāt like Angiras*, *manuṣvāt (RV.) as Manu did*, *jamadagnivāt after the manner of Jamadagni*, *pūrvavāt or pratnavāt or purānavāt as of old*, *kākataliyavat after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit*.

b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111 g) of the suffix *vant* (1233 f), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, *tvāvant like thee*, *māvant of my sort*, etc.

1108. By the suffix *sāt* are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying *in or into the condition or the possession of* what is indicated by the noun; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, oftenest *kṛ* and *bhū*, but also *as*, *gam*, *yā*, and *nī* (and, according to the grammarians, *sam-pad*). Some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier, which also appears to contain nothing that casts light upon the origin of this formation. The *s* of *sāt* is not liable to conversion into *g*. The connection with the verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in *ya* instead of that in *tvā* (990); and other words are sometimes interposed between the adverb and verb.

a. Examples are: *sarvakarmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute (MBh.) reduces all deeds to ashes*; *loko 'yam dasyusād bhaved (MBh.) this world would become a prey to barbarians*; *yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvaṁ vittam āsīt (MBh.) whose whole property was given to Brahmans*; *niyataṁ bhasmasād yāti (Har.) it is inevitably reduced to ashes*; *agnīṁ ātmasāt kṛtvā (Y.) having taken the fires to one's self*.

1109. a. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or of inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for

example, in *prātār early*, and *sanutār away*; in *dakṣiṇīt with right hand*, and *cikītvīt with consideration*; in *nūnām now*, and *nānānām curiously*. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be word notices here.

b. In the epics begin to be found a small class (about a dozen are quotable) of adverbs having the form of a repeated noun-stem with its first occurrence ending in ā and its second in i: e. g. *hastāhasti hand to hand*, *rathārathi chariot against chariot*, *karṇākarni ear to ear*.

c. The adverbs thus far described are almost never used prepositionally. Those of the next division, however, are in many instances so used.

1110. Case-forms used as Adverbs. A large number of adverbs are more or less evidently cases in form, made from stems which are not otherwise in use. Also many cases of known stems, pronominal or noun or adjective, are used with an adverbial value, being distinguished from proper cases by some difference of application, which is sometimes accompanied by an irregularity of form.

1111. The accusative is the case most frequently and widely used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *yād if, when, that, etc.*; *tād then, etc.*; *kīm why, whether, etc.*; *idām now, here*; *adās yonder*; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles *kād, kām* and *kam* (P), *id, cid* (common at every period), *amād* and *sumād, im* and *sīm* (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), *-kim*. Compounds with *id* are *céd if, néd lest, éd, svid, kuvíd*; with *cid, kūléd*; with *-kim, nākīm* and *mākīm*, and *ākīm*.

b. Of noun-stems: as, *nāma by name*; *sūkham happily*; *kāmam at will, if you please*; *nāktam by night*; *rāhas secretly*; *oṣām quickly* (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers: as, *satyām truly*; *cirām long*; *pūrvam formerly*; *nītyam constantly*; *bhūyas more, again*; *vigrahbham confidently*; *prakāṣam openly*; and so on.

d. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is so used especially as made from great numbers of compound adjective stems, often from such as hardly occur, or are not at all found, in adjective use. Certain of these adverbial compounds, having an indeclinable as prior member, are made by the Hindu grammarians a special class of compounds, called *avyayībhāva* (1313).

e. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used, especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, *tarām* and *tamām*, which are attached to particles (cf. 1110), and even (473 c) to verb-forms:

e. g. natarām, kathamītarām, uccāistarām, ṇanāistarām, jyoktamām. In the oldest language (RV. and AV.); the neuter instead of the feminine form of these suffixes is almost alone in use: see 1119.

f. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are tūṇīm *in silence*; sāyām *at evening*; sākām *together, with* (prep.); āram or ālam *sufficient* (in the later language used with √kr in the manner of a prefix: 1078 a); prāyas *usually*; iṣāt *somewhat*; annās *unexpectedly*; bahis *outside*; mīthu and mīthās, mūhu and mūhus, jātu, and so on. Madrik etc., and nīṇīk (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having √ac or añc as their final (407 π.). The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for uṇādhak, ānuṣāk and āyusaḥ, anuṣṭhū and anuṣṭhū, yugapāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in ā, above, 1101 a, 1102 e, 1103 b.

g. In (Vedic) dravāt *quickly* is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pple drāvant *running*); and drahyāt *stoutly* (RV., once) may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with vāt (1107).

1112. The instrumental is also often used with adverbial value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, enā and ayā, kāyā, anā, amā, amuyā.

b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣapena *instantly*; aṇṇapena *completely*; viṣṇepena *especially*; dīvā *by day*; diṣṭyā *fortunately*; sāhasā *suddenly*; aktubhis *by night*; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, akhilena *wholly*; prāyena *mostly*; dākṣiṇena *to the south*; uttareṇa *to the north*; āntareṇa *within*; cirēṇa *long*; — ṇānāis and ṇānakāis *slowly*; uccāis *on high*; nīcāis *below*; parācāis *afar*; tāviṣṭibhis *mightily*; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraṇṇatā, devātā, bāhūtā, and sasvātā (all RV.), homonymous instrumentals from nouns in tā; dvitā, tādītā, irmā, mṛṣā, vṛthā, sācā, asthā (?), mudhā (not V.), adhunā (B. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amā and dīvā (given above); perhaps gūhā; apākā, āsayā, kuhayā (?); naktayā, evapnayā, samanā; adatrāyā, ṛtayā, ubhayā, sumnayā (?); dakṣiṇā, madhyā; nīcā, prācā, uccā, paṇṇā, tiraṇṇā; vasāntā; — in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus, amuyā (given above), ācuyā, sādhuyā, raghuyā, dhṛṣṇuyā, anu-

ṭhuyā, mithuyā;—and urviyā (for urvyā) and vīcṛvyā (properly vīcṛvayā) are more slightly irregular.

1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.

a. Examples are *aparāya* for the future (RV.: with changed accent); *cirāya* long; *arthāya* for the sake of; *ahnāya* presently.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: *as*, *kāsmāt* why? *akasmāt* casually, unexpectedly; *āt*, *tāt*, *yāt* (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal *asmāt* etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: *as*, *āsāt* near; *ārāt* afar; *balāt* forcibly; *kutūhalāt* emulously; *sakāçāt* on the part of.

c. Oftenest, of adjective stems: *as*, *dūrāt* afar; *nīcāt* below; *paçcāt* behind; *sākṣāt* plainly, actually; *samantāt* completely; *acirāt* not long; *pratyakṣatamāt* (AB.) most obviously; *pratyantāt* (S.) to the end.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, *apākāt* from afar; *amāt* from near by; *sanāt* from of old (but instr. *sānā*); *uttarāt* from the north; *adharāt* below.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

a. In the older language occur *aktōs* by night, and *vāstos* by day; later, *cirasya* long.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

a. From noun and adjective stems: *ācē* near; *ārē* and *dūrē* afar; *abhisvarē* behind; *astamikē* at home; *ṛtē* without (prep.); *āgre* in front; *sthāne* suitably; *sapadi* immediately; *-arthe* and *-kṛte* (common in composition) for the sake of; *aparigu* in after time; *ādāu* first; *rahasi* in secret.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) *kis*, interrogative particle, and its compounds *nākis* and *mākis*, negative particles. And masc. nominatives from *añ-*stems (as *pārāñ* AB., *nyāñ* Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuters.

1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (1076 ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.

a. Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1084). In the value of general adverbs, however,

they only rarely occur (except as *ápi* has mainly changed its office from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their prepositional uses are much more frequent and important: see below, 1125 b.

b. In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, 1281 ff., 1305.

1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, 473-4) form comparative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes *tara* and *tama*, or *ra* and *ma*: thus, *úttara* and *uttamá*, *ádharma* and *adhamá*, *ápara* and *apamá*, *ávata* and *avamá*, *úpara* and *upamá*, and *prathamá* is doubtless of the same character; also, *ántara* and *ántama*. And accusatives of such derivative adjectives (for the most part not otherwise found in use) have the value of comparatives, and rarely superlatives, to the prefixes themselves: thus, *sámñcitam eit samtarám sám çigādhi* (AV.) *whatever is quickened do thou still further quicken*; *vitárám ví kramasva* (RV.) *stride out yet more widely*; *prá tám naya pratarám vásyo ácha* (RV.) *lead him forward still further toward advantage*; *úd enam uttarám naya* (AV.) *lead him up still higher*.

a. Besides those instanced, are found also *nitarám*, *apatarám*, *abhitarám*, *avatarám*, *paratarám*, *parastarám*. In the *Bráhmaṇas* and later (above, 1111 c), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, *atitarám* and *atitamām*, *abhitarám*, *anutamām*, *átamām*, *pratitarám*, *nitarám*, *uttarám*, *pratarám* and *pratamām*, *vitárám*, *samtarám* (also RV., once).

1120. Kindred in origin and character with the verbal prefixes, and used like them except in composition with verbs, are a few other adverbs: thus, *avás* *down*; *adhás* *below* (and *adhastarám*); *parás* *far off* (and *parastarám*); *purá* *before*; *antará* (apparently, *antár + á*) *among, between*; *ánti* *near*; *upári* *above*; and *sahá* (already mentioned, 1104 b) *along, with, and sáca together, with*, may be noticed with them. *Viná* *without*, and *viśu-* *apart*, appear to be related with *vi*.

1121. Inseparable Prefixes. A small number of adverbial prefixes are found only in combination with other elements. Thus:

a. The negative prefix *a* or *an*—*an* before vowels, *a* before consonants.

b. It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as *akútra* and *ápunar* (RV.), *áneva* (AV.), *ánadhas* (TB.), *akasmāt*, *asakṛt*; in rare cases, also with pronouns (as *atad*, *akimcit*); and even, in the later language, now and then with verbs, as *asphrayanti* (BhP. Çiç.) *they do not desire*, *alokayati* (SD.) *he does not view*. Now and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. *anakāmamāra*, *anaviprayukta*, *anavadya*(?).

c. In a very few cases, the negative *a* appears to be made long: thus, *āsat non-existent*, *ādeva godless*, *ārāti enemy*, *āṇauca impurity*, *ātura ill* (?).

d. The independent negative adverbs, *nā* and *mā*, are only in exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122 e.

e. The comitative prefix *sa*, used instead of the preposition *sām*, and interchangeably with *sahā*, before nouns and adjectives.

f. The prefix of dispraise *dus ill*, *badly* (identical with *y'dus*: 225 a).

g. It is combined in the same manner as *a* or *an*. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable: *duṣcaranti* (R.) *behave ill*.

h. The corresponding laudatory prefix *su well* is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, though it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

i. The particle *su* sometimes appears in B. and later before a verb-form, and considering its rapid loss of independent use in V., and the analogy of *a* and *dus* (above, b, g) it is probably at least in part to be regarded as in composition with the verb. The pada-text of AV. xix. 49. 10 reads *su-āpāyati*, but its testimony is of little or no value. K. has *na su vijñāyete* and *na vāi su viduḥ*, and KeU. has *su veda*; TB. has *susāmbodhāyati* (?); MBh. and BhP. have *sūpatasthe*; R. has *su-ṣakyante*.

j. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (506) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.

1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbial character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:

a. Asseverative particles (in part, only in the older language): thus, *aṅgā*, *hānta*, *kīa*, *khālu*, *tú* (rare in older language), *vāi*, *vāvā* (in Brāhmaṇa language only), *hi*, *hinā*, *u*, *āha*, *ha*, *gha*, *saṃaha*, *sma*, *bhala*.

b. Of these, *hānta* is a word of assent and incitement; *hi* has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595 e); *sma* sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tense (778 b); *u* is often combined with the final *a* of other particles: thus, *ātho*, *nó*, *mó*, *utó*, *úpo*, *pró*; but also with that of verb-forms, as *dattó*, *vidmó*. The final *o* thus produced is *praghyā* or un-combinable (138 c). Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above,

are *íd*, *kām* or *kam*, *cíd*, *jātu*, *evá*. Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely expletive value, as devices to help make out the metre (*pādapūraṇa verse-fillers*); so especially *ha*, *hi*, *tu*, *smā*.

c. Negative particles are: *ná*, signifying simple negation; *mā*, signifying prohibition.

d. As to the construction of the verb with *mā*, see above, 579. In the Veda, *nū* (or *nū*: 248 a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic *ná* of comparison, see below, g, h.

e. In *nahí*, *ná* is combined with *hí*, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with *íd* in *néd* *lest*. It is perhaps present in *nanú* and *caná*, but not in *hiná* (RV., once). In general, neither *ná* nor *mā* is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix *a* or *an* (1122 a): exceptions are the Vedic particles *nákis* and *mákis*, *nákim* and *mákim*; also *naciram* and *māciram*, *napuṣaaka*, and, in the later language, a number of others.

f. Interrogative particles are only those already given: *kád*, *kim*, *kuvíd*, *evíd*, *nanú*, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.

g. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless *iva*, and *yathā* (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also *ná*, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

h. Examples of the *ná* of comparison are: *ṛṣidviṣa śaun ná arjata dviṣam* (RV.) *let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer*; *vāyo ná vṛkṣām* (AV.) *as birds to the tree*; *gāurō ná tṛṣṭāḥ piba* (RV.) *drink like a thirsty buffalo*. This use is generally explained as being a modification or adaptation of the negative one: thus, [*although, to be sure*] *not* [*precisely*] *a thirsty buffalo*; and so on.

i. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *kvā* *where?* (in V., always to be read *kūa*).

j. Particles of time are: *nú* *now* (also *nū*: *nūnām* was mentioned above, 1109 a), *adyá* and *sadyás* and *sadīvas* (RV., once) *today, at once* (all held to contain the element *div* or *dyu*), *hyás* *yesterday*, *qvás* *tomorrow*, *jyók* (also related with *dyu*) *long*; *púnar* *again*.

k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *nānā* *variously* (for *nānānām*, its derivative, see 1109 a); *sasvār* (RV.) *secretly*.

l. In the above classifications are included all the Vedic adverbial words, and most of those of the later language: for the rest, see the dictionaries.

Prepositions.

1123. There is, as already stated, no proper class of prepositions (in the modern sense of that term), no body of words having for their prevailing office the "government" of nouns. But many of the adverbial words indicated above are used with nouns in a way which approximates them to the more fully developed prepositions of other languages.

a. If one and another of such words—as *vinā*, *ṛte*—occurs almost solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous and unessential.

1124. Words are thus used prepositionally along with all the noun-cases excepting the dative. But in general their office is directive only, determining more definitely, or strengthening, the proper case-use of the noun. Sometimes, however, the case-use is not easy to trace, and the noun then seems to be more immediately "governed" by the preposition—that is, to have its case-form more arbitrarily determined by its association with the latter. This is ofteneat true of the accusative; and also of the genitive, which has, here as elsewhere (294 b), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. a. The adverbs by derivative form (1097 ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix *tas*: 1098).

b. Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are *ud*, *nī*, *parā*, *pra*; and *ava* and *vi* are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to *prati*, *anu* and *ā*.

c. Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them—as *saha*, *vinā*, *upari*, *antarā*, *purā*—freely, earlier and later.

d. The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: ofteneat, as was to be expected, with the genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative; more rarely with other cases.

e. We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.

1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of preposition. Of directives, *antar* and its later derivative *antarā*, meaning *within*, *in*, are ofteneat added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are *ā* and *ādhi*: thus, *mārtyeṣv ā* *among mortals*; *pṛthivyām ādhy* *ṣādhīḥ* *the plants upon the earth*; *tējo māyī dhārayā dhi* (AV.) *establish glory*

in me; — *āpi* and *ūpa* are much rarer: thus, *yā apām āpi vratē* [sānti] (RV.) *who are in the domain of the waters*; *amūr yā ūpa sūrye* [sānti] (RV.) *who are up yonder in the sun*; — *sācā* along with is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later; thus, *pitroḥ sācā satī* *staying with her parents*.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root *sa*: as *sahā* (most frequent), *sākām*, *sārdhām*, *samām*, *samāyā*, *sarātham*; and, in the Veda, the prefix *sām*: as, *te sumatībhīḥ sām pātnībhīr nā vṛṣaṇo nasīmahi* (RV.) *may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses*. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (283 a), *vinā* without (not Vedic) takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, *avās* down and *parās* beyond, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And *ādhi*, in RV., is used with the instrumentals *anūnā* and *anūbhīḥ*, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, 293), the ablative value of the case, and the merely directive value of the added particle, are for the most part clearly to be traced. Many of the verbal prefixes are more or less frequently joined in the older language with this case: oftenest, *ādhi* and *pāri*; more sporadically, *ānu*, *āpa*, *āva*, *prāti*, and the separatives *nīś* and *vī*. The change of meaning of the ablative with *ā* *hither*, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (293 c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many—as *bahīś*, *purās*, *avās*, *adhās*, *parās*, *purā*, *vinā*, and *tirās* out of knowledge of—accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms *arvāk*, *prāk*, *paścāt*, *ūrdhvām*, *pūrvam*, *pāram*, and *ṛtē* without, of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the *to*-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as *abhī*, *prāti*, *ānu*, *ūpa*, *ā*, *āti* and *ādhi* in the sense of over on to, or across, beyond, *tirās* through, *antār* and *antarā* when meaning between, *pāri* around. Examples are: *yāṁ pradīqo abhī sūryo vicāṣṭe* (AV.) *what quarters the sun looks abroad unto*; *ābodhy agnīḥ prāty āyatīm uṣāsam* (RV.) *Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn*; *gacchet kadācit svajānam prati* (MBh.) *she might go somethither to her own people*; *imaṁ prakṣyāmi nṛpatīm prati* (MBh.) *him I will ask with reference to the king*; *māma cittām ānu cittēbhīr ē 'ta* (AV.) *follow after my mind with your minds*; *ē 'hy ā naḥ* (AV.) *come hither to us*; *ūpa na ē 'hy arvān* (RV.) *come hither unto us*; *śo devō mārtyān āti* (AV.) *the god who is beyond mortals*; *adhiṣṭhāya vārcasā 'dhy anyān* (AV.) *excelling above others in glory*. Also *abhītaś* and *parītaś*, which have a like value with the simple *abhī* and *pāri*;

and upāri *above* (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with *adhas*, *paras*, *puras*, *vinā*, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbial case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentals of situation or direction: as *yē 'vareṇā 'dityām*, *yē pāreṇā 'dityām* (TB.) *those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun*; *āntareṇa yōnim* (QB.) *within the womb*; *te hī 'dam antareṇa sarvam* (AB.) *for all this universe is between them*; *uttareṇa gārhapatyam* (QB.) *to the north of the householder's fire*; *dakṣiṇena vēdim* (QB.) *to the south of the sacrificial hearth*; *dakṣiṇena vṛkṣavāṭikām* (Ç.) *to the right of the orchard*; *nikāṣē yamunām* (Har.) *near the Yamunā*. Similarly, *ūrdhvam* and *pūrvam* have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of *ṛte*. *Abhimukham toward* has a more natural right to construction with this case.

1130. The Genitive. The words which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns, or of adjectives used substantively, retaining enough of the noun-character to take this case as their natural adjunct. Such are the locatives *agre in front of*, *abhyāge near*, *arthe and kṛte for the sake of*, *nimitta* and *hetau by reason of*, *madhye in the midst of*; and other cases, as *arthāya*, *kāraṇāt*, *sakācāt*, *hetos*. And really, although less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as *adhareṇa*, *uttareṇa* and *uttarāt*, *dakṣiṇena* and *dakṣiṇāt*, *paçcāt*, *ūrdhvam*, *anantaram*, *samakṣam*, *sākṣāt*. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of the use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative *paritas*, *parataś*, and *antitas*, and *parastāt* and *purastāt* (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, *samvatsarasya parastāt after a year*; *sūktasya purastāt before the hymn* [AB.]); with *anti*, *adhas*, *avas*, *puras*; with *upari above* (common later); and with *antar*.

Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

a. The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means of composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (994), of *iti* (1102), of abstract nouns in case-forms, and so on.

1132. The relative derivative adverbs, already given

(1098 ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as *oéd* and *ned* (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are *च* *ca* *and*, and *च* *vā* *or* (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

a. Of copulative value along with *ca*, is in the older language especially *utā* (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and *āpi*, *tātas*, *tāthā*, *kīh* *ca*, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

b. Adversative is *tū* *but* (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, *u* (toneless).

c. Of illative value is *hi* *for* (originally, and in great part at every period, *assertive* only); compare above, 1122b.

d. To *ca* (as well as to its compound *oéd*) belongs occasionally the meaning *if*.

e. It is needless to enter into further detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

Interjections.

1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part *voice-gestures*, in part *onomatopœias*, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: *ā*, *hā*, *hāhā*, *ahaha*, *he*, *hāi* (AV.); *ayi*, *aye*, *hayé* (RV.); *aho*, *bāt* (RV.), *bata* RV.) or *vata*, and (probably) *hīruk* and *hurūk* (RV.).

b. Onomatopœtic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): *cīcā* *whiz* (of an arrow: RV.); *kikirā* (palpitation: RV.); *bāl* and *phāt* (*phās*?) or *phāl* *splash* (AV.); *bhūk* *bow-wow* (AV.); *qāl* *pat* (AV.); *āṣ*, *hīṣ*, *as*, and *has* (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots *kṛ* and *bhū*, above, 1091.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjectional character are, for example: *bhos* (for the vocative *bhavas*,^o 458); are or *re* (voc. of *ari* *enemy*); *dhik* *alas!* (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with *ydiḥ*); *kaṣṭam* *woe is me!* *diṭyā* *thank heaven!* *svasti* *hail!* *suṣṭhu*, *sādhū* *good, excellent!* None of these are Vedic in interjectional use. ✓

CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1136. The formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was reserved for a special chapter.

a. Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive tracing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element; least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.

b. The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered); and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.

1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.

a. As to this use of verbal roots, see below, 1147.

b. The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are throughout in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.

1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:

A. Primary suffixes, or those which are added directly to roots;

B. Secondary suffixes, or those which are added to derivative stems (also to pronominal roots, as just pointed out, and sometimes to particles).

a. The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the *kṛt* (more regular) and *uṇādi* (less regular) suffixes of the Hindu grammarians; the secondary, to their *taddhita*-suffixes.

1139. But this distinction, though one of high value, theoretically and practically, is not absolute. Thus:

a. Suffixes come to have the aspect and the use of primary which really contain a secondary element—that is to say, the earliest words exhibiting them were made by addition of secondary suffixes to words already derivative.

b. Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below: thus, the gerundival suffixes, *tavya*, *aniya*, etc., the suffixes *uka* and *aka*, *tra*, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is assumable for others which show no distinct signs of composition.

c. Less often, a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are *yu*, *īman*, *īyas* and *iṣṭha*, *ta*.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only to more original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation—and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (968 ff.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes *a* (1148j, k), *ā* (1149 c, d), *ana* (1150 m), *as* (1161 f), *ani* (1159 b), *u* (1178 g-i), *ti* (1157 g), *tṛ* (1182 e), *tnu* (1196 b), *ann* (1194 b), *uka* (1180 d), *āku* (1181 d), *ālu* (1192 b), *tu* (1161 d).

c. From tense-stems the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148j), a (1149d, e), ana (1150n), i (1155d), u (1178f), ta (1178e), tu (1181d), uka (1180d), tra (1185e), ti (1157g), vin (or in: 1232b, 1183a); from stems in a apparently of aoristic character (besides infinitives and gerunds), occasional derivatives in a (1148j), ana (1150j), ani (1159b), an (1160a), āna (1175), as (1151c), i (1156b), iṣṭha (1184a), u (1178f), us (1154a), ṭr (1182e), in (1183a).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

a. Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes.

b. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.

c. The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in a, in ana, in ti, in tar and tra, and in in, ya, van and man, i and u, as, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel—that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our ignorance or uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and those deserving to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn.

Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself, for more particular consideration.

A. Primary Derivatives.

1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:

n. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by guṇa- or vṛddhi-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where guṇa-change is in general forbidden: 235, 240): thus, veda from √vid, móda from √mud, vārdha from √vr̥dh;

áyana from yí, sávana from y'su, sárapa from y'ar; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long ā as the resulting vowel: that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and r before a vowel (of the ending): thus, nādā from y'nad, grābhā from y'grbh or grabh, vāhā from y'vah, nāyā from y'nī, bhāvā from y'bhū, kārā from y'kr; such strengthening as would make vāida and māuda does not accompany primary derivation.

b. Strengthening in derivation does not stand in any such evident connection with accent as strengthening in conjugation; nor can any general rules be laid down as to its occurrence; it has to be pointed out in detail for each suffix. So also with other vowel-changes, which are in general accordance with those found in inflection and in the formation of tense- and mode-stems.

c. The reversion of a final palatal or h to a guttural has been already noticed (218). A final n or m is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.

d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a t: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffix (1147d), and before a following y or v of van (1169), vara and varī (1171), yu once (1165a), and ya (1213a). The presence of t before these suffixes appears to indicate an original secondary derivation from derivatives in ti and tu.

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated; rarely in the use without suffix (1147c, e); oftenest before a (1148k), i (1155e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as ā (1149e), ana (1160m), vana (1170a), van and varī (1169d, 1171a, b), vani (1170b), vi (1193), vit (1193b), ani (1159b), in (1183a), tnu (1196a), ta (1176a), ti (1157d), tha (1183a), tr (1182b), tra (1185f), ūka (1180f), aka (1181a), ika (1186c), ma (1186b).

1144. Accent. No general laws governing the place of the accent are to be recognized: each suffix must in this respect be considered by itself.

a. In connection with a very few suffixes is to be recognized a certain degree of tendency to accent the root in case of a *nomen actionis* or infinitival derivative, and the ending in the case of a *nomen agentis* or participial derivative: see the suffixes a, ana, as, an, and man, below, where the examples are considered. Differences of accent in words made by the same suffix are also occasionally connected with differences of gender: see the suffixes as and man.

1145. Meaning. As regards their signification, the primary derivatives fall in general into two great classes, the one indicating the action expressed by the verbal root, the other the person or thing in which the action appears, the agent or actor—the latter, either substantively or adjectively. The one class is more abstract, infinitival; the other is more concrete, participial. Other meanings

may in the main be viewed as modifications or specializations of these two.

a. Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive participles, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (991 ff.), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only *concerned with the action*.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

a. To facilitate the finding of the different suffixes is given the following list of them, in their order as treated, with references to paragraphs:

—	1147	yu	1165	in	1183
a	1148	ma	1166	iyas, iṣṭha	1184
ā	1149	mi	1167	tra	1185
ana	1150	man	1168	ka	1186
as	1151	van	1169	ya	1187
tas, nas, sas	1152	vana, -ni, -nu	1170	ra	1188
is	1153	vara	1171	la	1189
us	1154	ant	1172	va	1190
i	1155	vāṇs	1173	ri	1191
ī	1156	māna	1174	ru	1192
tī	1157	āna	1175	vi	1193
ni	1158	ta	1176	snu	1194
ani	1159	na, ina, una	1177	sna	1195
an	1160	u	1178	tnu	1196
tu	1161	ū	1179	sa	1197
nu	1162	uka	1180	asi	1198
tha	1163	aka	1181	abha	1199
thu	1164	ty or tar	1182	sundries	1200-1

1147. Stems without suffix; Root-words. These words and their uses have been already pretty fully considered above (323, 348 ff., 383 ff., 400, 401).

a. They are used especially (in the later language, almost solely) as finals of compounds, and have both fundamental values, as action-nouns (frequently as infinitives: 971), and as agent-nouns and adjectives (often governing an accusative: 271e). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).

b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

c. The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, *sasyād*, *cikīṭ*, *dadāḥ*, *didyū* and *didyūt*, *juhū*, and perhaps *gāngā* and *qīqu*; with intensive reduplication, *-nenī*, *malimluc*, *yaviyūdḥ*, and *jōgū* and *vānivan* (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In *dāridra* is seen a transfer to the *a*-declension. *Asūsū* is probably to be understood as a compound, *asū-sū*.

d. If the root end in a short vowel, a *t* is regularly and usually added (383f-h).

e. Examples have been given at the place just quoted. In *jāgat* the *t* is added to the mutilated form of *√gam* reduplicated, and *ṛṇayāt* (TS., once) appears to put it after a long vowel. In a single instance, *ṛtṛkarṇa* (RV.) of *listening ears*, a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

f. Words of this form in combination with verbal prefixes are very numerous. The accent rests (as in combination of the same with other preceding elements) on the root-stem.

g. A few exceptions in point of accent occur: thus, *āvasā*, *ūpastut*; and, with other irregularities of form, *pārījri*, *upāstha*, *uparīstha*.

1148. **§ a.** With the suffix **§ a** is made an immensely large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: *guṇa*-strengthening, *vyddhi*-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

1. **a.** With *guṇa*-strengthening of the root (where that is possible: 235, 240). These are the great majority, being more than twice as numerous as all others together.

b. Many *nomina actionis*: *as*, *grāma* weariness, *grāha* seizure, *āya* movement, *vēda* knowledge, *hāva* call, *kródha* wrath, *jōṣa* enjoyment, *tāra* crossing, *sārga* emission.

c. Many *nomina agentis*: *as*, *kṣamā* patient, *svajā* constrictor, *jivā* living, *meghā* cloud, *codā* inciting, *plavā* boat, *sarā* brook, *sarpā* serpent, *bhojā* generous, *khādā* devouring.

d. Of the examples here given, those under *b* accent the radical syllable and those under *c* the ending. And this is in perhaps a majority of cases the fact as regards the two classes of derivatives; so that, taken in connection with kindred facts as to other suffixes, it hints at such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic

Instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, *éṣa haste*, *eṣá hasting*; *qāsa order*, *qāsá orderer* (other examples are *oḍa*, *qāka*, *ṣoka*: compare a similar difference with other derivatives in *as*, *ana*, *an*, *man*). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, *jayá*, *javá*, *smará*, action-nouns; *gráva*, *mógha*, *stáva*, agent-nouns — and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

2. e. With *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening of the root — but only where *a* is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial *a*, and of final *r̥* (most often), *u* or *ū*, *i* or *ī* (rare).

f. Examples of action-nouns are: *kāma love*, *bhāgá share*, *nāḍá noise*, *dāvá fire*, *tārā crossing*. Very few forms of clear derivation and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.

g. Examples of agent-nouns are: *grābhá seizing*, *vāhā carrying*, *nāyá leading*, *jārā lover*.

3. h. With unstrengthened root, the examples are few: e. g. *kṛṣá lean*, *turá rapid*, *yugá yoke*, *sruvā spoon*, *priyá dear*, *vrā troop*, *qucá bright*.

1. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are doubtless results of the transfer of root-stems to the *a*-declension: e. g. *-ghuṣa*, *-sphura*, *-tuda*, *-dṛṣa*, *-vida*, *-kira*.

j. A few *a*-stems are made, especially in the older language, from conjugation-stems, mostly causative: thus, *-āmaya*, *ilaya*, *-īkṣmaya*, *-ajaya*, *-dhāraya*, *-pāraya*, *-mṛḍaya*, *-ṣamaya* (compare the *ā*-stems, 1149 c, d); also desiderative, as *bibhatsa* (compare 1038). Occasional examples also occur from tense-stems: thus, from *nu*-stems, or secondary stems made from such, *-hinvá*, *-inva*, *-jinva*, *-pinva*, *-sinva*, *-sunva*, *-aṇuva*; from others, *-pṛṣa*, *-mṛṣa*, *-stṛṣa*, *-puna*, *-jāna*, *-paṣya*, *-manya*, *-daśya*, *-jurya*, *-kṣudhya*, *-śya*, *-tiṣṭha*, *-jighra*, *-pība*; from future-stems, *kariṣya* (JB.), *janiṣya*, *bhaviṣya*, *ruciṣya*(?); apparently from aorist-stems, *Joṣa*, *nēṣa*, *parṣa*, *pṛkṣá*(?), *-hoṣa*.

4. k. Derivatives in *a* from a reduplicated root-form are a considerable class, mostly occurring in the older language. They are sometimes made with a simple reduplication: thus, *cacará*, *cikita*, *dṛḍhrá*, *dadhṛṣá*, *babhaṣa*, *-babhra*, *vavrá*, *ṣṣayá*, *ṣṣnátha* (an action-noun), *mastrá*; but oftener with an intensive reduplication: thus, merely strengthened, *cāḥmá*, *oṣcala*, *jāgara*, *nānada*, *lālassa*, *vīvadhá*(?), *-memiṣa*, *rorihá* and *leliha*, *vevijá*, *nonuva*, *momughá*, *-roruda*, *lolupa*; with consonant added, *-cañkaṣa*, *-cañkrama*, *jañgama*, *cañcala*, *-jañjapa*, *dandhvana*, *-nannama*, *-jarjalpa*, *jarjara*, *-tartura*, *-dardira*, *múrmura*, *gadgada*; dissyllabic, *-karikra*, *kanikradá*, *carācará* and *calācalá*, *marimṛṣá*, *malimlucá*, *varivṛtá*, *earisṛpá*, *paniṣpadá*, *saniṣyadá*, *sanisrasá*, *patāpata*, *madāmada*, *-vadāvada*, *ghanā-*

ghanā. Many of these are to be regarded as from an intensive conjugation-stem; but some of them show a form not met with in intensive conjugation.

5. 1. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation (in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending—and that, without any reference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.

m. Examples are: *saṅgamā assembly*, *nimeṣā wink*, *abhidrohā emity*, *anukarā assistance*, *udānā inspiration*, *pratyaṣṭrāvā response*; — *paricarā wandering*, *saṁjayā victorious*, *vibodhā wakeful*, *atīyajā over-pious*, *udārā inciting, elevated*, *uttudā rousing*, *saṁgirā swallowing*, *ādardirā crushing*, *adhicaṅkramā climbing*.

n. The only definite class of exceptions in regard to accent appears to be that of the adverbial gerunds in *am* (above, 985), which are accented on the root-syllable. A very few other stems have the same tone: for example, *utpāta 'portent*, *āgrēṣa plague*. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, *vyōṣa* (i. e. *vi-oṣa*) *burning*, *prātiveṣa neighbor*, *ābhaga sharing*; but also *sāṁkāṣa appearance*.

o. For the remaining compounds of these derivatives, with the inseparable prefixes and with other elements, see the next chapter. It may be merely mentioned here that such compounds are numerous, and that the *a*-derivative has often an active participial value, and is frequently preceded by a case-form, oftentime the accusative.

p. Many words in the language appear to end with a suffix *a*, while yet they are referable to no root which can be otherwise demonstrated as such.

1149. ऋ ā. The vast majority of stems in ऋ ā are feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters in ऋ a (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in ऋ a have corresponding feminine forms in long ऋ ā, making a greater or less number of action-nouns. These will be given under the different suffixes below.

a. There is further, however, a considerable body of feminine action-nouns made by adding ā to a root, and having an independent aspect; though they are doubtless in part transfers from the root-noun (1147). Usually they show an unstrengthened form of root, and (such as occur in accented texts) an accented suffix.

b. Examples are *icā* *lordship*, *kriḍā* *play*, *dayā* *pity*, *nindā* *reproach*, *ṣaṅkā* *doubt*, *hiṁsā* *injury*, *kṣamā* *patience*, *kṣudhā* *hunger*, *bhāṣā* *speech*, *sevā* *service*. *spṛhā* *eagerness*.

c. But especially, such nouns in *ā* are made in large numbers, and with perfect freedom, from secondary conjugation-stems.

d. Thus, especially from desiderative stems, as *jigīṣā*, *bhikṣā*, *virtśā*, *bibhatsā*, etc., (see 1038); in the formation of periphrastic perfects, especially from causative stems, but also from desiderative and intensive, and even from primary present-stems (1071 c-f); from denominative stems, in the older language, as *aṣvayā*, *sukratūyā*, *apaśyā*, *uru-ṣyā*, *asūyā*, *aṣanayā*, *jīvanasyā*, etc., and quite rarely in the later, as *mṛgayā*.

e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late *paspaṣā*; for *sūṣā*, *jāṅghā*, and *jihvā*, which have a reduplicated aspect, are of doubtful origin. From present-stems come *icchā* and probably *-ṛcchā*.

1150. *ṣṛāna*. With this suffix (as with *ṣṛa*) are formed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has oftenest *guṇa*-strengthening, but not seldom *vṛddhi* instead; and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened. Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.

a. The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning; but cases occur of accented final, and a few of accented penult. The action-nouns are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is made either in *ā* or in *ī* (for details, see below). And a few feminine action-nouns in *anā* and *anī* occur, which may be ranked as belonging to this suffix.

1. b. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.

c. With *guṇa*-strengthening: examples of action-nouns are *sādāna* *seat*, *rākṣaṇa* *protection*, *dāna* *giving*, *cāyana* *collection*, *vēdāna* *property*, *hāvana* *call*, *bhōjana* *enjoyment*, *kāraṇa* *deed*, *vārdhana* *increase*; — of agent-nouns, *tāpāna* *burning*, *cētāna* *visible*, *cōdāna* *impelling*.

d. With *vṛddhi*-strengthening (only in such circumstances that *ā* remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples are *-cātāna*, *nāṣāna*, *mādāna*, *-vācāna*, *-vāsāna*, *-vāhāna*, *-sādāna*, *-spāṣāna*, *svādāna*, *-āyāna*, *-yāvāna*, *-srāvāna*, *-pārāna*.

e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the suffix

a (above, 1148 l, m). A few examples are: *ākramaṇa* *striding on*, *udyāna* *upgoing*, *nidhāna* *receptable*, *prāṇana* *expiration*, *vimōcana* *release and releasing*, *saṃgāmana* *assembly and assembler*, *adhivikārtana* *cutting off*, *avaprabhāṅcana* *falling away down*. For other compounds of these derivatives, showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, 1271). A few exceptions occur: *vicakṣaṇā*, *upariṣayanā*, and the feminines *pramandaṇī* and *nirdahaṇī*.

f. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in ī: thus, *cōdanī*, *pēcanī*, *spāraṇī*, *jāmbhaṇī*; *prajñāṇī*, *prōkṣaṇī*, *saṃgrāhaṇī*, *abhiśāvaṇī*, *vidhāraṇī* (*cetani* is of doubtful meaning: below, l). An adjective compound, however, having a noun in *ana* as final member, makes its feminine in ā: thus, *sūpasarpaṇā* of *easy approach*, *ṣaḍvidhānā* of *sextuple order*, *anapavācānā* *not to be ordered away*.

2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows:

g. With accent on the final: a number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as *karapā* *active* (against *kāraṇa* *act*) *kṛpaṇā* *miserable* (against *kṛpāna* *misery*), *tvaraṇā* *hasting*, *rocanā* *shining*, *kroṣaṇā* *yelling*, *avapaṇā* *sleepy*, *kṣayaṇā* *habitable*.

h. These, unlike the preceding class, make their feminine in ā: e. g. *tvaraṇā*, *spandaṇā*. A few feminine action-nouns in the older language have the same form: thus, *aṣaṇā*, *asaṇā*, *mananā*, *dyotanā*, *rodhanā*, *ṣvetanā*, *hasanā* (and compare *kapaṇā*, *raṣaṇā*); those of the later language in *anā* (rather numerous) are doubtful as regards accent.

i. Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in *anī*, of more or less doubtful character: *aṛṣaṇī*, *cetani* (to *cetana*), *tapaṇī* (to *tāp-ana*), *pṛṣaṇī*, *vṛjaṇī* (with *vṛjana*), *rajaṇī*, *tedaṇī*.

j. With accent on the penult: a small number of adjectives: as *turaṇa* *hasting*, *dohāna* *milking*, *manāna* *considerate*, *bhandāna* and *mandāna* *rejoicing*, *sakṣāṇa* *overcoming*, and perhaps *vakṣāṇā* *carrying* (the last two with acrostatic ā); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: *daṭṭsāna* *great deed*, *vṛjana* *enclosure*, *town*, *veṣāṇa* *service*, *kṛpāna* *misery*, (against *kṛpaṇā* *miserable*), with the masculine *kirāpa* *dust*.

k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā: *turaṇā*. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: *arhāṇā*, *jarāṇā*, *barhāṇā*, *bhandāṇā*, *mañhāṇā*, *mehāṇā*, *vadhāṇā*, *vanāṇā*, *vakṣāṇā*. (And compare the anomalous masc. name *uṣāṇā*: 355a.)

l. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, *kṛpāna* and *kṛpaṇā*, *vṛjana* and *vṛjaṇī*, *kirāpa*, *turaṇa*), further accented examples are *ūraṇa*, *dhūvana*, *pṛṣana*, *bhūvana*, *vṛjana*, *vṛṣaṇa*, *-sūvana*; and later are found *sphuraṇa*, *sphuṭana*, *spṛhaṇa*, *-hnuvana*, *likhana*, *rudana*, etc. RV. makes denominatives from *riṣaṇa*-, *ruvaṇa*-, *-ṛipana*-, *buvana*-.

m. Stems in *ana* are made also from secondary conjugation-stems: thus, from desideratives, as *cikitsana* (see 1038); from causatives, as *hāpana*, *bhīṣaṇa* (see 1051g); from denominatives, with great freedom, in the later language, as *ākaraṇa*, *unmīlana*, *ṣṭakṣaṇa*, *cihnana*; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only *caṅkramaṇa*, *jaṇ-gamaṇa*, *jāgaratā*, *yoyupana*.

n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned: from tense-stems, *-jighraṇa*, *-ūrpavana*, *-paṣyana*, *yacchana*, *-slācana*; from prepositions, *āntaraṇa* and *sāmāṇa*; *astamana* from the quasi-prefix (1092b) *astam*. Feminines in *anā* of doubtful connection are *yōṣaṇā* *woman* (beside *yōṣan*, *yōṣā*, etc.) and *pītanā*.

1151. अस् as. By this suffix are made (usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the root-vowel) especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-nouns), but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.

a. The accent in words of the first class is on the root, and in the second on the ending; and in a few instances words of the two classes having the same form are distinguished by their accent; the infinitives have for the most part the accent on the suffix.

1. b. Examples of the first and principal class are: *āvas aid*, *favor*, *tāpas warmth*, *prāyas pleasure*, *tējas splendor*, *śrāvas fame*, *dōhas milking*, *kāras deed*, *prāthas breadth*, *cētas* and *mānas mind*, *cākṣas eye*, *sāras pond*, *vācas speech*.

c. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without strengthening of the root, *jūvas quickness* (beside *jāvas*), *ūras breast*, *mīdhas contempt*; and *iras* (*irasy-*) and *vipas-*, and the adverbs *tirās*, *mithās*, *huras-*, also *śiras head*, are to be compared; — with *vrddhi*-strengthening, *-vācas*, *vāsas*, *vāhas*, *-svādas*, and, of doubtful connections, *pājas*, *pāthas*, and *-hāyas*; — perhaps with an aoristic *s*, *hēṣas missile*; — *pīvas* contains a *v* apparently not radical.

d. After final *ā* of a root is usually inserted *y* before the suffix (258): thus, *dhāyas*, *-gāyas*. But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which *as* was added directly to radical *ā*: thus, *bhās* and *-dās* (often to be pronounced as two syllables), *jās*, *mās*; and *-dhas* and *-das*, from the roots *dhā* and *dā*.

2. e. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: *āpas work*, and *apās acties*; *yācas beauty*, and *yaçās beautiful*; *tāras quickness*, and *tarās* (VS., once) *quick*; *tāvas strength*, and *tavās strong*; *dūvas worship*, and *duvās lively* (?); *māhas greatness*, and *mahās great*; between *rākṣas n.* and

rakṣās m., both meaning *demon*, and between *tyājas* n. *abandonment*(?) and *tyajās* m. *descendent*(?), the antithesis is much less clear.

f. Adjectives in *ās* without corresponding abstracts are: *toṣās* *bestowing*, *yajās* *offering*, *vedhās* *pious*, probably *āhanās* *heady*; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as *veṣās*, *dhivarās*. From a denominative stem is made *mṛgayās* *wild animal* (RV., once).

g. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, *jarās* *old age*, *bhīyās* *fear*; and doubtless also *havās* *call*, and *tveṣās* *impulse*. The feminine *uṣās* *dawn*, and *doṣās* *night*, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

h. Apparently containing a suffix *as* are the noun *upās* *lap*, and certain proper names: *āṅgīras*, *nodhās*, *bhalānās*, *arcanānās*, *naciketas*. The feminine *apsarās* *nymph* is of doubtful derivation.

i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

3. j. The infinitives made by the suffix *as* have been explained above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between *sāhas* and *jarās*).

4. k. The formation of derivatives in *as* from roots compounded with prefixes is very restricted — if, indeed, it is to be admitted at all. No infinitive in *as* occurs with a prefix; nor any action-noun; and the adjective combinations are in some instances evidently, and in most others apparently, possessive compounds of the noun with the prefix used adjectively: the most probable exceptions are *-nyōkas* and *viśpardhas*. As in these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.

1. Certain Vedic stems in *ar* may be noticed here, as more or less exchanging with stems in *as*, and apparently related with such. They were reported above, at 169 a.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix ending in *a*, may be best treated the others, kindred in office and possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

1152. तम् *tas*, नम् *nas*, सम् *sas*. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With *tas* are made *rētas* *seed*, and *srōtas* *stream*.

b. With *nas* are made *āpnas* *acquisition*, *ārṇas* *wave*, *-bhārṇas* *offering*, *rēkṇas* *riches*; and in *drāvīṇas* *wealth*, and *pārīṇas* *fullness* is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of *dāmūnas* *house-friend*, and *fjūnas* (RV.) n. pr., *uṣānas* (or *-nā*) n. pr.

c. With *sas* is perhaps made *vāpsas* *beauty*; and *tārūṣas* may be mentioned with it (rather *tarus-as*?).

1153. **इ** is. With the suffix **is** is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.

a. They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the *guṇa*-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in *īyōtis light*, *vyāthis*, and *āmīs raw meat*). Examples are: *arcīs*, *rocīs*, and *qocīs light*, *chadīs* or *chardīs cover*, *barhīs straw*, *vartīs track*, *sarpīs butter*, *havis oblation*, *dyotis light*, and *kravis raw flesh*. *Avis-*, *pāthis*, *bhrājis-*, and *māhis-* are isolated variants of stems in *as*; and *tūvis-*, *qucis-*, and *surabhis-* appear inorganically for *tuvi* etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. **उ** us. With this suffix are made a few words, of various meaning, root-form, and accent.

a. They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, *tāpus heat and hot*; *ārus wound and sore*; *cākṣus brightness and seeing, eye*; *vāpus wonderful and wonder*. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable: thus, *āyus*, *tārus*, *pūrus*, *mūhus* (? only adverbial), *mīthus* (do.), *yājus*, *qāsus*; exceptions are: in regard to accent, *janūs birth*; in regard to gender, *mānus man*, and *nāhus n. pr.* Of adjectives, are accented on the ending *jayūs*, *vanūs*, and *dakṣūs burning* (which appears to attach itself to the *acrist*-stem).

1155. **इ** i. With this suffix are formed a large body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and reduplicated. Their accent is also various. Many of them have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. a. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, *rūci brightness*, *tvīṣi sheen*, *kṛṣi ploughing*, *nṛi dance*; — with *guṇa*-strengthening (where possible), *rōpi pain*, *qoci heat*, *vanī* and *sanī gain*; — with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *grāhi seizure*, *dhṛāji course*, *ājī race*; from *y'duṣ* comes *dūṣi* (compare *dūṣayati*, 1042b). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given. The few infinitively used words of this formation (above, 975b) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.

2. b. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:

c. With unstrengthened root: *qūci bright*, *bhīmi lively* (*ybhram*), *gṛbhi container*.

d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of *gupa*-change): *ari* enemy, *māhi* great, *arci* beam, *granthi* knot, *krīḍi* playing; with *vr̥ddhi*-increment, *kāṛṣi*, *jāni*, *-dhāri*, *ṣāri*, *sāci*, *sādi*, *sāhi*, and a few words of obscure connections: thus, *drāpi* *n. tile*, *rāci* heap, *pāpi* hand, etc. The isolated *-ānaqi* appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) of *yaq*.

e. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, *cākri*, *jāghri*, (*ṽghar*), *pāpri*, *sāsri*, *-mamri*, *babhrī*, *vavri*, *jāgmi*, *-jājñi* (*ṽjan*), *-tatni*, *jāghni*, *sāsni*, *sūṣvi*, *-ciṣvi*; and, with displacement of final *ā* (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), *dadī*, *papī*, *yayī* (with a case or two from *yayī*), *-jājñi*, *dādhi*; — from the *ur*-form of roots in changeable *ṛ*, *jāguri*, *tāturi*, *pāpuri* (*pūpuri* *SV.*); — with simple reduplication, *cikiti*, *yūyudhi*, *vīvici*; — with strengthened reduplication, *-cācali*, *tātṛpi*, *dādhr̥ṣi*, *vāvahi*, *sāsahī*, *tūtūji* and *tūtūjī*, *yūyuvī*, *yūyudhī*; and *jarbhāri* and *bāmbhāri*. And *karkarī* lute and *dundubhī* drum have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoeitic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root). It was noticed above (271f) that these reduplicated derivatives in *i* not seldom take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.

f. Formations in *i* from the root compounded with prefixes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are: *āyaji*, *vyānaqi*, *riyaghnī*, *parādadi*, *viśasahī*; but also *ajāni*, *amūri*, *vīvavri*. As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in *i* are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root: see the next chapter, 1276.

g. From *ṽdhā* comes a derivative *-dhi*, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prefixes, *antardhī*, *uddhī*, *nidhī*, *paridhī*, etc. From *ṽdā* is made in like manner *ādi* beginning, and from *ṽsthā*, *pratiṣṭhī* resistance. Opinions are at variance as to whether such forms are to be regarded as made with the suffix *i*, displacing the radical *ā*, or with weakening of *ā* to *i*.

3. h. Neuter nouns in *i* are few, and of obscure derivation: examples are *ākṣi* eye, *āsthi* bone, *dādhi* curds, etc.

1156. $\frac{3}{2}$ *i*. Stems in $\frac{3}{2}$ *i* (like those in $\frac{3}{2}$ *ā*, above, 1149) are for the most part feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters of other terminations.

a. Thus, feminines in *i* are made from *a*-stems (332, 334: and see also the different suffixes), from *i*-stems (344, 346), from *u*-stems (344b), from *ṛ*-stems (376a), and from various consonant-stems (378a).

b. But there are also a few stems in *i* wearing the aspect of independent derivatives. Examples are: *dakṣi*, *dehī*, *nadī*, *nāndī*, *pēṣi*,

vakṣi (apparently with aoristic *s*), *veṣi*, *ṣāki*, *ṣāci*, *ṣāmi*, *ṣimi*, *tari*, *vāpi*; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of *i*- and *i*-stems and the forms from them.

c. In the oldest language there are even a few masculines in *i*. They were noticed, and their inflection illustrated, above, at 355b, 356.

1157. *ति ti*. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action: and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix *त* *ta* of the passive participle (952 ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

a. The accent ought, it would appear, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; but in the recorded condition of the language it does so only in a minority of cases: namely, about fifty, against sixty cases of accent on the radical syllable, and a hundred and forty of undetermined accent; a number of words — *iti*, *ṛti*, *citti*, *ṛpti*, *pakti*, *puṣṭi*, *bhūti*, *bhṛti*, *vṛṣṭi*, *ṣakti*, *gruṣṭi*, *sṛṣṭi*, *sthiti* — have both accentuations.

1. b. Examples of the normal formation are: *rāti* *gift*, *ūti* *aid*, *rīti* *flow*, *stutī* *praise*, *bhaktī* *division*, *viṣṭi* *service*, *kirtī* *fame*, *pūrti* *bestowal*, *matī* *thought*, *pīti* *drink* (*yā*: pple *pīta*), *dhāuti* *stream* (*ydhāv*: pple *dhāuta*); — and with accented root, *gāti* *motion*, *ṣānti* *repose*, *dīti* *division* (*yā*: pple *dīta*), *dṛṣṭi* *sight*, *īṣṭi* *offering* (*yā*: pple *īṣṭā*), *ūkti* *speech* (*yvac*: pple *uktā*), *vṛddhi* *increase*.

c. The roots which form their participle in *ita* (956) do not have the *i* also before *ti*: thus, only *gūpti*, *ḍṛpti*. A few roots having their participle in *nā* instead of *ta* (957) form the abstract noun also in *nī* (below, 1158). And from the roots *tan* and *ran* occur *tantī* and *rānti*, beside the more regular *tati* and *rāti*; also *āhanti* (once, VS.) beside *āhati*. From the two roots *dā* *give* and *dā* *divide*, the derivative in composition is sometimes *-tti* (for *dāti*, with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form *-tta*, above, 955f): thus, *niravatti* (K.), *samprātti* (CB), *pārītti* (TB.) *vāntti*, *bhāgatti*, *maghātti* (all RV.).

d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, *carkṛti*, *dīdhiti* and *-dīditi*, *jīgarti*, and perhaps the proper name *yayāti*; also *jāgdhi* from *yjake* (233f).

e. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerous, and have (as in the case of the participles in *ta*, and the action-nouns in *tu*) the accent on the prefix: examples are *ānumatī*, *abhīti*, *āhuti*, *nīṛti*, *vyāpti*, *sāṃgati*. The only exceptions noticed are *āsaktī* and *āsutī*, and *abhi-*

ṣṭi (beside abhiṣṭi). In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter (1274).

2. f. The adjectives and agent-nouns — which, as masculines, are to be connected with these rather than with the feminine abstracts — are very few: thus, pūti *putrid*, vāṣṭi *eager*, dhūti *shaker*, jñāti *relative*, patti *footman*, pāti *master*; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. g. A few words show the suffix ti preceded by various vowels, union- or stem-vowels. The ordinary intermediate i of the ta-participle etc. is seen in sāniti, ūhiti, -grhīti (I, as usual with this root: 800 b), paṭhiti, bhaṇiti; and with them may be mentioned the adjective ṣṭiti, the proper names turvīti and dabhīti, and snīhīti and snēhīti, notwithstanding their long final. With ati are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns aṇhati, dr̥ṣati, pakṣati, mithati, vasati, ramāti, vratāti, amāti and āmati, -dhrajaṭi; and the agent-words arati, khalati, vṛkati, rāmati, dahati. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in jānayati and rasayati (and RV. has gopayātya). The grammarians' method of representing a root by its 3d sing. pres. indic., declining this as a ti-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. étivant (TB.), kētivant (AB.), yajati and juhōti and dādāti (S.), naṇdati (MBh.). The feminine yūvati *young, maiden* is of isolated character.

h. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, ti is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, kāti, tāti, yāti, and from numerals, as daṣati, viṇṣati, ṣaṣṭi, etc., with peṣṭi (from pāṇca); in padāti; and in addhāti, from the particle addhā.

1158. णि ni. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a very much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

a. As was noticed above (1157 c), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in na instead of ta make their action-noun in ni instead of ti. From the older language are quotable jṛāni *injury*, jūrṇi *heat*, hāni *abandonment* (and the masculines ghṛṇi and jirṇi); later occur glāni, -mlāni, sannī-.

b. Words of the other class are: aṇi *eating*, -uṇi *burning*, vāhni *carrying*, jūrṇi *singing*, tūrṇi *hasty*, bhūrṇi *excited*, dharṇi *sustaining*, preṇi *loving*, vṛṇi and vṛṇi *virile*; and with them may be mentioned pṛṇi *speckled*.

c. In preṇi, yōni, menī, gr̥ṇi, gr̥ṇi is seen a strengthening of the radical syllable, such as does not appear among the derivatives in ti.

d. Derivatives in ni from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

e. In *hrādūni* and *hlāduni* we have a prefixed *u*. In the words ending in *ani*, the *a* has probably the same value with that of *ati* (above, 1157 g); but *ani* has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. *अनि ani*. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding suffixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with conereted meaning: as, *iṣāṇi impulse*, *ṣarāṇi injury*, *dyotani brightness*, *kāpaṇi blow*, *aṇi missile*, *vartani track*; and *-arṇani*, *udani*-, *jarani*-.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: *arāṇi fire-stick*, *carāṇi movable*, *cakṣāṇi enlightener*, *tarāṇi quick*, *dhamāṇi pipe*, *dhvasāṇi scattering*, *vakṣāṇi strengthener*, *sarāṇi track*. *Dharani* and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in *anī*. From a reduplicated root-form comes *-paptani*. From desiderative stems are made *ruruṣāṇi*, *siṣāsāṇi*, and (with prefix) *ā-ṣuṣuṣāṇi*. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an *a*-aorist stem: thus, *parāṇi*, *sakṣāṇi*, *carṣāṇi*.

c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in *ṣāṇi* (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in *ani*, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in *an*, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic *a*.

1160. *अन an*. Not many words are made with a suffix of this form, and of these few are plainly to be connected with roots. Certain rare neuters (along with the doubtful infinitives) are nouns of action; the rest are masculine and neuter agent-nouns. The accent is various.

a. The infinitives which admit of being referred to this suffix, as locative cases, are those in *ṣāṇi*, of which the sibilant may be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (978).

b. The other action-nouns in *an* are *mahān greatness*, *rājān authority* (RV., once: compare *rājān*; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and *gāmbhan depth* (VS., once); and PB. has *kṣepṇā* once.

c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are; *ukṣān ox*, *cakṣan eye*, *tākṣan carpenter*, *dhvasān proper name*, *pūṣān name of a god*, *majjān marrow*, *rājān king*, *vṛṣan virile*, *bull*, *sāghan*, *snihān* (*snūhan* Āpast.); also *-gman*, *jmān*, *-bhvan*, *-ṣvan*, with *ṣvān*, *yūvan*, *yōṣan*, and the stems *āhan*, *ūdhan*, etc. (430-4), filling up the inflection of other defective stems.

d. With prefixes occur *pratidīvan* and *ātīdīvan*, *vibhvan*, *nīkāman*.

1161. *ṛ tu.* The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives — accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives; see above, 970 b, 972. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening.

a. The infinitive words are accented on the radical syllable when simple, and most of the others have the same accent; but a few have the tone on the ending.

b. Examples are: of the regular formation, masc. *dātu share*, *jātu birth*, *dhātu element*, *tantu thread*, *mantu counsel*, *ōtu weft*, *sātu receptacle*, *sētu tie*, *sōtu pressure*; also *krātu capacity*, and *sāktu grits*; fem. *vāstu morning*; neut. *vastu thing*, *vāstu abode*; — with accent on the ending, *aktū ray*, *janṭū being*, *gātū way and song*, *yātū* (?) *demon*, *hetū cause*, *ketū banner* (all masc.); — with unstrengthened root, *ṛtū season*, *pitū drink*, *sūtu birth*, and apparently *kṛtu* (in *kṛtvās times*); with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *vāstu* (above). Agent-nouns appear to be *dhātu drinkable* and *kroṣṭu jackal*.

c. The infinitives in *tu* have (968) often the union-vowel *i* before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to *ī*. In other use occur also *-stārītu* and *-dhārītu* (both with *du*), *-hāvītu* (with *su*); *turphārītu* seems of the same formation, but is obscure.

d. In a few instances, the suffix *tu* appears to be added to a tense- or conjugation-stem in *a*; thus, *edhatū* and *vahatū*; *tamyatū* and *tapyatū*; and *siṣāsātū*. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of *jivātū life*, which is further exceptional in showing a long *ā*; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. *ṛ nu.* This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

a. The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.

b. Thus: *kṣepnū jerk*, *bhānū light* (later *sun*), *vagnū sound*, *sūnū son*, *dānū* (with irregular accent) *m. f. demon*, *n. drop, dew*; *dhenū f. cow*; — *grḍhnū hasty*, *tapnū burning*, *trasnū fearful*, *dhṛṣṇū bold*; — and *viṣṇū Vishnu*, and perhaps *sthāpū pillar*. Compare also suffix *tnu*, 1166 a.

c. This also (like *tu*) appears sometimes with a prefixed *a*: thus, *kṣipañú missile*, *krandanú* and *nadanú roaring*, *nabhanú* (and *-nū*, *fountain*), *vibhañjanú* (only instance with prefix) *breaking to pieces*; and perhaps the proper names *dāsanu* and *kṛṣṇanu* belong here.

1163. *ṭha*. The words made with this suffix are almost without exception action-nouns (though some have assumed a concrete value). They are of all genders. The root is of a weak (or even weakened) form, and the accent usually on the suffix.

a. Thus: masc., *-itha going*, *ārtha goal*, *-kṛtha making*, *gāthā song*, *pakthā n. pr.*, *bhṛthā offering*, *-yātha road*, *-qitha lying down*, *çotha swelling*, *siktha sediment*; and, of less clear connections, *yāthā herd*, *rāthā chariot*;—neut., *ukthā saying*, *tīrthā ford*, *nīthā song*, *rikthā heritage*, and apparently *prēthā back*;—fem. (with *ā*), *gāthā song*, *nīthā way*. Radical *ā* is weakened to *ī* in *gīthā song* and *-pīthā drink* and *-pīthā protection*; a final nasal is lost in *-gatha going* and *hāthā slaying*. In *vijigīthā* (ÇB.; but BAU *-ita*) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of *vji*, *victorious*.

b. A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, *nirṛthā destruction*, *sahgathā union*, etc.

c. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an *ā*, which is probably of thematic origin, though become a union-vowel. Thus: *-anāthā breathing*, *ayāthā foot*, *carāthā mobility*, *tveçāthā vehemence*, and so *prothāthā*, *yajāthā*, *ra-vāthā*, *vakṣāthā*, *ucāthā*, *vidāthā*, *çaṇsatha*, *çapāthā*, *çayāthā*, *çvayāthā*, *çvasāthā*, *sacāthā*, *stanāthā*, *stavāthā*, *sravāthā*, and, with weak root-form, *ruvāthā*; the later language adds *karāthā*, *tarāthā*, *çamāthā*, *savāthā*. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, *āvasathā abode*, *pravasathā absence*; but *prāpāthā breath* is treated as if *prān* were an integral root.

d. Isolated combinations of *tha* with other preceding vowels occur: thus, *vārūthā protection*, *jārūthā wasting* (?); and *matūthā* (*yman* ?).

1164. *ṭhu*. This suffix (like *ṭha*, above) has an *ṭā* attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as *ṭṭhu*.

a. The only Vedic examples are *ejāthū quaking*, *vepāthū trembling*, *stanāthū roaring*. Later cases are *nandāthū* (TS.), *nadathū* (U.), *kṣavathū* (S.), *davathū*, *bhrañçathū*, *majjathū*, *vamathū*, *çvayathū*, *sphūrjathū*.

1165. *ṭyu*. With this suffix are made a very few nouns,

both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are *manyú* *scrath*, *mṛtyú* *death* (with t added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are *druhyú* n. pr., *bhujyú* *pliable*, *muoyu* (GB. i. 1. 7), *ṇundhyú* *pure*, *yājyu* *pious*, *sāhyu* *strong*, *dāsyu* *enemy*; and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, *jāyú* *victorious*.

c. For other derivatives ending in *yu*, see the suffix *u*, below, 1178 h, i.

1166. ण *ma*. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.

a. Examples of action-nouns are: *ajmá* *course*, *gharmá* *heat*, *éma* *progress*, *bhāma* *brightness*, *sārma* *flow*, *stōma* *song of praise*.

b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: *tigmá* *sharp*, *bhīmá* *terrible*, *ṣagmá* *mighty*, *idhmá* *fuel*, *yudhmá* *warrior*. A single instance from a reduplicated root is *tūtumá* *powerful*. *Sarāmá* f., with a before the suffix, is of doubtful connection.

c. A number of stems in *ma* have stems in *man* beside them, and appear, at least in part, to be transfers from the *an-* to the *a-*declension. Such are *ajma*, *oma*, *ema*, *arma*, *tókma*, *darmá*, *dhārma*, *narmá*, *yāma*, *yugma*, *vema*, *ṣuṣma*, *sōma*, *sārma*, *hōma*.

1167. मि *mi*. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with *mi*, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from *ṛ-*roots, *ūrmí* *wave*, *-kūrmí* *action*, *sūrmí* f. *tuṣe*; from others, *jāmí* *relation*, *bhūmí* or *bhūmí* f. *earth*, *lakṣmí* *sign*; also probably *raṣmí* *line*, *ray*; and the adjective *krúdhmí* (? RV., once).

1168. म् *man*. The numerous derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accented on the suffix. The few agent-words are, if nouns, masculine, and have the latter accent: in several instances, a neuter and a masculine, of the one and the other value and accent, stand side by side. The root has in general the *guṇa*-strengthening.

i. a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are: *kárman* *action*, *jánman* *birth*, *nāman* *name*, *vártman* *track*, *vēṣman* *dwelling*, *hōman* *sacrifice*, *-dyótman* *splendor*.

b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: *omán favor*, *ojmán strength*, *jemán conquest*, *svādmán sweetness*, *hemán impulse*.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are: *brāhman worship* and *brahmán priest*; *dāman gift* and *dāmán giver*; *dhāman rule* and *dharmán orderer*; *sādmán seat* and *sadmán sitter*. But *ōman friend* stands in the contrary relation to *omán m. favor*. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except *brahmán*, are of rare occurrence.

d. On the other hand, *jeman* and *varṣman* and *svādmán* (and *varimán*) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

e. The noun *ācman stone*, though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.

f. The derivatives in *man* used as infinitives (974) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is *vidmāne*.

g. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, *ūdman*, *ūṣmán* or *uṣman*, *bhūman earth*, *bhūmán abundance*, *syūman*, *sīmán*, *bhujmán*, *vidmán*, *qíkman*, *quṣman*, *sidhman*; and *kārṣman*, *bhārman*, *qākman*.

h. Derivatives in *man* from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, *prābharman forthbringing*, *prāyāman departure*; *ānuvartman following after*: the exceptions, *viṣāman*, *prativartmán*, *visarmán*, are perhaps of possessive formation.

2. i. The same suffix, though only with its abstract-making value, has in a number of cases before it a union-vowel, *i* or *ī*; and *imán* comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a considerable number of adjectives.

j. The neuters in *iman* and *īman* are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, *jāniman*, *dharīman* (M.), *vāriman* (beside *varimán*, as noticed above); and *dārīman*, *dhārīman*, *pārīman* (and *pāreman* SV., once), *bhārīman*, *vārīman*, *sārīman*, *stārīman*, *sāvīman*, and *hāvīman*. Those in *īman* are hardly met with outside the R̥g-Veda.

k. The masculines in *imán* are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are *tāniman* (?), *jarimán*, *prathimán*, *mahimán*, *varimán* (beside the equivalent *vāriman* and *vārīman*), *varṣimán* (beside the equivalent *varṣman* and *varṣmán*), *harimán*, and *drāghimán* (VS.) beside *drāghmán* (V.B.). Some of these, as well as of the derivatives in simple *man*, attach themselves in meaning, or in form also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying abstracts: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and superlatives (above, 468): such are *pāpmán* (to *pāpá*, *pāpiyas* etc.); *drāghmán* etc. (to *dirghá*, *drāghiyas*, etc.); *vāriman* etc. (to *urú*,

vāriyas, etc.); *prāthiman* (to *pr̥thu*, *prāthiṣṭha*); *harimān* (to *hāri* or *hārīta*); *vārṣman* etc. (to *vārṣi* etc.); *svādman* etc. (to *svādū*, *svādiyas*, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, *dhūmrīmān* (TS. K.), *draḍhimān* (MS. K.: to *dr̥dhā*, *drāḍhiyas*, etc.), *aṣimān* (CB.; and *aṣiman* n. *ḥi*), *asthemān*, *asthāvimān* (n. *big piece*), *taruṇiman* (K.), *paruṣiman* (AB.), *abaliman* (ChU.), *lohitiman* (KB.); and still later such as *laghiman*, *kṛṣṇiman*, *pūrṇiman*, *madhuriman*, *ṇṇiman*, etc., etc.

1169. *वन् van*. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter chiefly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a *न्* t before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

a. The insertion of t is an intimation that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of *an* to derivatives in *u* and *tu*; yet *van* has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

b. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. *yājvan* *offering*, *drūhvan* *harming*, *ṇṇvan* *capable*, *-rikvan* *leaving*, *-jītvān* *conquering*, *sūtvan* *pressing*, *kṛtvān* *active*, *-gātvan* (like *-gat*, *-gatyā*) *going*, *sātvan* (*ysan*) *warrior*; neut. *pārvan* *joint*, *dhānvan* *bow*. Irregular, with strengthened root, are *ārvan* *courser*, *-yāvan* (? AV.) *driving off*; and, with accent on the suffix, *dr̥vān* (? VS.) and *vidvān* (? AV.).

c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: *atitvan* *excelling*, *upahāsvan* *reviler*, *sambhṛtvān* *collecting*; and perhaps *vivāsvan* *shining*: *abhisatvan* is a compound with governing preposition (1310). For the compounds with other elements, which, except in special cases, have the same accent, see below, 1277.

d. The stems *muṣivān* *robber* and *sanītvān* (each RV., once) are the only ones with a union-vowel, and are perhaps better regarded as secondary derivatives — of which a few are made with this suffix: see below, 1234. From a reduplicated root are made *rārāvan* and *okitvān* (and possibly *vivāsvan*).

e. Action-nouns made with the suffix *van* are only the infinitival words mentioned at 974 — unless *bhurvānī* (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of *bhurvān*.

f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in *van* are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from *vara*, and end in *varī*; see below, 1171 b.

1170. *वन vana, वनि vani, वनु vanu*. The very few words

made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in connection with वन् *van* (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With *vans* are made *vagvaná talkative*, *satvaná warrior* (beside *sátvan*, above); and, from a reduplicated root, *guṣukvaná shining*.

b. With *vani* are made from simple roots *turváni excelling*, and *bhurváni restless*, and, from reduplicated roots, *guṣukváni shining*, *da-dhryváni daring*, *tuturváni striving after*, and *jugurváni praising*; *arharisváni* is obscure.

c. With *vanu* is made only *vagvanú tone, noise*.

1171. वर *vara*. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives. Much more common are the feminine stems in वरी *varī*, which, from the earliest period, serve as corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वन् *van*.

a. A few masculine adjectives in *vará* occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, *itvará going*, *-advara eating*; and, so, further, in the older language, *iqvará*, *-jāvara*, *phāvara*, *bhārvará*, *bhāsvará*, *vyadhvará* (?), *-sadvara*, *sthāvará*, and doubtless with them belongs *vidvalá*; later, *-kasvara*, *gatvara*, *ghasvara* (also *ghasmara*), *-jītvāra*, *naṣvara*, *pīvara*, *madvara*, *-ṛtvāra*; from a reduplicated root, *yāyāvará* (B. and later). Many of these have feminines in *ā*.

b. The feminines in *varī* accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in *van* to which they correspond: thus, *yāj-varī*, *-jītvārī*, *sītvarī*, *-qīvarī*, *-yāvārī*, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, *-qīqvarī*.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, *kārvara dead*, *gāhvara* (later also *gabhvara*) *thicket*; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: *urvārā field*, and *urvārī low* (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. वत् *ant* (or *वत् at*). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chaps. VIII.-XIV.), in combination

with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

a. A few words of like origin, but used as independent adjectives, were given at 450. With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots *iyant* and *kiyant* (451, 517 a). And *advayant* *not double-tongued* (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formation from the numeral *dvi* — unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

1173. *वास्* *vāñs* (or *वस्* *vas*). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802-6, and 458 ff.

a. A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at 462, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form *us* or *uṣa*. RV. vocalizes the *v* once, in *jufuruñ*.

b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in *vas*, of doubtful relations: *fbhvas* and *qikvas* *skilful* (beside words in *va* and *van*), and perhaps *khidvas* (*ykhād*). The neuter abstract *vāriyas* *breadth*, room (belonging to *urū* *broad*, in the same manner with *vāriyas* and *varimān*), is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative *pivān*, as if from *pivāñs* instead of *pivan*.

1174. *मान* *māna*. The participles having this ending are, as has been seen (584 b), present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. *घान* *āna*. The participles ending in *घान* *āna* are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form *सान* *sāna*: above, 897 b) aorist.

a. A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives *tākavāna*, *bhṛḡavāna*, *vāsavāna*, *ūrdhvasāna*, apparently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names *āpnāvana*, *pṛthavāna*, and *cyāvāna* and *cyāvatāna*. *Pārṣāna* *abyss* is doubtful; *rujāñs* (RV., once) is probably a false reading; *āpnāna* is of doubtful character.

1176. *त* *ta*. The use of this suffix in forming participles directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not a tense) stem, was explained above, 952-6. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive

in value (like those made by the two preceding suffixes, but in much larger measure, and more decidedly). ✓

a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: *ṛṣṭā rough*, *ṣitā cold*, *dr̥ḥā* (for *dṛḥā*; 224 a) *firm*; *dūtā messenger*, *sūtā charioteer*; *ṛtā right*, *ghṛtā ghee*, *jātā kind*, *dyūtā gambling*, *ṛttā dance*, *jivitā life*, *caritā behavior*, *smitā smile*. The adjective *tigitā* (RV.) *sharp* shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the *i* (318 d). *Vāvātā dear* is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda — unless *bhāmīta* RV.), derivatives in *ita* are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of *endowed with*, *affected by*, *made to be*, and the like (compare the similar English formation in *ad*, as *horned*, *barefooted*, *bluecoated*). Examples are *rathita furnished with a chariot*, *duḥkhita pained*, *kusumita flowered*, *durbalita weakened*, *nīḥsamṣayita indubitable*, etc. etc.

c. A few words ending in *ta* are accented on the radical syllable, and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are *āsta home*, *mārta mortal*, *vāta wind*; and with them may be mentioned *gārta high seat*, *nākta night*, *hāsta hand*. *Vratā* is commonly viewed as containing a suffix *ta*, but it doubtless comes from *√vṛt* (*vrat-ā*, like *tradā*, *vrajā*) and means originally *course*.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in *ita*, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, *palitā gray*, *āsita black*, *rōhita and lōhita red*, *hārita green*; akin with them are *-ōta variegated*, *cyetā white*. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, *ēnī* and *cyēnī*; *rōhipī* and *lōhinī*, and *hāriṇī* (but the corresponding masc. *hāriṇa* also occurs); and *āsiknī*, *pāliknī*, and *hāriknī*.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in *ata* are not to be separated from the participial words in *ta*, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: *pacatā cooked*, *darṣatā and paṣyata seen, to be seen, worth seeing*; and so *yajatā*, *haryatā*, *bharatā*. The *y* of *paṣyata* and *haryatā* indicates pretty plainly that the *a* also is that of a present tense-stem. *Rajatā silvery* is of more obscure relation to *√raj* *color*; *pārvata mountain* must be secondary.

1177. न na (and इन् ina, उन una). The use of the suffix न na in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to those in त ta, either alongside the latter or instead of them, was explained above, at 957.

a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives, and of nouns of various gender (fem. in nā). The accent is on the suffix

or on the root. A few examples are: *uṣṇá* *hot*, *ṣuná* *fortunate*, *áṣṇa* *ravenous*, *ṣvítṇa* *white*; masc., *praṣṇá* *question*, *yajñá* *offering*, *ghṛṇá* *heal*, *várṇa* *color*, *svápna* *sleep*; neut., *parṇá* *wing*, *rátṇa* *jewel* (?); fem. *tṣṇá* *thirst*, *yācñá* *supplication*. But many of the stems ending in *na* are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in *kárṇa* *ear* and *karná* *eared*.

b. The few words ending in *ina* are of doubtful connection, but may be mentioned here: thus, *aminá* *violent*, *vṛjiná* *crooked*, *dákṣiṇa* *right*, *dráviṇa* *property*, *druhiṇa*, *-craṣiṇa*, *hariṇá*; and *kanina* may be added.

c. The words ending in *una* are of various meaning and accent, like those in *ana*: they are *árjuna*, *karúṇa*, *-ceṣúṇa*, *táruṇa*, *dāruṇa*, *dharuṇa*, *narúṇa*, *píṣuna*, *mithuná*, *yatúṇa*, *vayúṇa*, *váruṇa*, *ṣalúṇa*, and the feminine *yamúná*; and *bhrūṇá* may be added.

d. These are all the proper participial endings of the language. The gerundives, later and earlier, are in the main evident secondary formations, and will be treated under the head of secondary derivation.

We take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a participial value.

1178. 3 u. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

a. The root has oftencast a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vridhied; least often (when capable of *guṇa*), it has the *guṇa*-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical *ā* is usually added *y* (258) before the suffix. A few derivatives are made from the reduplicated root. But many words ending in *u* are not readily, or not at all, connectible with roots; examples will be given especially of those that have an obvious etymology.

b. Examples of ordinary adjectives are: *urú* *wide*, *ṛjú* *straight*, *pṛthú* *broad*, *mṛdú* *soft*, *sādhú* *good*, *svādú* *sweet*, *tāpu* *hot*, *vāsu* *good*; *jāyú* *conquering*, *dārú* *burning*; *ṣayú* *lying*, *rēku* *empty*; *dhāyú* *thirsty*, *pāyú* *protecting*. Final *ā* appears to be lost before the suffix in *-sthū* (*suṣṭhú*, *anuṣṭhú*), and perhaps in *yú*, *-gu* (*agregú*), and *-khu* (*ākhú*).

c. Examples of nouns are: masc., *añcú* *ray*, *ripú* *deceiver*, *vāyú*

j. The words in *yu* do not show in the Veda resolution into *iu* (except *dhāsius* AV., once).

1179. उ ū. Stems in उ ū are very few, even as compared with those in इ i (1158). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in u (344 b), with half-a-dozen more independent feminines (see 355 c).

a. To those already mentioned above are to be added *karṣū pīt*, -*caid* (in *pum̐caid*), -*janū* (in *prajanū*), *ṣumbhū*.

1180. उक् uka. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (271 g) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

a. The derivatives in *uka* are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, of whose language they are a marked characteristic (about sixty different stems occur there); and they are found occasionally in the later language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix *ka* (1222) to a derivative in *u*; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an *u*-word from which they should be made.

b. The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a heavy (79) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from a simple root or from one with prefix.

c. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: *vāduka*, *nāṣuka*, *upakrāmuka*, *prapāduka*, *upasthāyuka* (258), *vyāyuka*, *vēduka*, *bhāvuka*, *kṣōdhuka*, *hāruka*, *vārṣuka*, *samārdhuka*, *dāṇṣuka*, *ālambuka*, *ṣikṣuka* (GB.: RV. has *ṣikṣū*), *pramāyuka* (ṢB. has *pramāyu*).

d. Exceptions as regards root-form are: *nirmārgurka* (with *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 627), -*kasuka*, *pāhnuka* (from a tense-stem; beside *ārdhuka*). AV. accents *sāmkasuka* (ṢB. has *samkāsuka*) and *vīkasuka*; RV. has *sānukā* (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also *ghātuka* from *ghan*, and *āpramāyuka*); *vasuka* (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. *Aṣanāyuka* (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful: *kārmuka* and *dhārmuka*, *tsāruka*, *tarkuka*, *nānduka*, *pāduka*, *peuka*, *bhikṣuka*, *lāṣuka*, *seduka*, *hiṇḍuka*, *hreṣuka*. Of these, only *lāṣuka* appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.

f. A formation in *ūka* (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with *uka*) may be mentioned here: namely, *indhūka*, *majjuka*, and, from *redu-*

plicated roots, jāgarūka *wakeful*, jañjapūka (later) *muttering*, danda-
çūka *biting*, yāyajūka *sacrificing much*, vāvadūka (later) *talkative*;
salalūka is questionable.

1181. क् aka. Here, as in the preceding case, we doubtless have a suffix made by secondary addition of क् ka to a derivative in अ a; but it has, for the same reason as the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than that of ūka; it has very few examples in the older language.

a. In RV. is found (besides pāvakā, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is really pavāka) only sāyaka *missile*; AV. adds piyaka and vādaka, and VS. abhikrōçaka. But in the later language such derivatives are common, more usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, nāyaka, dāyaka (258), pāçaka, grāhaka, bodhaka, jāgaraka; but also janaka, khanaka. They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root: thus, bhakṣyabhakṣaka *estable and eater*, vācyavāçaka *designated and designation*, and so on.

b. That the derivatives in aka sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (271 c).

c. The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in akā or in aki, but more usually in ikā: thus, nāyikā (with nāyakā), pāçikā, bodhikā; compare secondary aka, below, 1222.

d. Derivatives in aka are made from a few roots: thus, jalpāka, bhikṣāka; but very few occur in the older language: thus, pavāka (above, a), nabhāka, amayāka, jāhāka(?), -çalāka, patākā. With aku is made in RV. mṛdayāku, from the causative stem: prdāku and the proper name ikṣvāku are of obscure connection.

e. Derivatives in ika and ika will be treated below, in connection with those in ka (1186 c).

1182. त् tr (or त् tar). The derivatives made by this suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their uses, have been the subject of remark more than once above (see 369 ff., 942 ff.). Agent-nouns are freely formed with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest language are very frequently used participially, governing an object in the accusative (271 d); later they enter into combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future

meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942). Their corresponding feminine is in trī.

a. The root has regularly the gūpa-strengthening. A union-vowel i (very rarely, one of another character) is often taken: as regards its presence or absence in the periphrastic future forms, see above (943 a).

b. Without gūpa-change is only ūtṛ *plough-or* (no proper agent-noun: apparently ūka-tṛ: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root grah has, as usual, i—thus, *grahītṛ*; and the same appears in -*tarītṛ*, -*pavītṛ*, -*marītṛ*, -*varītṛ*, -*savītṛ*. An u-vowel is taken instead by *tārutṛ* and *tarutṛ*, *dhānutṛ*, and *sānutṛ*; long in *varūtṛ*; strengthened to o in *manōtṛ* and *manotṛ*. From a reduplicated root comes *vāvātṛ*.

c. The accent, in the older language, is sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the root; or, from roots combined with prefixes, sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the prefix.

d. In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of *manōtṛ* is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: *jētā dhānāni winning treasures*; *yūyām mārtaṁ grótāraṁ ye listen to a mortal*; but, on the other hand, *yaṁtā vāsūni vidhatē bestowing good things on the pious*; and *jētā jānānām conquerer of peoples*.

e. The formation of these nouns in tṛ from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (*bodhayitṛ* and *codayitrī*, RV.). In *nēṣṭṛ* a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the soriatic s.

f. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in tṛ, are *pitṛ*, *mātṛ*, *bhrātṛ*, *yātṛ*, *duhitṛ*, *nāptṛ*, *jāmātṛ*. Of these, only *mātṛ* and *yātṛ* are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in tṛ.

g. Instead of tṛ is found tur in one or two RV. examples: *yaṁtūr* *sthātūr*.

h. Apparently formed by a suffix ṛ (or ar) are *uṣṛ*, *savyaṣṭṛ*, *nānāṇḍṛ*, *devṛ*, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in ṛ, see 369.

1183. *ṛ* in. This is another suffix which has assumed a primary aspect and use, while yet evidently identical in real character with the frequent secondary suffix of the same form denoting possession (below, 1230).

a. How far it had gained a primary value in the early language is not easy to determine. Most of the words in *in* occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, *kevalādin*, *bhadravādin*, *nitodīn*, *āgarāṣīn*, *ānāmin*, *vivyādīn*; from a tense-stem, *-aṇuvīn*, *-paṇvīn* (late); with aoristic *m*, *-sakaṣīn*; and, with reduplication, *niyayīn*, *vadāvadīn*. As the examples indicate, composition, both with prefixes and with other elements, is frequent; and, in all cases alike, the accent is on the suffix.

b. Later, the primary employment is unquestionable, and examples of it, chiefly in composition, are frequent. The radical syllable is usually strengthened, a medial *a* being sometimes lengthened and sometimes remaining unchanged. Thus, *satyavādin* *truth-speaking*, *abhibhāṣīn* *addressing*, *manohārīn* *soul-winning*. In *bhāvin* has established itself a prevailingly future meaning, *about to be*.

c. The use of an accusative object with words in *in* was noticed above (271 b).

1184. *ईप्स्* *īyas* and *ईष्ठ* *iṣṭha*. These suffixes, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison (466-470).

a. It may be further noticed that *jyēṣṭha* has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, *jyēṣṭhā*, and that its correlative also is *kaniṣṭhā* in the oldest language; *pārṣṣṭha* is made from a secondary form of root, with aoristic *m* added.

b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form *yas* (470 a), its *y* is never to be read in the Veda as *i*.

c. No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.

1185. *त्र* *tra*. With this suffix are formed a few adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the *guṇa*-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

a. Here, as in certain other cases above, we have doubtless a suffix

originally secondary, made by adding *a* to the primary *ṭṛ* or *tar* (1182); but its use is in great part that of a primary suffix.

b. Examples of neuter nouns are: *gātra limb*, *pātra wing*, *pātra cup*, *yōktra bond*, *vāstra garment*, *grōtra ear*; *astrā missile*, *stotrā song of praise*, *potrā vessel*; of more general meaning, *dātrā gift*, *kṣētra field*, *mūtra urine*, *hotrā sacrifice*. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, *kṣātrā authority*, *rāṣṭrā kingdom*, *gāstrā doctrine*, *satrā sacrificial session* (also *jñātra knowledge*).

c. Masculines are: *dāṇṣṭra tusk*, *māntra prayer*, *atrá* (or *atrā*: 332) *devourer*, *ūṣṭra buffalo*, *camel*, and a few of questionable etymology, as *mitrá friend*, *putrá son*, *vṛtrā foe*. *Mitrā* and *vṛtrā* are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and *mitra* comes later to be regularly of that gender.

d. Feminines (in *trā*) are: *āṣṭrā goad*, *mātrā measure*, *hotrā sacrifice* (beside *hotrá*), *daṇṣṭrā* (later, for *dāṇṣṭra*); *nāṣṭrā destroyer*.

e. Not seldom, a "union-vowel" appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with *ṭṛ* (above, 1182 a). For the words in *itra* have the accent on *i*: thus, *aritra* (*āritra* AV., once) *impelling*, *oar*, *khanitra shovel*, *pavitra sieve*, *janitra birth-place*, *sanitra gift*; and so *-avitra*, *aṣitra*, *caritra*, *-taritra*, *dhamitra*, *dhavitra*, *bhavitra*, *bharitra*, *vāditra* (with causative root-strengthening). *vahitra*: the combination *itra* has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also in a few cases *a* (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, *yājatra venerable*, *kṛntātra shred*, *gāyatrā* (f. *-trī*) *song*, *-damatra*, *pātatra wing*; but also *āmatra violent*, *vādhatra deadly weapon*; and *varatrā* f. *strap*. *Tāruṭra overcoming* corresponds to *taruṭ*. *Nákṣatra asterism* is of very doubtful etymology. *Saṃhakṛtatrá* (RV., once) seems of secondary formation.

f. The words still used as adjectives in *tra* are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is *johūtra crying out*.

g. A word or two in *tri* and *tru* may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in *tra*: thus, *ātri devouring*, *arótri beaming*, *rātri* or *rātrī night*; *çātru* (*çāttru*: 232) *enemy*.

1186. ऋ *ka*. The suffix ऋ *ka* is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, 1222); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.

a. The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are *puṣka-*, *-mekā* (*yami fir*), *yaska* n. pr., *çuṣka dry*, *çlōka* (*yçru hear*) *noise*, *report*, etc., and *-sphāka teeming*; and *stūkā flake* and *stokā drop* seem to belong together to a root *stu*; *rākā* f., name of a goddess, may be added.

b. But *ka* enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckoned as primary: see *aka* and *nka* (above, 1180, 1181).

c. A few words in which *ika* and *ika* seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, *vṛqika* (*vṛaqa*) *scorpion*; *ānika* (?) *face*, *dṛṣika* *aspect*, *dṛbhika* n. pr., *mṛḍikā* *grace*, *vṛdhikā* *increaser*, *āgarika* and *viagarika* *gripes*, *-ṛjika* *beaming*, *ṛjika*; *ṛkṣikā*; and, from reduplicated root, *parpharika* *scattering* (?). Compare secondary suffix *ka* (below, 1222).

1187. *ṭ* ya. It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than some of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210-13).

1188. *ṛ* ra. With this suffix are made a large number of adjectives, almost always with weak root-form, and usually with accent on the suffix. Also, a few words used as nouns, of various gender. In some cases, the suffix is found with a preceding vowel, having the aspect of a union-vowel.

a. Examples of adjectives in *ra* are: *kṣiprā* *quick*, *chidrā* *splīd*, *turā* *strong*, *bhadrā* *pleasing*, *ṣakrā* *mighty*, *ṣukrā* *bright*, *hinsrā* *injurious*;—with accent on the root, only *gṛdhra* *greedy*, *tūmra* *stout*, *dhīra* *wise* (secondary?), *vīpra* *inspired*, *tūgra* n. pr.

b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, *nīcirā* *attentive*, *nīmṣgra* *joining on*.

c. Nouns in *ra* are: masc., *ājra* *field*, *vīrā* *man*, *vājra* *thunderbolt*, *ṣūra* *hero*; neut., *āgra* *point*, *kṣīrā* *milk*, *rāndhra* *hollow*, *ripṛā* *defilement*; fem., *dhārā* *stream*, *ṣīprā* *jaw*; *śūrā* *intoxicating drink*.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly or quite gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With *ara* are made a few rare words: the adjectives *dravarā* *running*, *patarā* *flying*, (with prefix) *nyocarā* *suiting*; and the nouns *gambhāra* *depth*, *tāsara* and *trasara* *shuttle*, *sānara* *gain*, *-ṛksara* *thorn*; *bhārvarā* and *vāsarā* are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others. As made with *āra* may be mentioned *mandāra* a tree, *mārjārā* *cat*.

e. With *ira* are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, *ajirā* *quick*, *khadirā* a tree, *timira* *dark*, *dhvasirā* *stirring up*, *madirā* *pleasing*, *mudirā* *cloud*, *badhirā* *deaf*, *ruḍira* *bright*, *ṣirā*

lively, *āsira missile*, *sthāvira firm*; and *sthira hard*, and *sphirā fat*, with displacement of final radical ā; also *sarirā wavy* (usually *salilā*). With *ira* are made *gabhirā* or *gambhirā profound* and *çāvira mighty*, and perhaps *çārira body*.

f. With *ura* are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, *añhurā* (*añhu-ra*?) *narrow*, *āsura* (*āsu-ra*?) *living*, *chidura tearing*, *bhañgurā breaking*, *bhāsura shining*, *bhidura splitting*, *medura fat*, *yādura uniting*, *vithura tottering*, *vidura knowing*, *vidhura lacking*. With *ūra*, apparently, are made *sthūrā stout* (compare *sthāvira*), *kharjūra a tree*, *mayūra peacock* (or imitative?).

1189. ऌ *la*. This suffix is only another form of the preceding, exchanging with it in certain words, in others prevalently or solely used from their first appearance.

a. Conspicuous examples of the interchange are *çuklā*, *sthūlā*, *-mīçla*, *çithilā*, *salilā*.

b. Examples of the more independent use are: *pālā protecting*, *ānilā* (or *anīlā*) *wind*, *trpālā joyous*; later *capalā* and *taralā* (said to be accented on the final), and *harçulā* (the same). Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology.

1190. ए *va*. Very few words of clear derivation are made with this suffix — too few to be worth classifying. They are of various meaning and accent, and generally show a weak root-form.

a. Thus: *ṛkvā praving*, *ṛvā lofty*, *takvā quick*, *dhruvā fixed*, *pakvā ripe*, *padva going*, *yahvā quick* (?), *çarvā n. pr.*, *brasvā short*, *çikvā artful*, *raṇvā joyful*, *ūrdhvā lofty*, *vākvā twisting*, *ūrvā stall*; *ēva quick*, *course*, *āçva horse*, *srākvā* or *srkva corner*; and perhaps *ūlba caul*; a feminine is *prūçvā* (TS. *pṛçvā*, AV. *pruçvā*); with anten-vowel are made *saciva companion*, *āmlva disease*, and *vidhāvā widow*.

b. The words in *va* exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into *ua*.

1191. ऋ *ri*. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding *u*, a small number of derivatives.

a. Thus: *āñhri* or *añhri foot*, *āçri edge*, *ūsri dawn*, *tandri or -dri weariness*, *bhūri abundant*, *vāñkri rib*, *sūri patron*, *takri quick*, *vādhri eunuch*, *çubhri beautiful*, *sthūri single (team)*; and, with *uri*, *jāsuri exhausted*, *dāçuri pious*, *bhāçuri n. pr.*, *sāçuri mighty*; *añçūri* (or *añçūli*) *finger*.

1192. ॠ *ru*. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

a. Thus: *āgru* *tear*, *cāru* *dear*, *dhārū* *sucking*, *bhīrū* *timid*; — with preceding a-vowel: *arāru* *inimical*, *patāru* *flying*, *vandāru* *praising*, *piyāru* *scoffing*, *ṣarāru* *harming*; — with preceding a, *tameru* *relaxed*, *maderū* *rejoicing*, *sanēru* *obtaining*, *himerū* *chilly*, the evidently secondary *mitrēru* *ally*, and *pēru* (of doubtful meaning).

b. The sondary suffix *lu* (see 1227 b) is apparently added to certain nouns in *ā* from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary aspect: thus, *patayālū* *flying*, *spṛhayālū* *desiring*.

1193. वि vi. By this suffix are made:

a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: *jāgrvi* *awake*, *dādhrvi* *sustaining*, *didivi* *shining*; and a very few other words: *ghṛṣvi* *lively*, *dhruvi* *firm*, *jīrvi* *worn out* (AV.; elsewhere *jīvri*); -*pharvi* is doubtful.

b. Here may be mentioned *cikṭivī* (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix *vit* from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. ञ snu. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but also from causative stems.

a. From simple roots: direct, *kṣeṣṇū* *perishable*, -*glāṣnu* *sick*, *jiṣṇū* *victorious*, *dañkṣṇū* *biting*, *bhūṣṇu* *thriving*, *ni-ṣatanū* *sitting down*, *sthāṣnu* *fixed*; with union-vowel *i*, *kariṣṇu*, *kāciṣṇu*, *kṣayiṣṇu*, *ga-miṣṇū*, *grasiṣṇu*, *grahiṣṇu*, *cariṣṇū*, -*janīṣṇu*, *jayiṣṇu*, *tapiṣṇu*, -*trapiṣṇu*, -*patiṣṇu*, -*bhaviṣṇu*, *brājiṣṇu*, *maḍiṣṇu*, -*maviṣṇu*, *yajiṣṇu*, *yāciṣṇu*, -*vadiṣṇu*, *vardhiṣṇu*, -*sahiṣṇu*.

b. From secondary conjugation-stems: *kopayiṣṇu*, *kṣapayiṣṇu*, *cyāvayiṣṇū*, *janayiṣṇu*, *tāpayiṣṇu*, *namayiṣṇu*, *patayiṣṇu*, *poṣayiṣṇū*, *pārayiṣṇū*, *bodhayiṣṇu*, *mādayiṣṇu*, *yamayiṣṇū*, *ropayiṣṇu*, -*vārayiṣṇu*, -*ṣocayiṣṇū*; and *jāgarīṣṇu*. An anomalous formation is *ulbaniṣṇu*.

c. These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes: e. g. *niṣatanū*, *prajaniṣṇū*, *abhiṣocayiṣṇū*, *sañvārayiṣṇu*.

d. It is not unlikely that the *s* of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which *nu* was added. Such a character is still apparent in *kra-ṣiṣṇū* *craving raw flesh* (*kravis*); and also in *vadhasnū*, *vṛdhasnū* (?), and *prathasnū* (?).

1195. ञ sna. Extremely few words have this ending.

a. It is seen in *tikṣṇā* *sharp*, and perhaps in *ḥlakṣṇā*, -*rūkṣṇā*, -*mārtṣṇā*; and in *geṣṇā* and *deṣṇā* (usually trisyllabic: *daīṣṇā*) *gift*. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by *i*; but it has (like *snu*, above) a before it in *vadhasnā* *deadly weapon*, *karāṣṇā* *fore-arm*; *na-diṣṇā* *skilled* seems to be secondary. Feminines are *mṛtṣṇā* *loom*, *jyot-anā* *moonlight*.

1196. **तु tnu.** This suffix is used in nearly the same way with **सु snu** (above, 1194).

a. As used with simple roots, the *t* is generally capable of being considered the adscititious *t* after a short root-final, to which *nu* is then added: thus, *kṛtnú active*, *gatnú* (? RV.), *hatnú deadly*, *-tatnu* (?) *stretching*; and, from reduplicated roots, *jigatnú hasting*, and *jighatnú harming*; but also *dartnú bursting*. Also, with union-vowel, *dravitnú running*, *dayitnu* (? LQS.).

b. With causative stems: for example, *drāvayitnú hasting*, *poṣayitnú nourishing*, *mādayitnú intoxicating*, *tanayitnú* and *stanayitnú thunder*, *sūdayitnú flowing*, *-āmayitnú sickening*.

c. With preceding *a*, in *pīyatnú scoffing*, *mehatnú a river*, *ā-rujatnú breaking into*; and *kavatnú miserly* (obscure derivation).

1197. **स sa.** The words ending in suffixal **स sa**, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. Thus:

a. With *sa* simply: *gṛtsa clever*, *jeṣā winning* (rather, aoristic *a* ? 1148 j), *-dṛkṣa looking*, *rūkṣā shining*, *rūkṣā rough*; *ūtsa n. fountain*; *bhīṣā f. fear* (or from the secondary root *bhīṣ*).

b. With preceding *i*-vowel: *taviṣā (f. tāviṣī) strong*, *mahiṣā (f. māhiṣī) mighty*, *bhariṣā (?) seeking booty*; *ṛjiṣā rushing*, *pūriṣa rubbish*, *manīṣā f. devotion*; and compare *rayiṣin* (? SV.).

c. With preceding *u*-vowel: *aruṣā (f. āruṣī) red*, *aṣūṣa ravenous*, *tāruṣa overcomer*, *pūruṣa* and *mānuṣa (-us-a P) man*; *piyūṣa biestings*.

1198. **असि asi.** A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps produced by the addition of *i* to *as*).

a. Thus, *ataśi vagabond*, *dharṣaśi firm*, *sānaśi winning*; and *dhāśi m. drink*, *f. station*, *sarasi (?) pool*.

1199. **अभ abha.** A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

a. Thus, *vṛṣabhā* and *ṛṣabhā bull*, *ṣarabhā* a certain fabulous animal, *ṣarabha* a certain snake, *gardabhā* and *rāsabha ass*; further, *kanabha*, *karabha* and *kalabha*, *laṭabha*, *ṣalabha*; and, with other union-vowels, *tuṇḍibha*, *nuṇḍibha*, and *kukkubha*. The feminine, if occurring, is in *i*; and *kaṭabhī* is found without corresponding masculine. AV. has the adjective *sthūlabhā*, equivalent to *sthūlā*.

1200. A few words ending in the consonants *t*, *d*, *j*, etc., and for the most part of doubtful root-connections, were given above, at 383 k (3-5, 7); it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Certain of those in *a* are perhaps related to the participles in *ant* (1172).

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by

the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or are doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

a. A few such may be mentioned here: *aṇḍa* in *karaṇḍa* and *vā-ṇḍa* and certain unquotable words (prakritized a-forms from the present participle); *era* or *ora* in unquotable words, and *elima* (above, 968 d: perhaps a further derivative with secondary *ima* from *era*); *mara* (*ma* or *man* with secondary *ra* added) in *ghasmara*, *aymarā*, etc.; — *sara* in *matsarā*, *kara* in *pūṣkara* and other obscure words, *pa* in *pūṣpa*, *stupā*, *stūpa*, and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

B. Secondary Derivatives.

1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.

a. But also, as pointed out above (1137 b), to pronominal roots.

b. Further, in exceptional cases, to indeclinables, to case-forms, and to phrases: e. g. *antarvant*, *apitvā*, *paratastva*, *sahatva*, *sārva-trika*, *āikadhya*, *māmaka*, *āmuṣmika*, *āmuṣyāyaṇā*, *apsumānt*, *apsavyā*, *kimcanya*, *kihkartavyatā*, *kvācitka*, *nāstika*, *akimcīn-maya*.

1203. Changes of the stem. The stem to which the suffix is added is liable to certain changes of form.

a. Before a suffix beginning with a vowel or with *y* (which in this respect is treated as if it were *i*), final *a*- and *i*-vowels are regularly lost altogether, while a final *u*-vowel has the *gūṇa*-strengthening and becomes *av*; *ṛ* and *o* and *āu* (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.

b. An *u*-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened: see 1208 e.

c. A final *n* is variously treated, being sometimes retained, and sometimes lost, even along with a preceding *a*; and sometimes an *n* is lost, while the *n* remains: thus, *vṛṣṇvant*, *vṛṣṇaṇa*, *vṛṣṇa*, *vṛṣatva*, *vṛṣṇya*, from *vṛṣṇan*. Of a stem ending in *ant*, the weak form, in *at*, is regularly taken: thus, *vāivasvata* (*vivasvant*).

d. In general, the masculine form of a primitive stem is that from which a further secondary derivative is made. But there are not very rare cases in which the feminine is taken instead; examples are: *sātītva*, *bhāryātva*, *prapītātṡvā*, *bhāratīvant*, *rakṣāvant*, *priyāvant*. On the other hand, a final long vowel — *ī*, much more rarely *ā* — generally of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, *yājyāvant*, *praçākhavant*, *goṣātama*, *vaçātamā*, *sadhanitṡvā*, *jaratikā*, *annā-*

dītamā (cf. 471 b), rohinītvā (TB.; -ṇītvā ÇB.), prthivītvā, pratīpatnīvat, sārāsavatīvant.

c. As was pointed out above (111 c, d), the combination of a secondary suffix with a stem is sometimes made according to the rules of external combination. Such cases are pointed out under the suffixes *īya* (1215 e), *ka* (1222 m), *maya* (1225 a), *min* (1231 b), *vin* (1232 c), *vant* (1233 i), *van* (1234 c), *mant* (1235 f), *tva* (1239 c), *taya* (1245 a), *tya* (1245 c), *tana* (1245 i).

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vr̥ddhi-strengthening of an initial syllable of the stem to which a suffix is added.

a. The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical, of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus, *āqvīnā* (*āqvīn*), *sāumyā* (*sōma*), *pārthivā* (*pr̥thivī*), *āmītrā* (*amītra*), *sām-rājya* (*samrāj*), *sāukṛtya* (*sukṛtā*), *māitrāvaruṇā* (*mitrāvāruṇā*), *āucāṣīṣravasā* (*uccāṣīṣravas*). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

b. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by *y* or *v*, the semi-vowel is sometimes vr̥ddhied, as if it were *i* or *u*, and the resulting *āi* or *āu* has *y* or *v* further added before the succeeding vowel.

c. This is most frequent where the *y* or *v* belongs to a prefix — as *nī*, *vi*, *su* — altered before a following initial vowel: thus, *nāīyāyika* from *nyāya* (as if *niyāya*), *vāīyaqvā* from *vyāqva* (as if *vīyaqva*), *sāūvaqvya* from *svāqva* (as if *suvaqva*); but it occurs also in other cases, as *sāūvarā* from *svāra*, *qāuva* from *qvan*, against *avāyambhuva* (*avayambhū*), and so on. AV. has irregularly *kāverakā* from *kūvera* (as if from *kvēra*, without the euphonic *v* inserted).

d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes *a* and *ya*; also regularly before *i*, *āyana*, *aya* (with *ineya*), and later *īya*; before the compound *aka* and *ika*, and later *aki*; and, in single sporadic examples, before *na*, *ena*, *ra*, and *tva* (ṛ): see these various suffixes below.

e. Sometimes an unstrengthened word is prefixed to one thus strengthened, as if the composition were made after instead of before the strengthening: e. g. *īndradāivatya* *having Indra as divinity* (instead of *āin-dradevatya*), *caramaṣāīrṣika* *with head to the west*, *jīvalāukika* *belonging to the world of the living*, *antarbhāuma* *within the earth*, *somārāudra*, *gurulāghava* (cf. *tāmasaṁ guṇalakṣaṇam* M. xii. 35). But especially when the first word is of numeral value: as *catācārada* *of a hundred years*, *pañcaçāradiya*, *trisāmvatsara*, *bahuvārṣika*, *aṣṭavārṣika*, *anekavarṣasāhasra*, *daçasāhasra*, *trisāhasrī*, *tripāu ruṣa*, *caturādhyāyī* or *-yikā* *of four chapters*, etc. etc.

f. More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening: e. g. *sāumāpāuṣṇā*, *kāūrupāñcāla*, *cāturvāidya*, *āihālāukika*, *āikabhāutika*, *trāistubjāgata*, *yājurvāidika*. Such cases are not rare.

g. The *guṇa*-strengthening (except of a final *u*-vowel: 1203 a) is only in the rarest cases an accompaniment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are *dvayā* and *trayā* and *nāva* (1208 i), *bheṣajā* and *devā* (1209 j), *drōṇa* (1223 g), *ṣekhara* (1226 a).

1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthest removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix *eya*: 1216).

b. No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial *vr̥ddhi*); and in a single case (*tā*: 1237) it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. a. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter abstracts are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstracts are made directly, from adjective or noun.

b. A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered.

1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (*a*, *ya* and its connections, *i*, *ka*); then, those of specific possessive value (*in*, *vant* and *mant*, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (*tā* and *tva*, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.

a. For convenience of reference, a list of them in their order as treated is here added:

a	1208-9	maya	1225	tva, tvatā	1239
ya	1210-13	ra, ira, etc.	1226	tvana	1240
iya	1214	la, lu	1227	tara, tama	1242
īya	1215	va, vala, vaya,		ra, ma	"
eya, eyya	1216	vya	1228	tha	"
enya	1217	ça	1229	titha	"
āyya	1218	in	1230	taya	1245
āyana	1219	min	1231	tya	"
āyī	1220	vin	1232	ta	"
i, aki	1221	vant	1233	na	"
ka, aka, ika	1222	van	1234	tana, tna	"
na, āna, īna,		mant	1235	vat	"
ina, ena	1223	tā	1237	kaṭa	"
ma, ima, mna	1224	tāti, tāt	1238	vana, āla	"

1208. **अ** a. With this suffix are made an immensely large class of derivatives, from nouns or from adjectives having a noun-value. Such derivatives are primarily and especially adjectives, denoting *having a relation or connection* (of the most various kind) *with* that denoted by the more primitive word. But they are also freely used substantively: the masculine and feminine as appellatives, the neuter, especially and frequently, as abstract. Often they have a patronymic or gentile value.

a. The regular and greatly prevailing formation is that which is accompanied with *vyddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, simple or compound. Examples of this formation are:

b. From primitives ending in consonants: with the usual shift of accent, *āyasa* of metal (*āyas*), *mānasā* relating to the mind (*mānas*), *sāumanasā* friendliness (*sumānas*), *brāhmaṇā* priest (*brāhman*), *hāimevatā* from the Himalaya (*himāvant*), *āṅgirasā* of the *Angiras* family (*āṅgiras*); *hāstina* elephantine (*hastin*), *māruta* pertaining to the *Maruts* (*marūt*); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, *çaradā* autumnal, *vāirājā* relating to the *virāj*, *pāuṣṇā* belonging to *Pūshin*; *gairikṣitā* son of *Girikṣhit*; — with accent unchanged, *mānuṣa* descendant of *Mānu*.

c. The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in *vant*; it is added to the weakest in *māghona* and *vātraghna*; the ending in remains unchanged; *an* usually does the same, but some-

times loses its *a*, as in *pāuṣṇā*, *trāivṛṣṇā*, *dāṣarājñā*; and sometimes its *n*, as in *brāhmā*, *āukṣā*, *bārhatsāma*.

d. From primitives in *ṛ*: *jāitra* victorious (*jetṛ* or *jēṛ* conqueror), *tvāṣṭrā* relating to *Trāṣhtar*, *sāvitrā* descendant of the sun (*savitṛ*), *aūdbhetra*, *pāitra*.

e. From primitives in *u*: usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the *u*, as *vāsavā* relating to the *Vāsus*, *ārtavā* concerning the seasons (*ṛtū*), *dānavā* child of *Dānu* (*dānu*), *sāindhavā* from the *Indus* (*sīndhu*); — but sometimes without, as *mādhva* full of sweets (*mādhū*), *pārçvā* side (*pārçu rīb*), *pāidvā* belonging to *Pedū*, *tānva* of the body (*tanū*), *yādva* of *Yidū*.

f. From primitives in *i* and *ī*, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: *pārthiva* earthly (*prthivī*), *sārasvatā* of the *Sārasvatī*, *āindrāgnā* belonging to *Indra* and *Agni* (*indrāgnī*); *pāṅkta* five-fold (*pañkti*), *nāirṛtā* belonging to *Nirṛti*, *pārthuraçmā* of *Prthuraçmi*, *pāçupatā* of *Paçupati*.

g. From primitives in *ā*, which in like manner disappears: *yāmunā* of the *Yaminā*, *sāraghā* honey etc. (*sarāghā* bee), *kāninā* natural child (*kaninā* girl).

h. A large number (more than all the rest together) from primitives in *a*, of which the final is replaced by the suffix: for example, with the usual shift of accent, *āmitrā* inimical (*amitra* enemy), *vāruṇā* of *Vāruṇa*, *vāiçvadevā* belonging to all the gods (*viçvādeva*), *nāirhastā* handlessness (*nirhaata*), *vālyaçvā* descendant of *Vyāçva*; *gārdabhā* asinine (*gardabhā*), *daīva* divine (*devā*), *mādhyaṁdina* meridional (*madhyāṁdina*), *pāūtra* grandchild (*putrā* son), *sāūbhaga* good fortune (*subhāga*), *vādhyraçvā* of *Vadhyraçva*'s race; with unchanged accent (comparatively few), *vāsantā* vernal (*vasantā* spring), *māitrā* *Mitrā*'s, *ātithigvā* of *Atithigva*'s race, *dāivodāsa* *Dicodāsa*'s. In a few instances, *ya* is replaced by the suffix: thus, *sāura*, *pāuṣā*, *yājñavalka*.

i. The derivatives of this last form are sometimes regarded as made by internal change, without added suffix. Considering, however, that other final vowels are supplanted by this suffix, that *a* disappears as stem-final also before various other suffixes of secondary derivation, and that no examples of derivation without suffix are quotable from primitives of any other final than *a*, it seems far too violent to assume here a deviation from the whole course of Indo-European word-making.

j. Adjectives of this formation make their feminines in *ī* (see 332 a).

1209. The derivatives made by adding ऌ *a* without *vṛddhi*-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an *a*-declension of words of other finals.

a. A number of examples of stems in *a* made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition (1315): thus, further, *apa-* (for *ap* or *āp scater*), *-ra*, *-nara*, etc.; from stems in *an*, *-aha*, *-vṛṣa*, etc., but also *-ahna* and *-vṛṣṇa* and *vṛṣṇa*; from stems in *i*, *-aṅula*, *-rātra*, etc.; from the weakest forms of *añc*-stems (407) *uccā*, *nīcā*, *parācā*, etc.

b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in *a* from nouns in *as* (rarely *is*, *us*): thus, for example, *tamasā*, *rajasā*, *payasā*, *brahmavarcasā*, *sarvavedasā*, *devāinasā*, *paruṣā*, *tryāyuṣā*, and probably *mānuṣa*.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in *in* are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix *ina*: thus, *malina* *polluted*, *parameṣṭhina* etc. (see 441 b).

d. A number of words formed with the so-called suffix *anta* are evident transfers from stems in *ant*. A few of them are found even from the earliest period: thus, *pānta* *draught*, *qvāntā* (?), *vasantā* *spring*, *hemantā* *winter*, *vaqantā* etc. *tanā*, *jīvantī* a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as *jayanta*, *taranta*, *madhumanta*, etc. They are said to be accented on the final.

e. From *añc*-stems (407) are made a few nouns ending in *k-a*: thus, *ānūka*, *āpāka*, *upāka*, *prātika*, *parākā*, etc.

f. From stems in *ṛ*, *hotrā*, *netrā*, *neṣṭrā*, *potrā*, *praçāstrā*, etc., from titles of priests; also *dhātrā*, *bhrātrā*, etc.

g. Other scattering cases are: *savidyutā*, *āvyuṣā*, *vīrudha*, *kākuda*, *kakubhā*, *açūṣa*, *bhūmyā*, *sakhyā*, *ādhipatya*, *jāpatyā*, *araṭvā*, *pāṇḍvā*.

h. The Vedic gerundives in *tva* (*tua*), made by addition of *a* to abstract noun-stems in *tu*, have been already (866 a) fully given.

i. *Trayā* and *dvayā* come with *guṇa*-strengthening from numeral stems; *nāva* *new* in like manner from *nū* *now*; and *āntara* apparently from *antār*.

j. *Bheṣajā* *medicine* is from *bhiṣāj* *healer*, with *guṇa*-change; and probably *devā* *heavenly*, *divine*, *god*, in like manner from *div* *sky*, *heaven* (there is no "root *div shine*" in the language).

1210. *Ṭ ya*. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

a. The derivatives in *ya* exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a *ya*-element—*īya*, *īya*, *ēya*, *āyya*, *ēyya*, *onyā*—are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the *ya* when it follows a consonant is dissyllabic in

metrical value, or is to be read as *ia*. Thus, in RV., 286 words (excluding compounds) have *ia*, and only 75 have *ya* always; 46 are to be read now with *ia* and now with *ya*, but many of these have *ya* only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value *ia* is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in RV., there are 183 examples of *ia* and 27 of *ya* after such a syllable, and 78 of *ia* and 96 of *ya* after a light syllable (the circumflexed *yā*—that is to say, *īa*—being, as is pointed out below, 1212,1, more liable to the resolution than *ya* or *yā*). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the *ya* are not included more than one suffix, with different accent, and different quantity of the *i*-element; or with an *a* added to a final *i* of the primitive. It is also matter for question whether there is a primary as well as a secondary suffix *ya*; the suffix at least comes to be used as if primary, in the formation of gerunds and in that of action-nouns: but it is quite impossible to separate the derivatives into two such classes, and it has seemed preferable therefore to treat them all together here.

b. The derivatives made with *ya* may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying *vr̥ddhi*-increment of the initial syllable.

c. Adjectives in *ya*, of both these divisions, make their feminines regularly in *yā*. But in a number of cases, a feminine in *ī* is made, either alone or beside one in *yā*: e. g. *cāturmāsī*, *āgnivecī*, *çāṇḍilī*, *āri* (and *āryā*), *dāivī* (and *dāivya*), *sāumī* (and *sāumya*); *dhīrī*, *çīrṣaṇī*, *svarī*, etc.

1211. Derivatives in *ṭya* with initial *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in *ṭa* (above, 1208). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).

a. Examples are: with the usual shift of accent, *dāivya* divine (devā), *pālitya* grayness (palitā), *grāivya* cervical (grivā), *ārtvijya* priestly office (ṛtvīj), *gārhapatya* householder's (gr̥hāpati), *jānarājya* kingship (janarāj), *sāṃgrāmajitya* victory in battle (saṃgrāmajit), *sāuvaçya* wealth in horses (svāçva), *āupadraçtrya* witness (upa-draçṭṛ); *ādityā* Aditya (āditi), *sāumya* relating to soma, *ātithyā* hospitality (ātithi), *prajāpatyā* belonging to Prajāpati, *vāīmanasyā* mindlessness (vīmanas), *sāhadevya* descendant of Sahādeva;—with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, *lāukyā* of the world (lokā), *kāvya* of the Kavi-race, *ārtvyā* descendant of Ritū, *vāyavyā* belonging to the wind (vāyū), *rāivatya* wealth (revānt);—with unchanged accent (very few), *ādhipatya* lordship (ādhipati), *çrāīṣṭhya* excellence (çrāīṣṭha), *vāīçya* belonging to the third caste (vīç people), *pāūmsya* manliness (pūms).

b. The AV. has once *nāirbādhyā*, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through *nāirbādha*; *vaiṣṇavyān* (VS. I. 12) appears to be dual fem. of *vaiṣṇavī*.

1212. Derivatives in *ī ya* without initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in *īī yā*, feminine) abstract nouns. They are made from every variety of primitive, and are very numerous (in Veda, three or four times as many as the preceding class).

a. The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: 1. Words retaining the accent of the primitive; 2. Words with retracted accent; 3. Words with acute *yā* (*īā*); 4. Words with circumflexed *yā* (*īa*). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

1. b. Examples of derivatives in *ya* retaining the accent of their primitives are: *āçvya* equine (*āçva*), *āṅgya* of the limbs (*āṅga*), *mūkhya* foremost (*mūkha* mouth), *āvya* ovine (*āvi*), *gāvya* bovine (*gō*), *viçya* of the people (*viç*), *dūrya* of the door (*dūr*), *nārya* manly (*nī*), *vīṣṇya* virile (*vīṣṇa*), *svarājya* autocracy (*svarāj*), *suvīrya* wealth in retainers (*suvīra*), *viçvājanya* of all men, *viçvādevya* of all the gods (*viçvādeva*), *mayūraçepya* peacock-tailed.

c. In the last words, and in a few others, the *ya* appears to be used (like *ka*, 1222 h: cf. 1212 m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: and so further *suhāstya* (beside the equivalent *suhāsta*), *mādhuhastya*, *dāçamāsyā*, *miçrādhānya*, *anyōdarya*, *samānodarya*.

2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with *vṛddhi*-increment) are: *kāṇṭhya* guttural (*kāṇṭhā*), *akāndhya* humeral (*akāndhā*), *vrātya* of a ceremony (*vratā*), *mēghya* in the clouds (*meghā*), *pītrya* of the Fathers (*pitr̥*), *prātijanya* adverse (*pratijānā*). *Hiranyāya* of gold (*hiraṇya*), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final *a* of the primitive; and *gavyāya* and *avyāya* (also *āvyaaya*) are to be compared with it as to formation.

3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: *divyā* heavenly (*dīv*), *satyā* true (*sānt*), *vyāghryā* tigrine (*vyāghrā*), *kavyā* wise (*kavī*), *grāmyā* of the village (*grāma*), *somyā* relating to the soma, *anenaasyā* sinlessness (*anenas*), *adakṣiṇyā* not fit for *dākṣiṇā*.

4. f. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed *yā* (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

g. From consonant-stems: *viçyà of the clan* (RV.: *vīç*), *hṛdyà of the heart* (*hṛd*), *vidyutyà of the lightning* (*vidyūt*), *rājanyà of the royal class* (*rājan*), *doṣanyà of the arm* (*doṣān*), *çirṣanyà of the head* (*çirṣān*), *karmanyà active* (*kārman*), *dhanvanyà of the plain* (*dhānvan*), *namasyà reverend* (*nāmas*), *tvacasayà cuticular* (*tvācas*), *barhiṣyà of barhis*, *āyusyà giving life* (*āyus*), *bhasadyà of the buttocks* (*bhasād*), *prācyà eastern* (*prāñc*), etc. Of exceptional formation is *aryamyà intimate* (*aryamān*), with which doubtless belong *sātmya* (*sātman*) and *sākṣya* (*sākṣin*).

h. From u-stems: *hanavyà of the jaws* (*hānu*), *vāyavya belonging to Vāyu*, *paçavyà relating to cattle* (*paçū*), *iṣavyà relating to arrows* (*iṣu*), *madhavyà of the sweet* (*mādhū*), *apsavyà of the waters* (*apsū* loc.), *rajavyà of rope* (*rājju*); *çaravyà f. arrow* (*çāru*, do.); and there may be added *nāvyà navigable* (especially in fem., *nāvyā navigable stream: nāu boat*). The RV. has *prāçavyà to be partaken of* (*pra + çaq*), without any corresponding noun *prāçu*; and also *ūrjavyà rich in nourishment* (*ūrj*), without any intermediate *ūrju*.

i. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (984), the so-called gerundives in *tavyà*, as made by the addition of *yā* to the infinitive noun in *tu*. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later *tavya* wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.

j. From i- and ī-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. has *dundubhyà* from *dundubhī*.

k. From a-stems: *svargyà heavenly* (*svargā*), *devatyà relating to a deity* (*devātā*), *prapathyà guiding* (*prapathā*), *budhnyà fundamental* (*budhnā*), *jaghanyà hindmost* (*jaghāna*), *varuṇyà Vāruna's*, *vīryà might* (*vīrā*), *udaryà abdominal* (*udāra*), *utayà of the fountain* (*ūtṣa*); and from ā-stems, *urvaryà of cultivated land* (*urvārā*), *svāhyà relating to the exclamation svāhā*.

l. The circumflexed *yā* is more generally resolved (into *īa*) than the other forms of the suffix: thus, in RV. it is never to be read as *ya* after a heavy syllable ending with a consonant; and even after a light one it becomes *īa* in more than three quarters of the examples.

m. There are a few cases in which *yā* appears to be used to help make a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, 1310: cf. 1212 c): thus, *apikakṣyà about the arm-pit*, *upapakṣyā upon the sides*, *udāpyā up-stream*; and perhaps *upatṛpyā lying in the grass* (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, *ānvāntrya through the entrails*, *ūpamāsyā in each month*, *abhinabhyā up to the clouds*, *antaḥparçavyā between the ribs*, *ādhigartya on the chariot seat*; of unknown accent, *adhihaasya*, *anupṛṣṭhya*, *anunāsikya*, *anuvaṇṣya*.

1213. The derivatives in *ū ya* as to which it may be

questioned whether they are not, at least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 983) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV. occur about forty instances of gerundives in *ya*, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but *cētya*, *bhāvya*, *-hāvya*, *mārjya*, *yódhya*; also *-mādyā*, *-vācyā*, *bhāvvyā*); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, *praçāśya*, *upasādyā*, *vihāvya* (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, *anāpyā*, *anapavṛjyā*) — exceptions are only *bhāvvyā* and the doubtful *ākāyyā*; the *ya* resolved into *ia* in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by *t* (in *-itya*, *-krtya*, *-çrūtya*, *-stūtya*, and the reduplicated *carḥṭya*, beside *carḥṭi*: not in *nāvya* and *-hāvya*), and *ā* changed to *e* (in *-deya* only). If regarded as secondary, they might be made with *ya*, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as *anukṛt-ya*, in part from derivatives in *a*, as *bhāvvyā* (from *bhāva*).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about twenty-five) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in *yā* with the same value: thus, for example, *ādyā eatable*, *kāryā to be done*, *samāpyā to be obtained*, *atitāryā to be overpassed*, *nivibhāryā to be carried in the apron*, *prathamavāsyā to be first worn*. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as *parivargyā to be avoided*, *avimokyā not to be gotten rid of*, where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitive in *ga* and *ka* (216 h).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only *cītya* and *stēya* as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: *brahmajyēya*, *vasudēya*, *bhāgadhēya*, *pūrvapēya*, *çatasēya*, *abhibhūya*, *devahūya*, *mantraçrūtya*, *karṇmakṭya*, *vṛtratūrya*, *hotṛvūrya*, *ahihātya*, *sattrasādyā*, *çirga-bhīdyā*, *brahmacārya*, *nṛgāhya*. Of exceptional form are *ṛtōdyā* (*√vad* and *sahaçēyya* (*√çī*)); of exceptional accent, *sadhāstutya*. And AV. has one example, *raṇyā*, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in *yā*: thus, *kṛtyā*, *vidyā*, *ityā*, *agnicītyā*, *vājajītyā*, *muṣṭihatyā*, *devayajyā*, etc.

e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, *sūrya* (with

fem. *sūryā*), *ājya*, *pūṣya*, *nābhya*; *yūjya*, *gṛdhya*, *īrya*, *aryā* and *ārya*, *mārya*, *mādhya*.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with *ya* may best be next taken up.

1214. *ꣳya*. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of *ya* would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with *ya*. Thus:

a. With accent *īya* (= *īa* or *yā*): for example, *abhriya* (also *abhriyā*) *from the clouds* (*abhrā*), *kṣatriya* *having authority* (*kṣatrā*), *yajñiya* *reverend* (*yajñā*), *hotriya* *libational* (*hōtrā*), *amitriya* *inimical* (*amitra*).

b. With accent *iyā* (= *īā* or *yā*): for example, *agriyā* (also *agriya*) *foremost* (*āgra*), *indriyā* *Indra's* (later, *sense*: *indra*), *kṣetriyā* *of the field* (*kṣētra*).

c. With accent on the primitive: *qrōtriya* *learned* (*qrōtra*), *ṛtviya* (also *ṛtviya*) *in season* (*ṛtū*).

1215. *ꣳya*. This suffix also is apparently by origin a *ya* (*īa*) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic *y*. It is accented always on the *ī*.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only *Ṛjikiya* and *gṛhamedhiya*, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. *parvatīya* *mountainous* (AV., beside RV. *parvatyā*). In the Brāhmaṇas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like): thus, *anyarāṣṭriya*, *pañcavātiya*, *mārjālīya*, *kayāṇubhiya*, *svādusṣkīliya*, *āpohiṣṭhiya*, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in *īya* from action-nouns in *ana* begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in *aniya* without gerundive character are also common.

c. Derivatives in *īya* with initial *vr̥ddhi* are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. *pārvatiya*, *pāitāputriya*, *āparapakṣiya*, *vāirakiya*. *

d. The pronominal possessives *madiya* etc. (516 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals *dvitiya* etc. (467 b, c; with fractionals *tṛtiya* and *tūriya*; 488 a) are found from the earliest period.

e. The possessives *bhagavadiya* and *bhavadiya*, with the final of the primitive made sonant, have probably had their form determined by the pronominal possessives in *-diya*.

1216. *य* *eya*. With this suffix, accompanied by *vrddhi*-increment of an initial syllable, are made adjectives, often having a patronymic or metronymic value. Their neuter is sometimes used as abstract noun. The accent rests usually on the final in adjectives of descent, and on the first syllable in others.

a. Examples are: *ārṣeyā* descendant of a sage (*ṛṣi*), *jānaṣṛuteyā* son of *Janaṣṛuti*, *sārameyā* of *Sardmā's* race, *ṣātavaneyā* *Ṣatavani's* descendant, *rāthajiteyā* son of *Rāthajit*; *āsneya* of the blood (*asān*), *vāsteya* of the bladder (*vasti*), *pāuruṣeya* coming from man (*pūruṣa*), *pitṛṣvaseya* of a paternal aunt (*pitṛṣvaśr*), etc.

b. A more than usual proportion of derivatives in *eya* come from primitives in *i* or *ī*; and probably the suffix first gained its form by addition of *ya* to a gunated *i*, though afterward used independently.

c. The gerundive etc. derivatives in *ya* (above, 1213) from *ā*-roots end in *éya*; and, besides such, RV. etc. have *sabhéya* from *sabhā*, and *didṛkṣéya* *word* seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun *didṛkṣā*, after their analogy. M. has once *adhyeya* as gerund of *yā*.

d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix *ineyā* — as *bhāḡineyā*, *jyāṣṭhineya*, *kāṣṭhineya* — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in *-inī* (fem.).

e. In *eyya* (i. e. *eyia*) end, besides the neuter abstract *sahāṣeyya* (above, 1213c), the adjective of gerundival meaning *stuṣeyya* (with aoristic *s* added to the root), and *ṣapathēyyā* *curse-bringing* (or *accursed*), from *ṣapātha*.

1217. *य* *enya*. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition *U ya* to derivatives in a *na*-suffix; but, like others of similar origin, it is applied in some measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where it has nearly the value of the later *anīya* (above, 1215b), as making gerundival adjectives.

a. The *y* of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in *vāreṇya*) on the *e*; thus, *-énia*.

b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (988b, 1019b, 1038). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, *vīreṇya* *manly* (*vīrá*), and *kīrtēnya* *famous* (*kīrti*), and TS. has *anabhiṣṭeneyā* (*abhiṣṭati*); *vijēnyā* (RV.) is a word of doubtful connection; *ḡikṣēnya* *instructive* is found in a Sūtra; *prāvrṣēnya* of the rainy season occurs later.

1218. **आय्य āya.** With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (§§§ c). The ending is everywhere to be read *āya*.

a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur; thus, *bahupāyya* *protecting many*, *nṛpāyya* *men-guarding*; *kuṇḍapāyya*, and *purumāyya*, proper names; *pūrvapāyya* *first-drink*, *mahāyāyya* *enjoyment*; — and *rasāyya* *nervous*, and *uttamāyya* *summit*, contain no verbal root. *Alāyya* is doubtful; also *ākāyya*, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with *prahāyya* (AV.: *ṽhi*) *messenger*, and *pravāyya* (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. **आयन āyana.** In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in *ā*, and have *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

a. In RV., the only example of this formation is *kāṇvāyana* (voc.: *kāṇva*); AV. has in metrical parts *dākeśāyana* and the fem. *rāmāyaṇī*; and *āmuṣyāyana* *son of so-and-so* (518) in its prose; QB. has *rājastambāyana* beside *-bāyana*. The RV. name *ukṣaṇyāyana* is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. **आयी āyī.** Only a very few words are made with this suffix, namely *agnāyī* (*agnī*) *Agni's wife* *vr̥ṣākāpāyī* *wife of Vr̥ṣākāpi*; and later *pūtakratāyī*, and *manāyī* *Manu's wife* (but *manāvī* QB).

a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative *a* made with *vr̥ddhi*-increment of the final *i* of the primitive.

1221. **इ. Derivatives** made with this suffix are patronymics from nouns in *a*. The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronymics in *i*: for example, *āgniveṣī*, *pāṇrukutai*, *prātardani*, *sāmvaranī*; AV. has but one, *prāhrādi*; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., *sāuyavasi*, *jānaṁtapi*, *āruṇī*, *jānaki*, etc. A single word of other value — *sārathi* *charioteer* (*sarātham*) — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix *aki* — as *vāiyāsaki* *descendent of Vyāsa* — are doubtless properly derivatives in *i* from others in *ka* or *aka*. That the secondary suffix *ika* is probably made by addition of *ka* to a derivative in *i* is pointed out below (§222j).

c. RV. has *tāpuṣī*, apparently from *tāpus* with a secondary *i* added, and the n. pr. *çucantī*; *bhuvantī* is found in B., and *jīvanti* later.

1222. **क. ka.** This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And

that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning — this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

a. Hence, ka easily associates itself with the finals of derivatives to which it is attached and comes to seem along with them an integral suffix, and is further used as such. Of this origin are doubtless, as was seen above (1180, 1181), the so-called primary suffixes uka and aka; and likewise the secondary suffix ika (below, j).

b. The accent of derivatives in ka varies — apparently without rule, save that the words most plainly of diminutive character have the tone usually on the suffix.

c. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: *āntaka* (ānta) *end-making*, *bālhika* (bālhi) of *Balkh*, *āṇḍika* (āṇḍā) *egg-bearing*, *sūcika* (sūci) *stinging*, *urvārukā* fruit of the gourd (*urvārū*), *paryāyikā* (*paryāyā*) *strophic*; from numerals, *ekakā*, *dvakā*, *trikā*, *aṣṭaka*; *tṛtīyaka* of the third day; from pronoun-stems, *asmāka* *ours*, *yusmāka* *yours*, *māmaka* *mine* (518b); from prepositions, *āntika* *near*, *ānuka* *following*, *āvakā* a plant (later *adhika*, *utka*); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides *aṣṭaka* and *tṛtīyaka*, already given), *rūpaka* (*rūpā*) *with form*, *bābhruka* (*bābhrū* *browns*) a certain lizard. *Bhāvatka* *your worship's* has an anomalous initial *vyddhi*.

d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: *aṣṭakā* *nag*, *kanīnaka* and *kumārakā* *boy*, *kanīnakā* or *kanīnikā* *girl*, *pādakā* *little foot*, *putrakā* *little son*, *rājakā* *princeling*, *ṣakuntakā* *birdling*. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, 521; other examples are *anyakā* (KV.), *ślakam* (RV.: from *ślam*), and even the verb-form *yāmaki* (for *yāmi*: KB.).

e. The derivatives in ka with unchanged meaning are made from primitives of every variety of form, simple and compound, and have the same variety of accent as the adjective derivatives (with which they are at bottom identical). Thus:

f. From simple nouns and adjectives: *āstaka* *home*, *nāsikā* *nostril*, *mākāḷkā* *fly*, *avikā* *ewe*, *iṣukā* *arrow*, *dūrakā* *distant*, *sarvakā* *all*, *dhenukā* (*dhenū*) *cow*, *nāgnaka* (*nagnā*) *naked*, *bāddhaka* (*baddhā*) *captives*, *abhinnataraka* *by no means different*, *anastamitakā* *before*

sunset, *vamrakā ant*, *arbhakā small*, *çiçukā young*, *aṇiyaska finer*, *ejatkā trembling*, *abhimādyatkā intoxicated*, *patayişṇukā flying*. Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable; from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in *ka* or *kā* (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: *svalpakā very small*, *vīmanyuka removing wrath*, *vikṣipatkā destroying*, *pravartamānakā moving forward*, *vikṣīpakā destroyed*.

h. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, *ka* is often added to a possessive adjective compound (1307), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, *anakaṇika eyeless*, *atvākka skinless*, *aretāska without seed*, *vyasthaka boneless*, *saṇiraska along with the head*, *ekagāyatrika containing a single gāyatri-verse*, *gr̥hītāvasatīvarika one who has taken yesterday's water*, *sapatnīka with his spouse*, *bahuhastika having many elephants*, *sadikṣopasātka with dikṣā and upasād*, *āhitasamitka with his fuel laid on*, *abhinavayasyaka of youthful age*, *aṅguṣṭhamātraka of thumb size*.

i. The vowel by which the *ka* is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in *ikā* is so common beside a masculine in *aka* as to be its regular correspondent (as is the case with the so-called primary *aka*: above, 1181). In RV. are found beside one another only *iyattakā* and *iyattikā*; but AV. has several examples.

j. Two suffixes made up of *ka* and a preceding vowel — namely, *aka* and *ika* — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of *ka* to a final *i* or *a*, though coming to be used independently.

k. Of *vr̥ddhi*-derivatives in *ika* no examples have been noted from the older language (unless *māmakā mine* is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, *āvaçyaka necessary*; *vārddhaka old age*, *rāmaṇiyaka delightfulness*.

l. Of *vr̥ddhi*-derivatives in *ika*, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: *vāsantika vernal*, *vārṣika of the rainy season*, *hāimantika wintry* (none of them in RV.); AV. has *kāirātikā of the Kīrātas*, apparent fem. to a masc. *kāirātaka*, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: *vāidika relating to the Vedas*, *dhārmika religious*, *āhnikā daily*, *vāinayika well-behaved*, *dāuvārika doorkeeper*, *nāiyāyika versed in the Nyāya*.

m. Before the suffix *ka*, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final sonant mute, of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117 a, 114): cf. *-upasatka*, *-samitka*, above, h. So also a palatal becomes guttural (as before *t* etc.: 217): e. g. *-srukka*, *-rukka*, *-tvakka*, *anṣka*. A *a* remains after *ā*, and becomes *ṇ* after an alterant vowel (180): e. g. *sadyaska*, *jyotiṣka*, *dīrghāyuṣka*. But the other sibilants take the form

they would have in composition: thus, *adīka* (dig), *ṣaṭka*, *-viṭka*, *-tviṭka* (*ṣaṣ* etc.). *Anāqirka* (TS: *āqis*) is anomalous; and so is *parutka* (Āpast.), if it comes from *parus*.

1223. Several suffixes, partly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a *ṛ* *n* as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.

a. A few derivatives in *āna* in RV. were given above (1175a).

b. With *ānī* (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a small number of words, chiefly wife-names: thus, *indrānī*, *varuṇānī* (these, with *uṇinārānī*, *purukūtsānī*, *mudgalānī*, *ūrjānī*, are found in RV.), *rudrānī*, *mātulānī* *maternal uncle's wife*, *ṣarvānī*, *bhavānī*, *īṣānānī*, *ṣakrānī*, *upādhyāyānī*, *mṛdānī*, *brahmānī*; and *yavānī*.

c. The feminines in *nī* and *knī* from masculine stems in *ta* have been already noticed above (1178d). From *pāti* *master*, *husband* the feminine is *pātnī*, both as independent word, *spouse*, and as final of an adjective compound: thus, *devāpatnī* *having a god for husband*, *sindhupatnī* *having the Indus as master*. And the feminine of *paraṣā* *rough* is in the older language sometimes *pāruṣnī*.

d. With *ina* are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final *aṅ* (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, *apācina*, *nīcina*, *prācina*, *arvācina* and *arvācīnā*, *praticīna* and *praticīnā*, *samicīnā*. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later; examples are *samvatsarīṇa* *yearly*, *prāvṛṭṭīṇa* *of the rainy season*, *viśvajanīna* *of all people*, *jñātakulīna* *of known family*, *adhvanīna* *traveller* (*ādhvan way*), *āṣvīna* *day's journey on horseback* (*āṣva horse*). RV. has once *mākīna* *mine*.

e. With *ena* is made *sāmidhenā* (f. *-nī*), from *samidh*, with initial strengthening.

f. As to a few words in *ina*, compare 1209 o.

g. The adjectives made with simple *na* fall partly under another head (below, 1245 f); here may be noted *ṣūraṇa* *heroic* (?), *phālguna*, *ṣma-gruṇā*, *dadrūṇa*, and, with *vyādhī*-strengthening, *strāṇīṇa* *woman's* (its correlative, *pāudhīna*, occurs late) and *cyāutnā* *inciting*. If *drūṇa* comes from *dru* *wood*, it has the anomaly of a *guṇa*-strengthening.

1224. Certain suffixes containing a *ṛ* *m* may be similarly grouped.

a. With *ima* are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in *tra*: thus, *khanītrima* *made by digging*, *kṛtrima* *artificial*, *dattrima*, *paktrima*, *pūtrima*; in other finals, *kuṭṭima*, *gaṇima*, *talima*, *tulima*, *pākima*, *udgārīma*, *vyāyogīma*, *samvyūhīma*, *nirvedhīma*, *āsaṅgīma*, all late. In *agrīma* (RV.) *foremost* the *ma* has perhaps the ordinal value.

b. The uses of simple *ma* in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487 d, e) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified.

c. A few neuter abstracts end in *mna*: thus, *dyumná brightness*, *nṛmná manliness*; and, from particles, *nimná depth* and *sumná welfare*. The suffix comes perhaps from *man* with an added *a*.

d. For the words showing a final *min*, see below, 1231.

1225. *may*. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying *made* or *composed* or *consisting of*, also *abounding in*, that which is denoted by the primitive.

a. The accent is always on the *má*, and the feminine is regularly and usually in *máyi*. In the oldest language (V.), final *as* remains unchanged before the suffix: thus, *manasmáya*, *nabhasmáya*, *ayasmáya*; but *d* is treated as in external combination: thus, *mṛnsmáya*; and in the Brāhmaṇas and later, finals in general have the latter treatment: e. g. *tejomáya*, *adomáya*, *āpomáya*, *jyotirmáya*, *yajurmáya*, *etanmáya*, *asṛmáya*, *vāsmáya*, *ammáya*, *prāvr̥ṣmáya*. RV. has *aśmanmáya* (later *aśmasmáya*). In *hiraṇmáya* (B. and later) the primitive (*hiraṇya*) is peculiarly mutilated. RV. has *sūmáya of good make*, and *kim-máya made of what?*

b. A very few examples of a feminine in *yā* occur in the later language.

1226. *ra*. A few derivative adjectives are made with this suffix. Accent and treatment of the primitive are various.

a. With simple addition of *ra* are made, for example: *pāṇsurá dusty*, *-ṇr̥ira* (also *-ṇl̥ira*) in *aṇr̥irá ugly*, *dhūmrá dusky* (*dhūmá smoke*), *madhura* (late) *sweet*. In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, *āgnīdhra of the fire-kindler* (*agnīdh*), *ṇāṇkurá stake-like* (*ṇāṇkū*); and in *ṇekhara* (also *ṇikhara*), a *guṇa*-strengthening.

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, *mēdhira wise*, *rathirá in a chariot*; *karmāra smith*; *dantura* (late) *tasked*; *acchēra* (? MS.), *ṇr̥āmaṇera*, *saṅgamanera*.

c. The use of *ra* in forming a few words of comparative meaning was noticed above (474), and the words so made were given.

1227. *la*. This and the preceding suffix are really but two forms of the same. In some words they exchange with one another, and *la* is usually, but not always, the later form in use.

a. Examples are: *bahulá abundant*, *madhulá* (later *madhura*) and *madhūla sweet*, *bhīmala fearful*, *jīvalá lively*, *aṇl̥ilá* (and *aṇr̥irá*) *scratched*; with *ā*, *vācāla talkative* (late); with *i*, *phenila foamy* (late):

phéna); with *u*, *vātula*, and *vātūla windy* (late: *vāta*); and *mātula maternal uncle* is a somewhat irregular formation from *mātī mother*.

b. In the later language are found a few adjectives in *lu*, always preceded by *ā*; examples are: *kṛpālu* and *dayālu compassionate*, *irāyālu jealous*, *uṣṇālu heated*, *çayālu* and *avapnālu sleepy*, *lajjālu modest*, *lālālu drooling*, *çradhālu trusting*, *krodhālu passionate*. One or two such derivatives having a primary aspect were noticed at 1192 b.

1228. *Ṛ va.* A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Examples are: *arṇavā billowy*, *keçavā hairy*; *rāsnāvā girded*; *añjivā slippery*, *çantivā tranquillizing*, *çraddhivā credible*, *amaṇivā jewelless*, *rājivā striped*.

b. There are a very few adjectives in *vala* and *vaya* which may be noticed here: thus, *kṛṣṭivalā peasant* (*kṛṣi ploughing*), *ūrṇāvalā scaly*, *rajasvala*, *ūrjasvala*, *payasvala*, *çādvāla*, *naçvāla*, *çikhāvala*, *dan-tāvala*; *druvāya wooden diih*, *caturvaya fourfold*.

c. With *vya* are made two or three words from names of relationship, thus, *pitr̥vya paternal uncle*, *bhrātṛvya nephew*, *enemy*.

1229. *Ṛ ça.* A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

a. Thus, *romaça* or *lomaça hairy*, *étaça* (also *etaçā*) *variegated*, *arvaça* or *ārvaça hasting*, *babluça* or *babhruçā* and *kapiça brownish*, *kṛṣṇaça blackish*, *yuvaça youthful*, *bālīça childish*, *karkaça harsh*, *karmaça* (?) *n. pr.*; and *giriça*, *vāriça* (?), *vṛkṣaça* are doubtless of the same character (not containing the root *çī*). The character of *harīmaça*, *kāçmaça*, *kalaça* is doubtful.

b. Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive value, the general meaning of *being concerned with*, *having relation to* being specialized into that of *being possession of*. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of using them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.

1230. *Ṛ in.* Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in *ṣ* or *ṣā*, and are sometimes (but very rarely) made from stems with other finals.

a. A final vowel disappears before the suffix. The accent is on the suffix. As to the inflection of these adjectives, see above, 438 ff. They are to be counted by hundreds in the older language, and are equally or more numerous in the later.

b. Examples from *a*-stems are: *açvín* possessing horses, *dhanín* wealthy, *pakṣín* winged, *balín* strong, *bhagín* fortunate, *vajrín* wield-ing the thunderbolt, *çikhaṇḍín* crested, *hastín* possessing hands, *ṣoḍaṣín* of sixteen, *gardabhanāḍín* having an ass's voice, *brahmavaracasín* of eminent sanctity, *sādhudevín* having luck at play, *kūcidarthín* having errands everywhere; — from *ā*-stems, *manīṣín* wise, *çikhín* crested, *ṛtāyín* pious.

c. Derivatives from other stems are very few in comparison: thus, from *i*-stems, *atithín*(?), *abhimatín*, *arcín*, *açanín*, *ūrmin*, *kāla-nemin*, *khādín*, *-pāpín*, *marīcin*, *mauṣjín*, *māulin*, *-yonín*, *venín*, *saṁdhín*, *saṁṛddhín*, *surabhín* (of these found only at the end of a possessive compound the character is doubtful, since case-forms of *i*- and *in*-stems are not seldom exchanged); — from *u*-stems, *gurvín*, *catagvín* (?), *veçavín* (with *guna* of the *u*); — from stems in *an*, *varmín*, *karmin*, *carmin*, *-chadmin*, *janmin*, *dhanvín*, *-dharmin*, *nāmin*, *brahmin*, *yakṣmin*, *çarmin*, and *çvanín*; — in *as*, *retín* rich in seed, and probably *varcin* n. pr.; also (perhaps through stems in *-sa*) *çavaśín* and *sahasín*, *manasín*, *-vayasín*; — isolated are *parisrajín* garlanded, and *hiraṇín* (*hiraṇya*).

d. It was pointed out above (1163) that derivatives in *in* have assumed on a large scale the aspect and value of primary derivatives, with the significance of present participles, especially at the end of compounds. The properly secondary character of the whole formation is shown, on the one hand, by the frequent use in the same manner of words bearing an unmistakably secondary form, as *praçnín*, *garbhín*, *jūrpn*, *dhūmín*, *anā-nín*, *homin*, *matsarín*, *paripanthín*, *pravepanín*, *saṁgatin*; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (216) before the *in*, which could only be as in replaced *a*: thus, *arkín*, *-bhaṇḍín*, *-saṇ-gín*, *-rokín*.

e. In a few cases, there appears before the *in* a *y* preceded by an *ā* of inorganic character: thus, *dhanvāyín*, *tantrāyín*, *çvetāyín*, *arkāyín*, *ātatāyín*, *pratihitāyín*, *marāyín*, *ṛtāyín*, *svadhāyín* (VS.: TB. *-vín*). The *y* in all such words is evidently the inserted *y* after *ā* (256a), and to assume for them a suffix *yin* is quite needless.

f. The accentuation *pravrájín*, *prasyāndín*, in the concluding part of ÇB., is doubtless false; and the same is to be suspected for *çākī*, *sári*, *irī* (RV. each once).

g. A very few words in *in* have not suffered the possessive specializa-tion. Such are *vanín* tree, *hermit*, *kapotín* dove-like, *aṇḍín* scrotum-like (cf. 1233f.).

1231. मिन् *min*. With this suffix are made an extremely small number of possessive adjectives.

a. In the old language, the words in *min* have the aspect of deriva-tives in *in* from nouns in *ma*, although in two or three cases — *iṣmín*

and *rgmín* in *RV.*, *vāgmín* in *ÇB.*—no such nouns are found in actual use beside them. In the later language, *min* is used as independent element in a very few words: thus, *gomín* *possessing cattle*, *svāmín* (*Sūtras* and later) *master, lord (sva own)*, *kakudmín* *humped*.

b. The two words *rgmín* and *vāgmín* show not only reversion but also senantizing of an original palatal.

1232. *विन् vin*. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not numerous. They have the same meanings with those in *इन् in*. The accent is on the suffix.

a. The *RV.* has ten adjectives in *vin*; they become rather more common later. Though for them may be suspected a similar origin to those in *vin* and *min* (above), signs of it are much less clearly traceable.

b. The great majority have *vin* added after *as*: e. g. *namasvin* *reverential*, *tapasvin* *heated*, *tejasvin* *brilliant*, *yaçasvin* *beautiful*, and so *retasvin*, *enasvin*, *harasvin*, etc.; and *çatasvin*, *çrotasvin*, *rūpasvin* have an inserted *s*, by analogy with them. Most others have *ā* (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, *glāvin*, *medhāvin*, *māyāvin*, *sa-bhāvin*, *açtrāvin* *obedient to the goad*, *dva-yāvin* *double-minded*, *ubha-yāvin* *possessing of both kinds*, *dhanyāvin*, *tandṛāvin*, *āmayāvin*, *ātātāvin*. More rarely, *vin* is added after another consonant than *s*: thus, *vāgvín*, *dhṛṣṭadvín*, *ātmanvín*, *kumudvín*, *sragvín*, *yajvín*, *ajvín*. The doubtful word *vyaçnuvín* (*VS.*, once; *TB.* *vyāçniya*) appears to add the ending (or *in*, with euphonic *v*) to a present tense-stem.

c. An external form of combination is seen only in *vāgvín* and *dhṛṣṭadvín* (both *Vedic*), with the common reversion of a palatal in *sragvín*.

1233. *वन्त vant*. Very numerous possessive adjectives are made by this suffix, from noun-stems of every form, both in the earlier language and in the later.

a. The accent generally remains upon the primitive, without change; but an accent resting on a stem-final, if this be anything but *ā* or *ā̄*, is in the majority of cases thrown forward upon the suffix. As to inflection, formation of feminine, etc., see 452 ff.

b. A final vowel—oftenest *a*, very rarely *u*—is in many words lengthened in the older language (247) before this ending, as in composition. Nouns in *an* more often retain the *n*.

c. Examples of the normal formation are: with unchanged accent, *kéçavant* *hairy*, *putrávant* *having a son*, *prajānanavant* *procreative*, *punḍārikavant* *rich in lotuses*, *híraṇyavant* *rich in gold*, *apūpāvant* *having cakes*, *rājanyāvant* *allied with a kshatriya*; *prajāvant* *having progeny*, *ūrpāvant* *wooly*, *dākṣiṇāvant* *rich in sacrificial gifts*; *sákhivant* *having friends*, *saptarṣīvant* *accompanied by the seven sages*; *çācīvant* *powerful*; *tāviṣīvant* *vehement*, *pātnīvant* *with spouse*, *dhīvant* *devoted*,

dyāvāpṛthivīvant (94 b) with *heaven and earth*; viṣṇuvant accompanied by *Viṣṇu*; hāritvant *golden*, āvṛtvant *hither turned*, ācīrvant *mixed with milk*, svārvant *splendid*, çarādvant *full of years*, pūṃsvant *having a male*, pāyasvant *rich*, tāmasvant *dark*, brāhmaṇvant *accompanied with worship*, rōmaṇvant *hairy* (but also romaṇvant, lōmaṇvant, vṛtrahavant, etc.), kakūbhvant *containing a kakūbh*; — with accent on the suffix, agnīvant *having fire*, rayīvant *wealthy*, nṛvant *manly*, padvant *having feet*, naṣvant *with nose*, āsanvant *having a mouth*, çīṛṣavant *headed* (also çīṛṣavant).

d. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, āçvāvānt (beside āçvavānt) *possessing horses*, sutāvānt *having soma expressed*, vīṣṇyāvānt *of virile force* (about thirty such cases occur in V.); çāktīvant *mighty*, svādhitīvant *having axes*, ghṛṇīvant *hot*; viṣūvant *dividing* (viṣu apart).

e. Certain special irregularities are as follows: an inserted s in indrasvant, māhiṣvant; inserted n in vānanvant, būdhanvant, vādhanvant, gartanvant, māṇsanvant; shortening of a final of the primitive in māyāvant, yājyāvant, puronuvākyāvant, āmīkṣavānt, sarasvatīvant; abbreviation in hiraṇvant; inserted ā in çavasāvant, sahasāvant, and the odd mahimāvant; anomalous accent in kṛṣṇāvant (if from kṛṣṇa *pearl*); derivation from particles in antārvant *pregnant*, viṣūvant (above, d).

f. Instead of the specialized meaning of *possessing*, the more general one of *like to, resembling* is seen in a number of words, especially in the derivatives from pronominal stems, māvānt *like me* etc. (517: add īvant, kīvant). Other examples are indrasvant *like Indra*, niḍāvant *nestlike*, nīlavānt *blackish*, nṛvant *manly*, pīṣadvant *speckled*, kṣāitavānt *princely*; compare the later paravānt *dependent*. It was pointed out above (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vāt is the accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.

g. In a few words, vant has the aspect of forming primary derivatives: thus, vivāsvant (or vīvasvant) *shining*, also n. pr., ānupadsvant, ārvant, pīpiṣvant(?), yahvānt.

h. For the derivatives in vat from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see 1245j.

i. While this suffix is generally added to a primitive according to the rules of internal combination (see examples above, c), treatment also as in external combination begins already in RV., in pīṣadvant (pīṣat), and becomes more common later: thus, tapovant, tejovant, āngirovant (beside tāpasvant etc.); vidyūdvant (beside vidyutvant), bṛhadvant, jagadvant, sadvant, etc.; triṣṭubvant (against kakūbhvant), samīdvant, vimṛdvant; vāgvant (against ṛkvant); svarādvant; havya-vādvant; ācīrvant.

j. None of the suffixes beginning with v show in the Veda resolution of v to u.

1234. वन् van. The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number, of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

a. They have the aspect of being produced under the joint influence of primary van and secondary vant. A final short vowel is usually lengthened before the suffix. The accent is various, but oftenest on the penult of the stem. The feminine (like that of the derivatives in primary van: 1169 f) is in vari.

b. The Vedic examples are: from a-stems, ṛṇāvan or ṛṇavan, ṛtāvan (and f. -vari), ṛghāvan, dhītāvan, satyāvan, sumnāvāri, and maghāvan; from ā-stems, sūnītāvari, svadhāvan (and f. -vari); from i-stems, amatīvān, arātīvān, ṛuṣṭīvān, muṣṭīvān, and kṛṣṭīvān (only in the further derivative kārṣivāna); dhīvan; from consonant-stems, ātharvan, samādvan, sāhovan (bad AV. variant to RV. sahāvan); hārdvan (TA. also hārdivan). Somewhat anomalous are sahāvan, indhanvan (for indhanavan?), and sanītvan (for sánitivan?). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are ṛtāvan, maghāvan, ātharvan.

c. Sāhovan (see b) is the only example of external combination with this suffix.

1235. मन् mant. This is a twin-suffix to वन् vant (above, 1233); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives in मन् mant are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from a-stems.

a. If the accent of the primitive word is on the final, it is in the great majority of instances (three quarters) thrown forward upon the added suffix; otherwise, it maintains its place unchanged. A final vowel before the suffix is in only a few cases made long. Examples are:

b. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: káṇvamant, yávamant *rich in barley*, and vibhavamant u. pr. (these alone from a-stems, and the first only occurring once); ávimant *possessing sheep*, aṇánimant *bearing the thunderbolt*, ōṣadhīmant *rich in herbs*, vāṇimant *carrying an axe*, vāsumant *possessing good things*, mādhumant *rich in sweets*, tvāṣṭmant *accompanied by Tvāṣṭar*, hótṛmant *provided with priests*, āyusmant *long-lived*, jyótiṣmant *full of brightness*; — ulkuṣimant *accompanied with meteors*, pilūmant (P), prasūmant *having young shoots*, gómant *rich in kine*, garútmant *winged*, vihútmant *with libation*, kakúdmant *humped*, vidyūnmant (with irregular assimilation of t: VS. has also kakūnmant) *gleaming*, virúkmant *shining*, haviṣmant *with libations*, vipruṣmant *with drops*.

c. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: *asimánt* with knives, *agnimánt* having fire, *iṣudhimánt* with a quiver, *paçumánt* possessing cattle, *vāyumánt* with wind, *pitṛmánt* (AV. *pitṛmant*) accompanied by the Fathers, *māṭṛmánt* having a mother; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant, in *daśmát* (RV., once).

d. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in *tvīṣmant*, *dhrāṣimant*, *hīrimant*; in *jyōtiṣimant* is irregularly inserted an *i* (after the analogy of *tāviṣimant*); in *çuciṣmant*, *mahiṣmant*, an *s*; *suṣumant* (RV., once) appears to be primary.

e. The adverb *āçumát* appears to be related to adverbs in *vāt* as the suffix *mant* to *vant*.

f. By the side of derivatives made with internal combination appears *vidyūnmant* even in RV.; and other like cases occur later: thus, *pari-srūnmant*, *kakunmant*, *kṣunmant*, *purorūnmant*, *vāūmant*, *kakum-mant*, *gudaliṣmant*, *yaçomant*.

1236. It has been seen above (especially in connection with the suffixes *a* and *ya*) that the neuter of a derivative adjective is frequently used as an abstract noun. There are, however, two suffixes which have in the later language the specific office of making abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; and these are found also, more sparingly used, in the oldest language, each having there one or two other evidently related suffixes beside it.

a. For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix *iman*, see above, 1168i-k.

1237. त्वा *tā*. With this suffix are made feminine abstract nouns, denoting the quality of being so and so, from both adjectives and nouns.

a. The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: *devātā* divinity, *virātā* manliness, *puruṣātā* human nature, *agnītā* firehood, *apaçūtā* cattle-lessness, *bandhūtā* relationship, *vasūtā* wealth; *nagnātā* nakedness, *suvi-rātā* wealth in retainers, *anapatyātā* lack of descendants, *agotā* poverty in cattle, *abrahmatā* lack of devotion, *aprajastā* absence of progeny; also doubtless *sūnṛtā* (from *sūnāra*), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like *çamṛtāti* and *satyatāti*: see next paragraph).

c. Of special formation are *mamātā* selfishness, *trētā* triplicity, *astitā* actuality. RV. has *avīratā*, with exceptional accent. In *ekapatnītā* is seen a shortened final vowel of the primitive. *Janātā* has acquired a concrete meaning, *people*, *folk*; also *grāmatā* (once) *villages* collectively.

1238. तानि *tāni*, तात् *tāt*. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is

evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with tā.

a. The quotable examples in tāti are: *ariṣṭātāti uninjuredness*, *ayakṣmātāti freedom from disease*, *grbhītātāti the being seized*, *jyeṣṭhātāti supremacy*, *devātāti divinity*, *vasūtāti wealth*, *çāntātāti good-fortune*, *sarvātāti completeness*; and, with exceptional accent, *āstatātāti home*, and *dākṣatātāti cleverness*; *çivatātāti* and *çubhatātāti* occur (once each) in the later language. Two words in tāti are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition?): *çāntātāti* (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in manuscripts), and *satyatātāti* (RV., once: voc.).

b. The words in tāt (apparently made by abbreviation from tāti) occur in only one or two case-forms; they were all mentioned above (393 k. 2).

1239. **तृ tva.** With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in **ता tā** (above, 1237).

a. The neuter abstracts in tva are in the older language considerably more common than the feminines in tā, although themselves also not very numerous. The accent is without exception on the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: *amṛtatvá immortality*, *devatvá divinity*, *subhagatvá good-fortune*, *ahamuttaratvá struggle for precedency*, *çucitvá purity*, *patitvá husbandship*, *tarānitvá energy*, *dirghāyutvá long life*, *çatrutvá enmity*, *bhrātṛtvá brotherhood*, *vṛçatvá virility*, *sātmatvá soulfulness*, *maghavatvá liberality*, *rakṣatvá sorcery*. In *anāgāstvá* and *-prajāstvá* there is a lengthening of a final syllable of the primitive; and in *sāuprajāstvá* (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial *vṛddhi* (*sāubhagatvá* is doubtless from *sāubhaga*, not *subhāga*); and in these and *pratyanastvá* there is an apparent insertion of s. In *sadhanitvá* (RV.), *vasativaritvá* (TS.), *rohiṇitvá* (TB.), there is shortening of final feminine i before the suffix. Of peculiar formation are *satitva actuality* and *sahatva union*. The apparent feminine datives *yūthatvāyāi* and *gaṇatvāyāi* (KS.) are doubtless false forms.

c. Besides the usual guttural reversions in *samyaktva*, *sayuktva*, we have external combination in *saṁittva* (-idh-) and *pūrvavāṣṭva* (-vah-).

d. In *īçitatvātā* (RV., once) *incitedness*, and *puruṣatvātā* (RV., twice) *human quality*, appears to be a combination of the two equivalent suffixes tva and tā.

e. The v of tva is to be read in Veda as u only once (*rakṣastuā*).

1240. **तन tvana.** The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in tva, neuter abstracts. They occur almost only in RV., and, except in a single instance (*martyatvanā*), have beside them equivalent derivatives in tva. The accent is on the final, and the tva is never resolved into tua.

a. The words are: *kavitvaná*, *janitvaná*, *patitvaná* (also *JB.*), *martyatvaná*, *mahitvaná*, *vasutvaná*, *vṛṣatvaná*, *sakhitvaná*.

1241. A few suffixes make no change in the character as part of speech of the primitive to which they are added, but either are merely formal appendages, leaving the value of the word what it was before, or make a change of degree, or introduce some other modification of meaning.

1242. The suffixes of comparison and ordinal suffixes have for the most part been treated already, and need only a reference here.

a. *तृ* *tara* and *तम* *tama* are the usual secondary suffixes of adjective comparison: respecting their use as such, see above, 471-473; respecting the use of *tama* as ordinal etc. suffix, see 487-8; respecting that of their accusatives as adverbial suffixes to prepositions etc., see 1111e.

b. In *vṛtrātāra* and *purutāma* (*RV.*) the accent is anomalous; in *mṛdayāttama*, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); *gaṇvattamā* (*RV.*) has the ordinal accent; *sahvatsaratamā* (*QB.*) is an ordinal; *dīvātara* (*RV.*, once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, *of the day*; *surabhiṣṭama* and *tuvīṣṭama* insert a *a*; *kārotarā* and *kāulitarā* are probably *vṛddhi*-derivatives in *a*. In *vatsatārā* (*f. -rī*) *weanling*, *aṇvatarā* *mule*; and *dhenuṣṭarī* *cow losing her milk*, the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; so also in *rathamtarā*, name of a certain *sāman*.

c. *र* *ra* and *म* *ma*, like *tara* and *tama*, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, 474, 487.

d. *त* *tha*, like *tama* and *ma*, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487 c; also (with fem. in *-thī*) from *tati*, *kati*, *yati*, *iti*: thus *tatithā* *so-many-eth* etc.

e. Apparently by false analogy with *tatithā* etc. (above, d), the quasi-ordinals *tāvatitha*, *yāvatitha*, *bahutitha* are made, as if with a suffix *titha* (also *katititha*, late, for *katithā*); and, it is said, from other words meaning *a number or collection*, as *gaṇa*, *pūga*, *saṅgha*; but none such are quotable.

1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of *ka*, in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above (1222).

1244. Of the ordinary adjective-making suffixes, given above, some occasionally make adjectives from adjectives, with slight or imperceptible modification of value. The only one used to any considerable extent in this way is *ka*: as to which, see 1222.

1245. A few suffixes are used to make derivatives from certain limited and special classes of words, as numerals and particles. Thus:

a. तय taya makes a few adjectives meaning *of so many divisions* or *kinds* (used in the neuter as collectives), from numerals: thus, ékataya (MS.), dvitaya, tritaya, cātuṣṭaya (AV.), ṣaṭṭaya (KB.: with external combination), sapṭataya (QB.), aṣṭataya (AB.), dácataya (RV.), bahútaya (TS.). Their fem. is in -yī.

b. त्वा tya makes a class of adjectives from particles: e. g. nítya *own*, níṣṭya *foreign*, amātya *companion*, etc. As the examples show, the accent of the primitive is retained. The fem. is in -tyā.

c. The other quotable examples are: ápatya, áviṣṭya, sánutya, antastya, anyastastya-, tatastya, kutastya, atratya, tatradya, yatradya, kutradya, ihadya, upatya, adhitya, prāstastya, dakṣiṇāstya (instead of which, the regular form, is generally found dakṣiṇāstya, apparently a further vṛddhi-derivative from it: as if *belonging to the southerners*), and pācāstya and pāuraastya (of a similar character: these three last are said by the grammarians to be accented on the final, as is proper for vṛddhi-derivatives); aptyā and āptyā perhaps contain the same suffix. In antastya and prāstastya is seen external combination.

d. The y of tya is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.

e. त ta forms ekatá, dvitá, and tritá, also muhūrtá *moment*, and apparently avatá *well* (for water).

f. With न na are made purāṇá *ancient*, víṣṇuḥ *various*, and perhaps samāṇá *like*.

g. With तन tana or (in a few cases) त्ना tna are made adjectives from adverbs, nearly always of time: e. g. pratná *ancient*, nūtaṇa or nūtna *present*, sanātāna or sanātna *lasting*, divātana of the day, çvāstana of tomorrow, hyastana of yesterday. The accent is various. The feminine is in nī.

h. The other quotable examples are: agrotana, adyatana, adhunātāna, idamātana, idānīmātana, etarhitana, ciraātana, tadānīmātana, doṣātana, purātana, prāktana, prāstātāna, sadātana, sāyamātāna; from adverbs of place, adhasana, arvāktana, uparītana, kutastana; — with tna, parastātna, purastātna. A further vṛddhi-derivative, with equivalent meaning, nāutana (cf. above, c), occurs late. In PB. is once found tvattana *belonging to thee*.

i. Besides the obvious cases, of an assimilated final m before this suffix, we have external combination in prāstātāna.

j. वत् vat makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (383k, 1).

k. कट katā, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the

grammarians as a suffix, in *utkaṭa*, *nikaṭa*, *prakaṭa*, *vikāṭa* (RV., once, voc.), and *saṃkaṭa* (all said to be accented on the final).

l. A suffix *vana* is perhaps to be seen in *nivanā*, *pravāṇa*;—and *āla* in *antarāla*.

m. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see *ana* (1150n), *ti* (1157h), *ant* (1172a), *u* (1178i), *a* (1209i), *ka* (1222c), *mna* (1224c), *maya* (1225a), *vant* (1233e).

CHAPTER XVIII.

FORMATION OF COMPOUND STEMS.

1246. THE frequent combination of declinable stems with one another to form compounds which then are treated as if simple, in respect to accent, inflection, and construction, is a conspicuous feature of the language, from its earliest period.

a. There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together—except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbrous and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegating the advantages of an inflective language, takes the place of the due syntactical union of formed words into sentences.

1247. Sanskrit compounds fall into three principal classes:

I. a. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntically coördinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction *and* (rarely *or*).

b. Examples are: *indrāvaruṇāu Indra and Varuna, satyāṇṛtā truth and falsehood, kṛtākṛtām done and undone, devagandharvamānuṣoragarākṣasās gods and Gandharvas and men and serpents and demons.*

c. The members of such a compound may obviously be of any number, two or more than two. No compound of any other class can contain more than two members — of which, however, either or both may be compound, or decomposed (below, 1248).

II. d. Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a noun (or pronoun) limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is the one or the other, are to be distinguished the two sub-classes: A. Dependent compounds; and B. Descriptive compounds. Their difference is not an absolute one.

e. Examples are: of dependent compounds, *amitrasenā army of enemies, pādodaka water for the feet, āyurdā life-giving, hāstakṛta made with the hands*; of descriptive compounds, *maharṣi great sage, priya-sakhi dear friend, amitra enemy, sūkṛta well done.*

f. These two classes are of primary value; they have undergone no unifying modification in the process of composition; their character as parts of speech is determined by their final member, and they are capable of being resolved into equivalent phrases by giving the proper independent form and formal means of connection to each member. That is not the case with the remaining class, which accordingly is more fundamentally distinct from them than they are from one another.

III. g. Secondary adjective compounds, the value of which is not given by a simple resolution into their component parts, but which, though having as final member a noun, are themselves adjectives. These, again, are of two sub-classes: A. Possessive compounds, which are noun-compounds of the preceding class, with the idea of *possessing* added, turning them from nouns into adjectives; B. Compounds in which the second member is a noun syntactically dependent on the first: namely, 1. Prepositional compounds, of a governing preposition and following noun;

2. Participial compounds (only Vedic), of a present participle and its following object.

h. The sub-class B. is comparatively small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.

i. Examples are: *vīrasena* possessing a hero-army, *prajākāma* having desire of progeny, *tigmāṣṭhā* sharphorned, *hāritasraj* wearing green garlands; *atimātrā* excessive; *yāvayāddveṣas* driving away enemies.

j. The adjective compounds are, like simple adjectives, liable to be used, especially in the neuter, as abstract and collective nouns, and in the accusative as adverbs; and out of these uses have grown apparent special classes of compounds, reckoned and named as such by the Hindu grammarians. The relation of the classification given above to that presented in the native grammar, and widely adopted from the latter by the European grammars, will be made clear as we go on to treat the classes in detail.

1248. A compound may, like a simple word, become a member in another compound, and this in yet another — and so on, without definite limit. The analysis of any compound, of whatever length (unless it be a copulative), must be made by a succession of bisections.

a. Thus, the dependent compound *pūrvajanmakṛta* done in a previous existence is first divisible into *kṛta* and the descriptive *pūrvajanman*, then this into its elements; the dependent *sakalanītiṣāstratattvajña* knowing the essence of all books of behavior has first the root-stem *jña* (for *√jñā*) knowing separated from the rest, which is again dependent; then this is divided into *tattva* essence and the remainder, which is descriptive; this, again, divides into *sakala* all and *nītiṣāstra* books of behavior, of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (*sa* and *kalā* having its parts together).

1249. a. The final of a stem is combined with the initial of another stem in composition according to the general rules for external combination: they have been given, with their exceptions, in chap. III., above.

b. If a stem has a distinction of strong and weak forms, it regularly enters into composition as prior member in its weak form; or, if it has a triple distinction (311), in its middle form.

c. That is, especially, stems in *r* or *ar*, *at* or *ant*, *ac* or *añc*, etc., show in composition the forms in *r*, *at*, *ac*, etc.; while those in *an* and in usually (exceptions sometimes occur, as *vṛṣapaṇvā*, *vṛṣanvasā*) lose their final *n*, and are combined as if *a* and *i* were their proper finals.

d. As in secondary derivation (1203 d), so also as prior member of a compound, a stem sometimes shortens its final long vowel (usually *i*, rarely *ā*): thus, in V., *rodasiprā*, *pr̥thiviṣṭhā*, *pr̥thiviṣād*, *dhārapūta*, *dhāravākā*; in B., *pr̥thivi-dā*, *-bhāga*, *-lokā*, *sarasvatikṛta*, *senā-nigrāmaṇyāū*; in S., *garbhiṇiprāyaścitta*, *sāmidheniprāiṣa*, *vasatīvaripariharāṇa*, *ekādaṇinilīṅga*, *prapharvidā*, *devatalakṣaṇa*, *devatapradhānatva*; later, *devakinandana*, *lakṣmivardhana*, *kumārīdatta*, *iṣṭakacita*, etc.

e. Occasionally, a stem is used as prior member of a compound which does not appear, or not in that form, as an independent word: examples are *mahā great* (apparently used independently in V. in accusative), *tuvi mighty* (V.), *dvi two*.

f. Not infrequently, the final member of a compound assumes a special form: see below, 1315.

1250. But a case-form in the prior member of a compound is by no means rare, from the earliest period of the language. Thus:

a. Quite often, an accusative, especially before a root-stem, or a derivative in *a* of equivalent meaning: for example, *pataṅgā going by flight*, *dhanamjayā winning wealth*, *abhayaṅkarā causing absence of danger*, *puṣṭimbharā bringing prosperity*, *vācamāṅkharā inciting the voice*; but also sometimes before words of other form, as *ācvaṁiṣṭi horse-desiring*, *ṇubhamyāvan going in splendor*, *subhāgaṅkaraṇa making happy*, *bhayaṅkartṛ causer of fear*. In a few cases, by analogy with these, a word receives an accusative form to which it has no right: thus, *hṛdaṁsāni*, *makṣuṅgama*, *vasuṁdhara*, *ātmambhari*.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, *girāvṛdh increasing by praise*, *vācāstena stealing by incantation*, *krātvaṁagha gladly bestowing*, *bhāsāketu bright with light*, *vidmaṇāpas active with wisdom*.

c. In a very few instances, a dative: thus, *nareṣṭhā serving a man*, *asinhiti errand to us*, and perhaps *kiyodhā* and *mahevṛdh*.

d. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or *a*-derivative: for example, *agregā going at the head*, *divikaṣṭi dwelling in the sky*, *vaneṣāḥ prevailing in the wood*, *aṅgeṣṭhā existing in the limbs*, *proṣṭheṇayā lying on a couch*, *sutékara active with the soma*, *divícara moving in the sky*; *ārēcatru having enemies far removed*, *sumnāṣpi near in favor*, *māderaghu hasting in excitement*, *yudhiṣṭhira firm in battle*, *antevāsin dwelling near*; *apsujā born in the waters*, *hṛtāvās hurling at hearts*.

e. Least often, a genitive: thus, *rāyākāma desirous of wealth*,

akasyavid knowing no one. But the older language has a few examples of the putting together of a genitive with its governing noun, each member of the combination keeping its own accent: see below, 1267 d.

f. Ablative forms are to be seen in *balātkāra violence* and *balāt-kṛta*, and perhaps in *parātpriya*. And a stem in *ṛ* sometimes appears in a copulative compound in its nominative form: thus, *pitāputrāu father and son*, *hotāpotārāu the invoker and purifier*. *Anyonya one another* is a fused phrase, of nominative and oblique case.

g. In a very few words, plural meaning is signified by plural form: thus, *apsujā* etc. (In derivation, also, *apsu* is used as a stem), *hṛtāvāa*, *nṛṇḥprapetra conducting men*, *rujaskara causing pains*, (and dual) *hanūkampa trembling of the two jaws*.

h. Much more often, of words having gender-forms, the feminine is used in composition, when the distinctive feminine sense is to be conveyed: e. g. *gopinātha master of the shepherdesses*, *dāsiputra son of a female slave*, *mṛgīdr̥ṣ gazelle-eyed*, *praṇītāpranāyana vessel for consecrated water*.

1251. The accent of compounds is very various, and liable to considerable irregularity even within the limits of the same formation; and it must be left to be pointed out in detail below. All possible varieties are found to occur. Thus:

a. Each member of the compound retains its own separate accent. This is the most anomalous and infrequent method. It appears in certain Vedic copulative compounds chiefly composed of the names of divinities (so-called *devatā-dvandvas*: 1255 ff.), and in a small number of aggregations partly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (1267 d).

b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds; but also in determinatives having the participle *īn ta* or *na* as final member, in those beginning with the negative *a* or *an*, and in other less numerous and important classes.

c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding; but it is nevertheless quite common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or adjective as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals *dvi* and *tri* or the prefixes *eu* and *dua*, and elsewhere in not infrequent exceptions.

d. The compound takes an accent of its own, independent of that of either of its constituents, on its final syllable (not always, of course, to be distinguished from the preceding case). This method is largely followed: especially, by the regular copulatives, and by the great mass of dependent and descriptive noun-compounds, by most possessives beginning with the negative prefix; and by others.

e. The compound has an accent which is altered from that of one of its members. This is everywhere an exceptional and sporadically occurring

case, and the instances of it, noted below under each formation, do not require to be assembled here. Examples are: *medhāsāti* (*médha*), *tilāmīṣa* (*tīla*), *khādiḥasta* (*khādī*), *yāvayāddveṣas* (*yāvāyant*); *ṣakadhūma* (*dhūmā*), *amṛta* (*mṛtā*), *suṁvira* (*vīrā*), *tuvigrīva* (*grīvā*). A few words—as *viśva*, *pūrva*, and sometimes *sārva*—take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

I. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns—much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs—having a coördinate construction, as if connected by a conjunction, usually *and*, are sometimes combined into compounds.

a. This is the class to which the Hindu grammarians give the name of *dvandya pair*, *couple*; a *dvandva* of adjectives, however, is not recognized by them.

b. Compounds in which the relation of the two members is alternative instead of copulative, though only exceptional, are not very rare: examples are *nyūnādhika* *defective or redundant*, *jayaparājaya* *victory or defeat*, *kṛitoppanna* *purchased or on hand*, *kāṣṭhaloṣṭasama* *like a log or clod*, *pakṣimṛgatā* *the condition of being bird or beast*, *triṅśadvīṅṣa* *numbering twenty or thirty*, *catuspañcakṛtvas* *four or five times*, *dvyekāntara* *different by one or two*. A less marked modification of the copulative idea is seen in such instances as *priyasatya* *agreeable though true*, *prārthitadurlabha* *sought after but hard to obtain*; or in *grānta-gata* *arrived weary*.

1253. The noun-copulatives fall, as regards their inflective form, into two classes:

1. a. The compound has the gender and declension of its final member, and is in number a dual or a plural, according to its logical value, as denoting two or more than two individual things.

b. Examples are: *prāṇāpānāu* *inspiration and expiration*, *vṛhī-yavāu* *rice and barley*, *ṛksāmē* *verse and chant*, *kapotolūkāu* *dove and owl*, *candrādityāu* *moon and sun*, *hastyaṣvāu* *the elephant and horse*, *ajāvāyasa* *goats and sheep*, *devāsuraś* *the gods and demons*, *atharvāṅgīrāsaś* *the Atharvans and Angīrases*, *sambādhatandryāś* *anxieties and fatigues*, *vidyākarmāṇi* *knowledge and action*, *hastyaṣvāś* *elephants and horses*; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), *ṣayyāsanabhogāś* *lying, sitting, and eating*, *brāhmaṇaṣṭakṣatriyaṣṭvīṣṭrāś* *a Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra*,

rogaçokaparitāpabandhanavyasanāni *disease, pain, grief, captivity, and misfortune.*

2. c. The compound, without regard to the number denoted, or to the gender of its constituents, becomes a neuter singular collective.

d. Examples are: iṣṭāpūrtām *what is offered and bestowed*, aho-rātrām *a day and night*, kṛtākṛtām *the done and undone*, bhūtabhavyām *past and future*, keçaçmaçrū *hair and beard*, oṣadhivanaspatī *plants and trees*, candratārakām *moon and stars*, ahinakulam *snake and ichneumon*, girogrīvam *head and neck*, yūkamakṣikamatkuṣam *lice, flies, and bugs.*

1254. a. That a stem in *r* as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in *ā*, was noticed above, 1250 f.

b. A stem as final member is sometimes changed to an *a*-form to make a neuter collective: thus, chattropānaham *an umbrella and a shoe.*

c. The grammarians give rules as to the order of the elements composing a copulative compound: thus, that a more important, a briefer, a vowel-initial member should stand first; and that one ending in *a* should be placed last. Violations of them all, however, are not infrequent.

1255. In the oldest language (RV.), copulative compounds such as appear later are quite rare, the class being chiefly represented by dual combinations of the names of divinities and other personages, and of personified natural objects.

a. In these combinations, each name has regularly and usually the dual form, and its own accent; but, in the very rare instances (only three occurrences out of more than three hundred) in which other cases than the nom.-acc.-voc. are formed, the final member only is inflected.

b. Examples are: indrāsómā, indrāviṣṇū, indrabḥaspātī, agnī-ṣómāu, turvāçayādū, dyāvāpṛthivī, uṣṣṣānāktā (add, with intervening words, nāktā ... uṣṣṣā), sūryāmāsā. The only plural is indramarutas (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are mitrāvārunābhyām and mitrāvārunayos (also mitrāyor vārunayoh), and indrāvārunayos (each once only).

c. From dyāvāpṛthivī is made the very peculiar genitive divāspṛthivyōs (4 times: AV. has dyāvāpṛthivībhyām and dyāvāpṛthivyōs).

d. In one compound, parjanya-vātā, the first member (RV., once) does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (indranā-satyā, voc., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present: thus, indrapūṣṇós (beside indrapūṣṇā), somāpūṣābhyām (somāpūṣṇā occurs only as voc.), vātāparjanya, sūryācandramāsā, and indrāgni (*with indrāgnībhyām and indrāgnyōs): somārudrāū is accented only

in ÇB. And in one, *indravāyū*, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

b. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural *ajāvāyas*, the duals *ṛksāmé*, *satyānté*, *sācanāsaçané*; also the neuter collective *iṣṭāpūrtām*, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, *nīlalohitām*. Further, the neuter plurals *ahorātrāṇi nycthemera*, and *ukthārkā* *praises and songs*, of which the final members as independent words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single occurrence.

1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more nearly accordant with that of the classical language, save that the class of neuter singular collectives is almost wanting.

a. The words with double dual form are only a small minority (a quarter, instead of three quarters, as in RV.); and half of them have only a single accent, on the final: thus, besides those in RV., *bhavārudrāū*, *bhavāçarvāū*; *agnāviṣṇū*, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is more than double that in RV.

b. The only proper neuter collectives, composed of two nouns, are *koçaçmaçrū* *hair and beard*, *āñjanābhyañjanām* *salve and ointment*, and *kaçipūpabarhaṇām* *mat and pillow*, unified because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulars, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.): *kṛtākṛtām* *what is done and undone* (instead of *what is done and what is undone*), *cittā-kūtām* *thought and desire*, *bhadrāpām* *good and evil*, *bhūtabhavyām* *past and future*.

1257. Copulative compounds composed of adjectives which retain their adjective character are made in the same manner, but are in comparison rare.

a. Examples are: *çuklakṛṣṇa* *light and dark*, *sthalaajāudaka* *terrestrial and aquatic*, *dāntarājatasānuvarṇa* *of ivory and silver and gold* used distributively; and *vṛttapīṇa* *round and plump*, *çāntānukūla* *tranquil and propitious*, *hr̥ṣṭasragrajoḥina* *wearing fresh garlands and free from dust*, *niçekādiçmaçānānta* *beginning with conception and ending with burial*, used cumulatively; *nā* *tiçitoṣṇa* *not over cold or hot*, used alternatively; *ksanadr̥ṣṭanaṣṭa* *seen for a moment and then lost*, *cintitopasthita* *at hand as soon as thought of*, in more pregnant sense.

b. In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative *nīlalohitā* and *iṣṭāpūrtā* etc., used in the neut. sing. as collectives (as pointed out above), with *tāmrādhūmrā* *dark tawny*; and the distributive *dakṣiṇasavyā* *right and left*, *saptamāṣṭamā* *seventh and eighth*, and *bhadrāpā* *good and bad* (beside the corresponding neut. collective). Such combinations as *satyānté* *truth and falsehood*, *priyāpriyāṇi* *things*

agreeable and disagreeable, where each component is used substantively, are, of course, not to be separated from the ordinary noun-compounds.

c. A special case is that of the compound adjectives of direction: as *uttarapūrva north-east*, *prāgdakṣiṇa south-east*, *dakṣiṇapaścima south-west*, etc.: compare 1291 b.

1258. In accented texts, the copulative compounds have uniformly the accent (acute) on the final of the stem.

a. Exceptions are a case or two in AV., where doubtless the reading is false: thus, *vātāparjanya* (once: beside *-nyāya*), *devamanuṣya* (once: ÇB. *-syā*), *brahmarājanyābhyām* (also VS.); further, *vāko-pavākyā* (ÇB.), *aṣanāyāpipāse* (ÇB.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, *āhardivi day by day*, *sāyamprātar at evening and in the morning*. They have the accent of their prior member. Later occur also *bāhyantar*, *pratyagdakṣiṇā*, *pratyagudak*.

1260. Repeated words. In all ages of the language, nouns and pronouns and adjectives and particles are not infrequently repeated, to give an intensive, or a distributive, or a repetitional meaning.

a. Though these are not properly copulative compounds, there is no better connection in which to notice them than here. They are, as the older language shows, a sort of compound, of which the prior member has its own independent accent, and the other is without accent: hence they are most suitably and properly written (as in the Vedic *paṇa*-texts) as compounds. Thus: *jahy eṣāṁ vāraṁ-varam slay of them each best man*; *divé-dive or dyāvi-dyavi from day to day*; *āṅgād-āṅgāḥ lómno-lomnaḥ párvani-parvani from every limb, from every hair, in each joint*; *prá-pra yajñápatim tira make the master of the sacrifice live on and on*; *bhūyo-bhūyaḥ qvāḥ-qvāḥ further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow*; *ékayāi-kayā with in each case one*; *vāyām-vayam our very selves*.

b. Exceptional and rare cases are those of a personal verb-form repeated: thus, *pibā-piba* (RV.), *yājasva-yajasva* (ÇB.), *vēda-vēda* (? ÇB.);—and of two words repeated: thus, *yāvad vā-yāvad vā* (ÇB.), *yatamé vā-yatame vā* (ÇB.).

c. In a few instances, a word is found used twice in succession without that loss of accent the second time which makes the repetition a virtual composite: thus, *nū nū* (RV.), *sām sām* (AV.), *ihé 'há* (AV.), *anāya- 'nāyā* (ÇB.), *stuhí stuhí* (RV., acc. to *pada*-text).

d. The class of combinations here described is called by the native grammarians *āmreḍita added unto* (?).

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, *ékādaça 11*, *dvāviṅcati 22*, *triṅcata 103*, *cātuṣṣahasra 1004*, and so on (476 ff.), as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accented on the prior member.

II. Determinative Compounds.

1262. A noun or adjective is often combined into a compound with a preceding determining or qualifying word — a noun, or adjective, or adverb. Such a compound is conveniently called determinative.

1263. This is the class of compounds which is of most general and frequent occurrence in all branches of Indo-European language. Its two principal divisions have been already pointed out: thus, A. Dependent compounds, in which the prior member is a substantive word (noun or pronoun or substantively used adjective), standing to the other member in the relation of a case dependent on it; and B. Descriptive compounds, in which the prior member is an adjective, or other word having the value of an adjective, qualifying a noun; or else an adverb or its equivalent, qualifying an adjective. Each of these divisions then falls into two sub-divisions, according as the final member, and therefore the whole compound, is a noun or an adjective.

a. The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians *tatpuruṣa* (the term is a specimen of the class, meaning *his man*); and the second division, the descriptives, has the special name of *karmadhāraya* (of obscure application: the literal sense is something like *office-hearing*). After their example, the two divisions are in European usage widely known by these two names respectively.

A. Dependent Compounds.

1264. Dependent Noun-compounds. In this division, the case-relation of the prior member to the other may be of any kind; but, in accordance with the usual relations of one noun to another, it is oftenest genitive, and least often accusative.

a. Examples are: of genitive relation, *devasenā* *army of gods*, *yamadūtā* *Yama's messenger*, *jīvalokā* *the world of the living*, *indra-*

dhanús *Indra's bow*, *brahmagavī* *the Brahman's cow*, *viṣagīrī* *poison-mountain*, *mitralābha* *acquisition of friends*, *mūrkhaṣatāni* *hundreds of fools*, *virasenasuta* *Virasena's son*, *rājendra* *chief of kings*, *asmat-putrās* *our sons*, *tadvacas* *his words*; — of dative, *pādodaka* *water for the feet*, *māsanicaya* *accumulation for a month*; — of instrumental, *ātmaśādr̥ṣya* *likeness with self*, *dhānyārtha* *wealth acquired by grain*, *dharmapatnī* *lawful spouse*, *pitṛbandhū* *paternal relation*; — of ablative, *apsaraḥsambhava* *descent from a nymph*, *madviyoga* *separation from me*, *cāurabhaya* *fear of a thief*; — of locative, *jalakriḍā* *sport in the water*, *grāmavāsa* *abode in the village*, *puruṣāṅṛta* *untruth about a man*; — of accusative, *nagaragamana* *going to the city*.

1265. **Dependent Adjective-compounds.** In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle, or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.

a. Examples are: of locative relation, *sthālīpakva* *cooked in a pot*, *aṣvakovidā* *knowing in horses*, *vayaḥsama* *alike in age*, *yudhiṣṭhira* *steadfast in battle*, *tanūqubhra* *beautiful in body*; — of instrumental, *mātṛśādr̥ṣa* *like his mother*; — of dative, *goḥita* *good for cattle*; — of ablative, *bhavadanya* *other than you*, *garbhāṣṭama* *eighth from birth*, *dṛṣyetara* *other than visible* (i. e. *invisible*); — of genitive, *bharataḥreṣṭha* *best of the Bharatas*, *dviyottama* *foremost of Brahmanas*; — with participial words, in accusative relation, *vedavid* *Veda-knowing*, *annādā* *food-eating*, *tanūpāna* *body-protecting*, *satyavādīn* *truth-speaking*, *pattraḡata* *committed to paper* (lit. *gone to a leaf*); — in instrumental, *madhupū* *cleansing with honey*, *svayāṁkṛta* *self-made*, *īndragupta* *protected by Indra*, *vidyāhīna* *deserted by* (i. e. *destitute of*) *knowledge*; — in locative, *hṛdayāvidh* *pierced in the heart*, *ṛtvī* *sacrificing in due season*, *divicara* *moving in the sky*; — in ablative, *rājyabhraṣṭa* *fallen from the kingdom*, *vṛkabhīta* *afraid of a wolf*; — in dative, *ṣaraṇāgata* *come for refuge*.

1266. We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialities of formation and use, their relative frequency, their accentuation, and so on.

1267. Compounds having as final member ordinary nouns (such, namely, as do not distinctly exhibit the character of verbal nouns, of action or agency) are quite common. They are regularly and usually accented on the final syllable, without reference to the accent of either constituent. Examples were given above (1264 a).

a. A principal exception with regard to accent is *pāti master, lord* (and its feminine *pātnī*), compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, *prajāpati, vāsupati, ātithipati, gōpati, gṛhāpatnī*, etc. etc. (compare the verbal nouns in *ti*, below, 1274). But in a few words *pāti* retains its own accent: thus, *viṣpāti, rayipāti, paṣupāti, vasupātnī*, etc.; and the more general rule is followed in *apsarāpatī* and *vṛājapatī* (AV.), and *nadipatī* (VS.), *citpatī* (MS.; elsewhere *citpāti*).

b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, *janarājan, deva-vārman, hiraṇyatējas, pṛtanāhava, godhūma* and *ṣakadhūma* (but *dhūmā*); *vācāstena*.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are *dīvodāsa, vācāstena, uccāṇṇṇravasa, uccāṇṇṇhoṣa, dūrēbhāsa* (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, *ṣācīpāti, sādaspāti, bṛhaspāti, vānaspāti, rāthaspāti, jāspāti* (also *jāspati*), *nārāṇāsa, tānūnāptṛ, tānūnāpāt* (*tanū* as independent word), *ṣūnaḥṣēpa*. And ÇB. has a long list of metonymies having the anomalous accentuation *kāṁsīpūtra, gārgīpūtra*, etc.

1268. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are (as already noticed) comparatively few.

a. So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member: thus, *gāvīṣṭhira* (AV *gāvīṣṭhira*), *tanūcubhra, māderaghu, yajñādhīra, sāmavipra, tilāmīṣra* (but *tīla*); but *kṛṣṭapacyā ripening in cultivated soil*.

1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root—or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added *t*—are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, 383 f-h, 1147). They are accented on the root.

a. In a very few instances, the accent of words having apparently or conjecturally this origin is otherwise laid: thus, *ānātra, ānarviṣ, svāvrj, pratyākṣadṛṣ, pūramdhi, ṣṣadhi, āramiṣ, uṣādagh, vatsāpa, ābda*.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, *patamgā, girāvṛdh, dhīyājūr, akṣayādrūh, hr̥dispṛṣ, divispṛṣ, vanasāh, diviṣād, aṅgeṣṭhā, hr̥tsavās, pṛtsutūr, apsnjā*.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, *manoyūj yoked (yoking themselves) by the will, hr̥dayāvīdh pierced to the heart, manuja born of Manu*.

1270. Compounds made with verbal derivatives in *a*, both of action and of agency, are numerous, and take the accent usually on their final syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1148 m).

a. Examples are: *hastagrābhā* *hand-grasping*, *devavandā* *god-praising*, *havidradā* *devouring the offering*, *bhuvanacyavā* *shaking the world*, *vrātyabruvā* *calling one's self a vrātya*; *akṣaparājayā* *failure at play*, *vaṣaṭkāra* *utterance of vaṣaṭ*, *gopoṣā* *prosperity in cattle*, *aṅgajvarā* *pain in the limbs*.

b. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, 1268) that of the prior member: thus, *marūdvr̥dha*, *sutākara*, *divicara* (and other more questionable words). And *dūgha* *milking*, *yielding* is so accented as final: thus, *madhudūgha*, *kāmadūgha*.

c. Case-forms are especially frequent in the prior members of compounds with adjective derivatives in a showing *guṇa*-strengthening of the root: thus, for example, *abhayam̐karā*, *yudhim̐gamā*, *dhanam̐jayā*, *puram̐darā*, *viṇvambharā*, *divākerā*, *talpeṇayā*, *diviṣṭambhā*.

1271. Compounds with verbal nouns and adjectives in *ana* are very numerous, and have the accent always on the radical syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1150 e).

a. Examples are: *keçavārdhana* *hair-increasing*, *āyuspratāraṇa* *life-lengthening*, *tanūpāna* *body-protecting*; *devahēḍana* *hatred of the gods*, *pumsūvana* *giving birth to males*.

b. A very few apparent exceptions as regards accent are really cases where the derivative has lost its verbal character: thus, *yamasādanā* *Yama's realm*, *āchādvidhāna* *means of protection*.

c. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in *ana*: thus, *sarūpam̐pāraṇa*, *ayakṣmam̐karāṇa*, *subhāgam̐karāṇa*, *vanam̐karāṇa*.

1272. a. The action-nouns in *ya* (1213) are not infrequent in composition as final member, and retain their own proper accent (as in combination with prefixes). Sufficient examples were given above (1213).

b. The same is true of the equivalent feminines in *yā*: see above, 1213 d.

c. The gerundives in *ya* (1213) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two *nīvibhāryā* and *prathamavāsyā* (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; *balavijñāyā* and *āçvabudhya* (?) are inconsistent with these and with one another.

1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in *ta* or *na* have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: 1085 a).

a. Examples are: *hastakṛta* *made with the hand*, *vīrajāta* *born of a hero*, *ghoṣabuddha* *arakened by noise*, *prajāpatiaṣṭa* *created by Prajāpati*, *devāṭta* *given by the gods*; and, of participles combined with prefixes. *īndraprasūta* *incited by Indra*, *bṛhaspātīpraçutta* *driven away by Bṛhaspati*, *ulkābhīhata* *struck by a thunderbolt*, *vājravihata*, *sahvat-*

sarāsammita commensurate with the year. AV. has the anomalous apsu-sarñçita quickened by the waters.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, agnitaptā, indrotā, pitṛvittā, rathakṛitā, agnidagdā (beside agnidagdha), kaviçastā (beside kavī-çasta), kavipraçastā.

c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle gata, gone to, as final of a compound, is used in a loose way in the later language to express relation of various kinds: thus, jagatigata existing in the world, tvadgata belonging to thee, sakhigata relating to a friend, citragata in a picture, putragataṁ aneṣam affection toward a son, etc. The participle bhūta been, become is used in composition with a noun as hardly more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form: thus, idaṁ tamobhūtam this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness); tāṁ ratnabhūtāṁ lokasya her, being the pearl of the world; kṣetrabhūtā smṛtā nārī bījabhūtaṁ smṛtaṁ puṁān a woman is regarded as a field; a man, as seed; and so on.

d. The other participles only seldom occur as finals of compounds: thus, prāsakārmukabibhrat bearing javelin and bow, açāstravidvāṁs not knowing the text-books, arjunadarçivāṁs having seen Arjuna, apriya-çakṣivāṁs announcing what is disagreeable, gāutamabruvāṇā calling himself Gautama.

1274. Compounds with derivatives in ti have (like combinations with the prefixes: 1157 e) the accent of the prior member.

a. Examples are: dhānasāti winning of wealth, sōmapīti soma-drinking, devāhūti invocation of the gods, nāmaūkti utterance of homage, havyādāti presentation of offerings; and so tokāsāti, devāhiti, rudrāhūti, sūktōkti, svagākṛti, diviṣṭi.

b. In nemādḥiti, medhāsāti, vanādḥiti (all RV.), the accent of the prior member is changed from penult to final.

c. Where the verbal character of the derivative is lost, the general rule of final accent (1267) is followed: thus, devaheti weapon of the gods, devasumatī favor of the gods, brahmaciti Brahman-pile. Also in sarvajyānī entire ruin, the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.

1275. Compounds with a derivative in in as final member have (as in all other cases) the accent on the in.

a. Thus, ukthaçarṇin psalm-singing, vrataçārīn cow-performing, ṛṣabhadāyīn bullock-giving, satyavādīn truth-speaking, çronipratodīn thigh-pounding.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in i, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

a. Thus, pathirākṣi road-protecting, havirmāthi sacrifice-disturbing, ātmadūṣi soul-harming, pathiçādi sitting in the path, sahoḥhāri strength-

bearing, *vasuvāni* winning good-things, *dhanasāni* gaining wealth, *mano-mūṣi* mind-stealing, *phalagrāhi* setting fruit; and, from reduplicated root, *urucākri* making room. Compounds with -sāni and -vāni are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmaṇa; as independent words, nouns, these are accented *sāni* and *vāni*. In many cases, the words are not found in independent use. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient number to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155 f).

b. From *yhan* are made in composition -ghni and -ghni, with accent on the ending: thus, *sahasraghni*, *ahighni*, *ṣvaghni*; -dhi from *ydhā* (1155 g) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, *iṣudhi*, *garbhadhi*, *pucchadhi*.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in *van* have (like combinations with prefixes: 1169 c) the accent of the final member: namely, on the radical syllable.

a. Thus, *somapāvan* soma-drinking, *baladāvan* strength-giving, *pāpakṣtvān* evil-doing, *bahusūvan* much-yielding, *talpaṣṭvān* lying on a couch, *rathayāvan* going in a chariot, *drusādvan* sitting on a tree, *agretvāri* f. going at the head. The accent of the obscure words *mātariṣvan* and *mātariḥvan* is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final *man* appear to follow the same rule as those with *van*: thus, *svāduḥśādman* sharing out sweets, *āṣuḥśman* steed-impelling.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in *u*, *rāṣṭradipsu*, *devapiyū*, *govindū*, *vanargū* (?); compare 1178 e; — in *nu* or *tnu*, *lokakṣtnū*, *surūpakṣtnū*: compare 1196; — in *tr*, *nṛpātṭ*, *mandhātṭ*, *haskartṭ* (*vasudhātara*s, AV., is doubtless a false reading). The derivatives in *as* are of infrequent occurrence in composition (as in combination with prefixes: above, 1151 k), and appear to be treated as ordinary nouns: thus, *yajñasvacās* (but *hiraṇyatéjas*, AV.).

B. Descriptive Compounds.

1279. In this division of the class of determinatives, the prior member stands to the other in no distinct case-relation, but qualifies it adjectively or adverbially, according as it (the final member) is noun or adjective.

a. Examples are: *nilotpālā* blue lotus, *sarvagūṇa* all good quality, *priyasakha* dear friend, *maharṣi* great-sage, *rajatapētrā* silver cup; *ājñāta* unknown, *sūkṣṭa* well done, *duṣkṛt* ill-doing, *puruṣṭatā* much praised, *pūnarṇava* renewed.

b. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun or

an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used adjectively and adverbially in that position.

c. The boundary between descriptive and dependent compounds is not an absolute one; in certain cases it is open to question, for instance, whether a prior noun, or adjective with noun-value, is used more in a case-relation, or adverbially.

d. Moreover, where the final member is a derivative having both noun and adjective value, it is not seldom doubtful whether an adjective compound is to be regarded as descriptive, made with final adjective, or possessive, made with final noun. Sometimes the accent of the word determines its character in this respect, but not always.

e. A satisfactorily simple and perspicuous classification of the descriptive compounds is not practicable; we cannot hold apart throughout the compounds of noun and of adjective value, but may better group both together, as they appear with prefixed elements of various kinds.

1280. The simplest case is that in which a noun as final member is preceded by a qualifying adjective as prior member.

a. In this combination, both noun and adjective may be of any kind, verbal or otherwise. The accent is (as in the corresponding class of dependent noun-compounds: 1267) on the final syllable.

b. Thus, *ajñātayakṣmā unknown disease*, *mahādhanā great wealth*, *kṣipracçyenā swift hawk*, *kṛṣṇaṣakunī black bird*, *dakṣiṇāgnī southern fire*, *urukṣitī wide abode*, *adharahanū lower jaw*, *itarajanā other folks*, *sarvātmān whole soul*, *ekavīrā sole hero*, *ṣaptaraṣī seven sages*, *tṛtīya-savanā third libation*, *ekonaviṃṣatī a score diminished by one*, *jāgrat-svapnā waking sleep*, *yāvayatsakhā defending friend*, *apakṣīyamāṇa-pakṣa waning half*.

c. There are not a few exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with *viçva* (in composition, accented *viçvā*), which itself retains the accent: thus, *viçvādevās all the gods*, *viçvāmānuṣa every man*. For words in *ti*, see below, 1287 d. Sporadic cases are *madhyāhndina*, *vṛṣākapi*, both of which show an irregular shift of tone in the prior member; and a few others.

d. Instead of an adjective, the prior member is in a few cases a noun used appositionally, or with a quasi-adjective value. Thus, *rājayakṣmā king-disease*, *brahmaraṣī priest-sage*, *rājarāṣī king-sage*, *rājadanta king-tooth*, *devajana god-folk*, *duhitṛjana daughter-person*, *çamīlatā creeper named çamī*, *muṣikākhyā the name "mouse"*, *jaya-çabda the word "conquer"*, *ujhitaçabda the word "deserted"*; or, more figuratively, *gṛhanaraka house-hell (house which is a hell)*, *çāpāgni curser-fire (consuming curse)*.

e. This group is of consequence, inasmuch as in possessive application

it is greatly extended, and forms a numerous class of appositional compounds: see below, 1298.

f. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, 1298.

1281. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, a or an, su, dus, etc. (1121). These are combined not only with adjectives, but also, in quasi-adjectival value, with nouns; and the two classes of combinations will best be treated together.

1282. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (1141), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter. In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1283. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in ant (or at), māna, āna, vāns — are only rarely compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative a or an, which then takes the accent.

a. Examples are: ānadant, ādadat, ānaṇant, āsnavant, ālubh-yant, ādāsyant, āditsant, ādevayant; āmanyamāna, āhiṣāna, āchidyamāna; ādadivāns, ābibhivāns, āstathāna; and, with verbal prefixes, ānapasphurant, ānāgamiṣyant, ānabhyāgamiṣyant, āvirādhayant, āvicācalat, āpratimanyūyamāna.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: arundhatī, ajārantī, acodant (RV., once; doubtless a false reading; the simple participle is cōdant); AV. has anipādyamāna for RV. ānipadyamāna (and the published text has asaṁyant, with a part of the manuscripts); ÇB. has akamāyamāna.

c. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda -punardīyamāna (in āpunard-) and śūvidvāns. In alālābhāvant and jāñjanābhāvant RV., as in astamīyant and astameṣyant (AV.), we have participles of a compound conjugation (1091), in which, as has been pointed out, the accent is as in combinations with the verbal prefixes.

1284. The passive (or past) participle in *ta* or *na* is much more variously compounded; and in general (as in the case of the verbal prefixes: 1085a) the preceding adverbial element has the accent.

a. Thus, with the negative *a* or *an* (by far the most common case): *ākṛta*, *ādabdhā*, *āriṣṭa*, *ānādhṛṣṭa*, *āparājita*, *āsaṁkhyāta*, *ānabhyārūḍha*, *āparimitasamṛddha*; — with *su*, *sūjāta*, *sūhuta*, *sūsaṁgīta*, *svāraṁkṛta*; — with *dus*, *dūṣeṣita*, *dūrdhita* and *dūrhita*, *dūhṛṣṭa*; — with other adverbial words, *dāṁsujāta*, *nāvajāta*, *sānaḥṛta*, *svayāṁkṛta*, *trīpratīṣṭhita*: *āraṁkṛta* and *kakajākṛta* are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with *a* or *an*, *anāçastā*, *apraçastā*, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, *amṛta*, *adṛṣṭa*, *acīta*, *ayūta* *myriad*, *atūrta* (beside *ātūrta*), *asūrta* (beside *sūrta*); — with *su* (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), *subhūtā*, *sūktā*, *supraçastā*, *svākta*, *sukṛtā* and *suçātā* (beside *sūkṛta* and *sūçātā*), and a few others; with *dus* (quite as numerous as the regular cases), *duritā* (also *dūrta*), *duruktā*, *duṣkṛtā* (also *dūṣkṛta*), *durbhūtā*; with *sa*, *sajātā*; with other adverbs, *amotā*, *ariṣṭutā*, *tuviçātā*, *prācinopavitā*, *tadānūdhugdhā*, *prāstardugdhā*, etc., and the compounds with *puru*, *puruçātā*, *puruprajātā*, *purupraçastā*, *puruṣutā*, etc., and with *svayam*, *svayāṁkṛtā* etc. The proper name *açādhā* stands beside *āçādhā*; and AV. has *abhinnā* for RV. *ābhinnā*.

1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable.

a. Examples are: *anāpyā*, *anindyā*, *abudhyā*, *asahyā*, *ayodhyā*, *amokyā*; *adviṣeṣyā*; *ahnavāyyā*; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are *asaṁkhyeyā*, *apramiṣyā*, *anapaviṣyā*, *anatyudyā*, *anādhṛṣyā*, *avimokyā*, *anānukṛtyā* (the accent of the simple word being *saṁkhyeya* etc.).

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: *ānedyā*, *ādābhyā*, *āgohyā*, *ājocyā*, *āyabhyā*. The two *anavadharsyā* and *anativyādhyā* (both AV.) belong to the *yā*-division (1213b) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And *āghnyā* and *aghnyā* occur together.

c. The only compounds of these words with other adverbial elements in V, are *sūyabhyā* (accented like its twin *āyabhyā*) and *prathamavāsyā* (which retains the final circumflex), and perhaps *ekavādyā*.

d. The neuter nouns of the same form (1213c: except *sadhāstatyā*) retain their own accent after an adverbial prior member: thus, *pūrvapāyā*, *pūrvapēyā*, *amutrabhūyā*; and *sahagēyā*. And the negatived gerundives instanced above are capable of being viewed as possessive compounds with such nouns.

e. Some of the other verbal derivatives which have rules of their own as to accent etc. may be next noticed.

1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with *t* added after a short final vowel: 1147d) is very often combined with a preceding adverbial word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent.

a. Examples are: with inseparable prefixes, *adrūh* not harming, *asū* not giving birth, *arūc* not shining; *sukṛt* well-doing, *suqrāt* hearing well; *duṣkṛt* ill-doing, *dūḍāq* (199d) impious; *sayūj* joining together, *samād* conflict, *sahajā* born together, *sahavāh* carrying together; — with other adverbs, *amājūr* growing old at home, *upariṣṭq* touching upward, *punarbhū* appearing again, *prātaryūj* harnessed early, *sadyaḥkrī* bought the same day, *sākamvṛdh* growing up together, *sadaṁdī* ever-binding, *viśūvṛt* turning to both sides, *vṛthāsāh* easily overcoming; — with adjectives used adverbially, *uruvyāc* wide-spreading, *prathamajā* first-born, *ṣukrapīṣ* brightly adorned, *dvijā* twice born, *trivṛt* triple, *svarāj* self-ruling; — with nouns used adverbially, *ṣambhū* beneficent, *sūryaqrīt* shining like the sun, *īṣānakṛt* acting as lord, *avayambhū* self-existent; and, with accusative case-form, *patamgā* going by flight.

b. When, however, a root-stem is already in composition, whether with a verbal prefix or an element of other character, the further added negative itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective; below, 1288a): thus, for example, *ānākṣit* not abiding, *ānāvṛt* not turning back, *āvidvīṣ* not showing hostility, *āduṣkṛt* not ill-doing, *ānaqvadā* not giving a horse, *āpaṣuhan* not slaying cattle, (*anāgās* would be an exception, if it contained *vgā*: which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with *su* seem to retain the radical accent: thus, *supratūr*, *svābhū*, *svāyūj*: *svāvṛj* is an unsupported exception.

c. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as *prātiprāq*, *sadhāstha*, *ādhrigu*, and the words having *āñc* as final member (407 ff.: if this element is not, after all, a suffix): compare 1289a.

1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. Thus:

a. The derivatives in *a* are in great part of doubtful character, because of the possibility of their being used with substantive value to make a possessive compound. The last ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148j), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, *asunvā*, *apaṣyā*, *akṣudhyā*, *avidasyā*, *anāmṛpā*, *sadāpṛpā*, *punarmanyā*; and with them belong such cases as *atṛpā*, *avṛdhā*, *aramgamā*, *urukramā*, *evāvadā*, *satrāsahā*, *punaḥsarā*, *purahsarā*; and the nouns *sāyam-bhavā*, *sahacārā*, *prātaḥsāvā*, *mithoyodhā*. Differently accented, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as *ānapasphura*, *ānavahvara* (compare the compounds noticed at 1286b). *sadāvṛdha*, *sūbharva*, *nyagródha*, *puroḍāqa*, *sadhamāda*, *sudūgha*, *supāca*, *suhāva*, and others. Words like *adābha*, *durhāqa*, *sukāra*, *suயāma*, are probably possessives.

b. The derivatives in *van* keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1189 c, 1277): thus, *ācupātvan* and *raghupātvan* *swift-flying*, *puroyāvan* *going in front*, *sukṭivan* *well-doing*; and *sutārman* and *suvāhman* and *raghuyāman* are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before these: thus, *āyajvan*, *ārāvan*, *āprayutvan*; and *satyāmadvan* (if it be not possessive) has the accent of its prior member.

c. A few words in *i* seem to have (as in dependent compounds: 1276) the accent on the radical syllable: thus, *durgṛbhi*, *ṛjuvāni*, *turiṣvāni*.

d. The derivatives in *ti* are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as, *ācitti*, *ābhūti*, *ānāhūti*; with *su* and *du*, the compound is accented now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on either (*sūniti* and *suniti*, *dūṣṭuti* and *dusṭuti*); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, *sāhuti*, *sadhāstuti*, *pūrōhiti*, *pūrvāpiti*, *pūrvyāstuti*.

e. The derivatives in *in* have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, *pūrvāsān*, *bahucārīn*, *sādhudevin*, *savāsān*, *kevalādīn*. But with the negative prefix, *ānāmin*, *āvitārīn*.

f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accented texts, to justify the setting up of rules respecting them.

1288. Of the remaining combinations, those made with the inseparable prefixes form in some measure a class by themselves.

1. a. The negative prefix *a* or *an*, when it directly negatives the word to which it is added, has a very decided tendency to take the accent.

b. We have seen above (1283) that it does so even in the case of present and perfect and future participles, although these in combination with a verbal prefix retain their own accent (1085: but there are exceptions, as *avadānt*, *apaṣyānt*, etc. (B.)); and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286 b). And the same is true of its other combinations.

c. Thus, with various adjective words: *ātandra*, *ādabhra*, *ādāquri*, *ānṛju*, *ādevayu*, *ātrṇaj*, *ātavyāns*, *ānāmin*, *ādvayāvin*, *āpracetas*, *ānapatyavant*, *ānupadaśvant*, *āpramāyuka*, *āmamri*, *āprajāñi*, *āvididhaya*, *ānagnidagha*, *ākāmakaṛṇa*, *āpaṣṣaddaghvan*. Further, with nouns, *āpati*, *ākumāra*, *ābrāhmaṇa*, *āvidyā*, *ācṛaddhā*, *āvrātya*.

d. But there are a number of exceptions, in which the accent is on the final syllable, without regard to the original accentuation of the final member: thus, for example, *acitrā*, *aṇṇirā*, *aviprā*, *ayajñīyā*, *anāsmākā*, *anāhūrī*, *anācū*, *ajarayū*, *anāmayitnū*; and in *amitra* *enemy*, and *avira* *unmanly*, there is a retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.

2. e. The prefixes *su* and *du* have this tendency in a much less degree, and their compounds are very variously accented, now on the prefix, now on the final syllable, now on the accented syllable of the final member; and occasionally on either of two syllables.

f. Thus, for example, *sūbhadra*, *sūvipra*, *sūpakva*, *sūbrāhmaṇa*, *sūbhijaḥ*; *sutīrthā*, *suvasanā*, *suśārathī*, *supācā*, *sucitrā*; *suçéva*, *subōtṛ*: *suvíra* is like *avíra*; — *durmitrá*, *duḥśvápnya*; and *duccúnā* (168 b), with irregular retraction of accent (*ḥunā*).

3. g. The compounds with *sa* are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention; and those with the interrogative prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Veda; examples are *kucará*, *kāpayá*, *kābandha*, *kunannamá*, *kumará*, *kūyava*, *kuśáva*.

1289. The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.

a. Examples of such combinations are not numerous in the Veda. Their accentuation is various, though the tone rests oftener on the preposition. Thus *ádhipati* *over-lord*, *áparūpa* *mis-form*, *prātigatru* *opposing foe*, *prápada* *fore part of foot*, *prāpāt* *great-grandchild*, *vīpakva* *quite done*, *sāmpriya* *mutually dear*; *upajihvikā* *side tongue* (with retraction of the accent of *jihvā*); *antardeśā* *intermediate direction*, *pradīv* *forward heaven*, *prapitāmahā* (also '*prāpitāmaha*') *great-grandfather*, *pratijana* *opponent*, *vyadhvā* *midway*. These compounds are more frequent with possessive value (below, 1305).

b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some of them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, *ati* denotes excess, as in *atidūra* *very far*, *atibhaya* *exceeding fear*, *ātipūruṣa* (ÇB.) *chief man*; *adhi*, superiority, as in *adhidanta* *upper-tooth* *adhistrī* *chief woman*; *abhi* is intensive, as in *abhinamra* *much inclining*, *abhinava* *span-new*, *abhirucira* *delightful*; *ā* signifies *somewhat*, as in *ākuṭila* *somewhat crooked*, *ānīla* *bluish*; *upa* denotes something accessory or secondary, as in *upapurāṇa* *additional Purāṇa*; *pari*, excess as in *paridurbala* *very weak*; *prati*, opposition, as in *pratipakṣa* *opposing side*, *pratipustaka* *copy*; *vī*, variation or excess, as in *vidūra* *very far*, *vīpāṇḍu* *greyish*, *vīkṣudra* *respectively small*; *sam*, completeness, as in *sampakva* *quite ripe*.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irregularly accented.

Thus, the compounds with *puru*, on the final (compare the participles with *puru*, 1284 b): as, *purudasmā*, *purupriyā*, *puruṣcandrā*; those with *pūnar*, on the prior member, as *pūnarṇava*, *pūnarṇagha*, *pūnar-yuvan*, *pūnarvasu* (but *punaḥsará* etc.); those with *satās*, *satīnā*, *satyā*, the same, as *satómahant*, *satīnāmanyu*, *satyāmugra*; a few combinations of nouns in *ṭṛ* and *ana* with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as *puraśēṭṭṛ*, *puraśethātṭṛ*, *upariçayanā*, *prātaḥsavānā*; and miscellaneous cases are *mithōavadyapa*, *hāriçcandra*, *ālpacayu*, *sādhvaryā*, *yācchreṣṭhā* and *yāvaccchreṣṭhā*, *jyogāmayāvin*.

1291. One or two exceptional cases may be noted, as follows:

a. An adjective is sometimes preceded by a noun standing toward it in a quasi-adverbial relation expressive of comparison or likeness: e. g. *çukababhru* (V8.) *parrot-brown*, *ūrṇāmṛdu* (TB.) *soft as wool*, *prāṇa-priya* *dear as life*, *kuççayavañomṛdu* *soft as lotus-pollen*, *bakālīna* *hidden like a heron*, *mattamātaṅgagāmin* *moving like a maddened elephant*.

b. An adjective is now and then qualified by another adjective: e. g. *kṛṣṇāṭa* *dark-gray*, *dhūmrāroḥita* *grayish red*: and compare the adjectives of intermediate direction, 1257 c.

c. The adjective *pūrva* is in the later language frequently used as final member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus, *dr̥ṣṭapūrva* *previously seen*, *parip̐tapūrva* *already married*, *aparip̐tāpūrva* *not before known*, *somap̐tapūrva* *having formerly drunk soma*, *striṭpūrva* *formerly a woman*.

III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.

1292. a. A compound having a noun as its final member very often wins secondarily the value of an adjective, being inflected in the three genders to agree with the noun which it qualifies, and used in all the constructions of an adjective.

b. This class of compounds, as was pointed out above (1247. III.), falls into the two divisions of A. Possessives, having their adjective character given them by addition of the idea of *possessing*; and B. those in which the final member is syntactically dependent on or governed by the prior member.

A. Possessive Compounds.

1293. The possessives are noun-compounds of the preceding class, determinatives, of all its various subdivisions, to which is given an adjective inflection, and which take on an adjective meaning of a kind which is most conveniently and accurately defined by adding *having* or *possessing* to the meaning of the determinative.

a. Thus: the dependent *sūryatejās* *sun's brightness* becomes the

possessive *sūryatejas* *possessing the brightness of the sun*; *yajñākāmā* *desire of sacrifice* becomes *yajñākāma* *having desire of sacrifice*; the descriptive *bṛhadratha* *great chariot* becomes the possessive *bṛhadratha* *having great chariots*; *āhastā* *not hand* becomes *ahastā* *handless*; *durghandī* *ill savor* becomes *durgāndhī* *of ill savor*; and so on.

b. A copulative compound is not convertible into an adjective directly, any more than is a simple noun, but requires, like the latter, a possessive suffix or other means: e. g. *vāgghastavant*, *doṣaguṇin*, *rajastamaśka*, *āgirogriva*, *aṅgyajus*. A very small number of exceptions, however, are found: thus, *somendrā* (TS.), *stōmaprṣṭha* (VS. TS.), *hastyṛṣabha* (ÇB.), *dāśiniṣka* (ChU.), and, later, *cakramusala*, *sadānanda*, *saccidānanda*, *sāṅkhyayoga* (as n. pr.), *balābala*, *bhūtabhāutika*.

c. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is *bahuvrīhi*: the word is an example of the class, meaning *possessing much rice*.

d. The name "relative", instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is an utter misnomer; since, though the meaning of such a compound (as of any attribute word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative which must be used: thus, *mahākavi* and *āyurdā*, descriptive and dependent, are "relative" also, *who is a great poet*, and *that is life-giving*, but *bṛhadratha*, possessive, means *who has a great chariot*, or *whose is a great chariot*.

1294. a. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to another noun, in an opposite way, with a value virtually attributive, and that such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and application an adjective form also, is natural enough, and occurs in many languages; the peculiarity of the Sanskrit formation lies in two things. First, that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely extensible one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with noun-final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while *hasta* must become *hastin* and *bāhu* must become *bāhumant*, *hiranyahasta* and *mahābāhu* change from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, that the relation of the qualified noun to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, nor of any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction: that we may only say, for example, *mahābāhuḥ puruṣaḥ* *man with great arms*, and not also *mahābāhur maṇiḥ* *jewel for a great arm*, or *mahābāhavaḥ ṣākhāḥ* *branches like great arms*.

b. There are, however, in the older language a few derivative adjective compounds which imply the relation of appurtenance rather than that of possession, and which are with probability to be viewed as survivals of a state of things antecedent to the specialization of the general class as

possessive (compare the similar exceptions under possessive suffixes, 1230 g, 1233 f). Examples are: *viqṡānara* of or for all men, *belonging to all* (and so *viqṡākṛṣṭi*, -*carṣaṇi*, -*kṣiti*, -*gotra*, -*manuṣ*, -*āyu*, and *sarvāpaṇu*, *saptāmānuṣa*), *viqṡācārada* of every autumn, *vipathā* for bad roads, *dvirajā* [battle] of two kings, *aṇvappṛṣṭha* carried on horseback, *virāpastya* abiding with heroes, *pūrṇāmāsa* at full moon, *adēvaka* for no divinity, *bahudevata* or -*tyā* for many divinities, *aparisaṃhvatsara* not lasting a full year, *ekādaṣakapāla* for eleven dishes, *somendrā* for Soma and Indra. And the compounds with final member in *ana* mentioned at 1296 b are probably of the same character. But also in the later language, some of the so-called *dvigu*-compounds (1316) belong with these: so *dvigu* itself, as meaning *worth two cows*, *divināu* bought for two ships; also occasional cases like *devāsura* [*samgrāma*] of the gods and demons, *narahaya* of man and horse, *cakramusala* with discus of club, *gurutalpa* violating the teacher's bed.

1295. The possessive compound is distinguished from its substrate, the determinative, generally by a difference of accent. This difference is not of the same nature in all the divisions of the class; but oftenest, the possessive has as a compound the natural accent of its prior member as in most of the examples given above).

1296. Possessively used dependent compounds, or possessive dependents, are very much less common than those corresponding to the other division of determinatives.

a. Further examples are: *mayūraroman* having the plumes of peacocks, *agnītejas* having the brightness of fire, *jñātimukha* wearing the aspect of relatives, *pātikāma* desiring a husband, *hastipāda* having an elephant's feet, *rājanyābandhu* having kshatriyas for relatives.

b. The accent is, as in the examples given, regularly that of the prior member, and exceptions are rare and of doubtful character. A few compounds with derivatives in *ana* have the accent of the final member: e. g. *indrapāna* serving as drink for Indra, *devasādana* serving as seat for the gods, *rayisthāna* being source of wealth; but they contain no implication of possession, and are possibly in character, as in accent, dependent (but compare 1294 b). Also a few in *as*, as *nṛcākṣas* men-beholding, *nṛvāhas* men-bearing, *kṣetrasādhas* field-prospering, are probably to be judged in the same way.

1297. Possessively used descriptive compounds, or possessive descriptives, are extremely numerous and of every variety of character; and some kinds of combination which are rare in proper descriptive use are very common as possessives.

a. They will be taken up below in order, according to the char-

acter of the prior member—whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

1298. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, 1280f) very much more common than descriptives of the same form.

a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member: thus, *anyārūpa* of other form, *ugrābāhu* having powerful arms, *jīvāputra* having living sons, *dīrghāqmagru* longbearded, *bṛhācchravas* of great renown, *bhūrimūla* many-rooted, *mahāvadha* bearing a great weapon, *viçvārūpa* having all forms, *gukrāvarṇa* of bright color, *çivābhimarçāna* of propitious touch, *satyāsandha* of true promises, *sārvāṅga* whole-limbed, *svāyaças* having own glory, *hāritasraj* wearing yellow garlands.

b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (a seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that of the final member; especially with derivatives in *as*, as *tuvirādhas*, *purupéças*, *pr̥thupákças*, and others in which (as above, 1298b) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, *urujráyas* beside *urujrī*, *uruvyáças* beside *uruvyác*, and so on; but also with those of other finals, as *ṛjuhāsta*, *çitikákça* etc., *kṛṇakārṇa*, *citradiçika*, *tuvigūṣma*, *ṛjukrátu*, *pr̥thupárçu*, *puruvártman*, *raghuyāman*, *viçupátman*. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, *añhubheda*, *tuvigrīva*, *puruvīra*, *pururūpa*, *çitibāhu* (also *çitibāhū*). The largest class is that of compounds which take the accent upon their final syllable (in part, of course, not distinguishable from those which retain the accent of the final member): for example, *bahvanná*, *nīlanakhá*, *puruputrá*, *viçvāṅgá*, *svapatí*, *tuvipratí*, *pr̥çniparṇí* f., *darçataçrī*, *pūtirajjū*, *asitajjū*, *pr̥thugmán*, *bahuprajás*.

c. The adjective *viçva* *all*, as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to *viçvá*; *sārva* *whole*, *all*, does the same in a few cases.

1299. Possessive compounds with a participle preceding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown. The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member.

a. The participle is oftenest the passive one, in *ta* or *na*. Thus, *chinñāpakça* with covered wing, *dhṛtārāṣṭra* of firmly held royalty, *hatāmātr̥* whose mother is slain, *iddhāgni* whose fire is kindled, *uttānāhata* with outstretched hand, *prāyatadakṣiṇa* having presented sacrificial gifts; and, with prefixed negative, *āriṣṭavīra* whose men are unharmed, *ātaptatana* of unburned substance, *ānabhimlātavarṇa* of untarnished color. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few; there have been noticed only *paryastākṣá*, *vyastakeçí* f., *achinnaparṇá*.

b. Examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the (accentuated) instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, *dyutádyāman*, *dhṛṣádvarṇa* etc., *ṣucádratha*, *rūṣadvatsa* etc., *bhṛājajjanman* etc., *saṁyádvira*, *stanáyadama*, *sádhadiṣṭi*; in the others, the accent is drawn forward to the final syllable of the participle (as in the compounds with governing participle: below, 1309): thus, *dravátpāṇi* etc. (*dravát* also occurs as adverb), *rapṣádūdhan*, *svanádratha*, *arcáddhūma*, *bhandádiṣṭi*, *krandádiṣṭi*. With these last agrees in form *jarádaṣṭi* *attaining old age, long-lived*; but its make-up, in view of its meaning, is anomalous.

c. The RV. has two compounds with the perfect middle participle as prior member: thus, *yuyujánásapti* *with harnessed coursers* (perhaps rather *having harnessed their coursers*), and *dadrṣānāpavi* (with regular accent, instead of *dádrṣāna*, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle) *with conspicuous wheel-rims*.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in *grútkarṇa* (RV.) *of listening ear*; and with this are perhaps accordant *dídyagni* and *atháraṣman* (RV., each once).

1300. Possessive compounds having a numeral as prior member are very common, and for the most part follow the same rule of accent which is followed by compounds with other adjectives: excepted are those beginning with *dvi* and *tri*, which accent in general the final member.

a. Examples with other numerals than *dvi* and *tri* are: *ékaśakra*, *ékaṣṛṇan*, *ékapad*, *cáturaṅga*, *cátuṣpakaṣa*, *pāñcāṅguri*, *pāñcūdāna*, *ṣáḍaṣva*, *ṣáṭpad*, *saptájihva*, *saptámātr*, *aṣṭápad*, *aṣṭáputra*, *návapad*, *návadvāra*, *dāṣaṣākha*, *dāṣaṣṛṇan*, *dvádaṣāra*, *triṅśádāra*, *ṣatáparvan*, *ṣatádant*, *saháśraṇāman*, *sahasramūla*.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are but few, and have the tone on the final syllable, whatever may be that belonging originally to the final member; they are mostly stems in final *a*, used by substitution for others in *an*, *i*, or a consonant: thus, *caturakṣá* etc. (*akṣān* or *ákṣi*: 431), *ṣaḍabhá* etc. (*āhan* or *āhar*: 430 a), *daṣavṛṣá* etc. (*vṛṣān*), *ekarātrá* etc. (*rātri* or *rātri*), *ekarcá* etc. (*ṣo*); but also a few others, as *ṣaḍyogá*, *aṣṭāyogá*, *ṣatārghá*, *sahasrārghá*, *ekapará* (P).

c. The compounds with *dvi* and *tri* for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, *dvijānman*, *dvidhāra*, *dvibāndhu*, *dvivartanī*, *dvipád*; *tritāntu*, *trinābhi*, *triṣóka*, *trivárūtha*, *tricakrá*, *triṣṛṇan*, *tripád*. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, *dvípakṣa*, *dvíṣavas*, *dvýāśya*, *triṣandhi*, *tryāra*, *tryāṣir*, and sometimes *dvípad* and *tripád* in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, as substituted stem in *a* is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, *dvivṛṣá* and *trivṛṣá*, *dvirājá*, *dvirātrá*, *tryāyugá*, *tridivá*; and a few of other

character with *tri* follow the same rule: thus, *trikaśā*, *trinākā*, *tribandhū*, *tryudhān*, *tribarhā*, etc.

d. The neuter, or also the feminine, of numeral compounds is often used substantively, with a collective or abstract value, and the accent is then regularly on the final syllable: see below, 1312.

1301. Possessive compounds having as prior member a noun which has a quasi-adjective value in qualifying the final member are very frequent, and show certain specialities of usage.

a. Least peculiar is a noun of material as prior member (hardly to be reckoned as possessive dependents, because the relation of material is not regularly expressed by a case: 295): thus, *hīranyahasta* *gold-handed*, *hīranyasraj* *with golden garlands*, *āyahathūpa* *having brazen supports*, *rajatānābhi* *of silver navel*.

1302. Especially common is the use of a noun as prior member to qualify the other appositionally, or by way of equivalence (the occasional occurrence of determinatives of this character has been noticed above, 1280 d). These may conveniently be called *appositional possessives*. Their accent is that of the prior member, like the ordinary possessive descriptives.

a. Examples are: *āḡvaparṇa* *horse-winged*, or *having horses as wings* (said of a chariot), *bhūmigṛha* *having the earth as house*, *īndrasakhī* *having Indra for friend*, *agnīhotṛ* *having Agni as priest*, *gandharvapatnī* *having a Gandharva for spouse*, *gūrāputra* *having hero-sons*, *jarāmṛtyu* *having old age as mode of death*, *living till old age*, *agnīvāsa* *fire-clad*, *tadanta* *ending with that*, *cāracakṣus* *using spies for eyes*, *viṣṇuṣarmanāman* *named Viṣṇuṣarman*; and, with pronoun instead of noun, *tvādūta* *having thee as messenger*, *tādapa* *having this for work*. Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, *agnijihvā*, *vṛṣaṇaśvā*, *dhūmaṣikhā*, *pavināsā*, *asān-nāma*, *tatkūla*, etc.

b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, *īndrajyeṣṭha* *having Indra as chief*, *mānabhaṣṭha* *having the mind as sixth*, *sōmaçreṣṭha* *of which soma is best*, *ekaparā* *of which the ace is highest* (?), *āsthibhūyas* *having bone as the larger part*, *chiefly of bone*, *abhirūpabhūyisṭha* *chiefly composed of scorchy persons*, *daçāvāra* *having ten as the lowest number*, *cintāpara* *having meditation as highest object or occupation*, *devoted to meditation*, *niḡṣvāsa-parama* *much addicted to sighing*.

c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a peculiar application. Thus:

d. With *ādi* *beginning* or *ādika* or *ādya* *first* are made compounds signifying the person or thing specified along with others, such a person or thing *et cetera*. For example, *devā īndrādayaḥ* *the gods having Indra as first*, i. e. *the gods Indra etc.*, *marīcyādin munīn* *Marici and the other*

sages, *svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptāi 'te manavaḥ* those seven Manus, *Śvāyambhūva etc.*, *agniṣṭomādikaṁ* the sacrifices Agniṣṭoma and so on. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in *annapānendhanādīni* food, drink, fuel, etc., *dānadharmādikaṁ caratu bhavān* let your honor practise liberality, religious rites, and the like. The particles *evam* and *iti* are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, *evamādi vācānam* words to this and the like effect; *ato 'haṁ bravīmi kartavyaḥ samcayo nityam ityādi* hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.

e. Used in much the same way, but less often, is *prabhṛti* beginning: thus, *viśvāvasuprabhṛtibhir gandharvāḥ* with the Gandharvas *Viśvāvasu etc.*; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time as *tatprabhṛti* or *tataḥprabhṛti* thenceforward.

f. Words meaning *foregoer*, *predecessor*, and the like—namely, *pūrva*, *pūrvaka*, *puraḥsara*, *purasakṛta*, *purogama*—are often employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, but for the most part to denote accompaniment, rather than antecedence, of that which is designated by the prior member of the compound: e. g. *smitapūrvam* with a smile, *anāmayapraṇapūrvakam* with inquiries after health *pitāmahapurogama* accompanied by the Great Father.

g. The noun *mātrā* measure stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of *mere, only*: thus, *jalamātreṇa vartayan* living by water only (lit. by that which has water for its measure or limit), *garbhacyutimātreṇa* by merely issuing from the womb, *prāṇayātrikamātraḥ syāt* let him be one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life; *uktamātre tu vacane* but the words being merely uttered.

h. The noun *artha* object, purpose is used at the end of a compound, in the adverbial accusative neuter, to signify for the sake of or the like: thus, *yajñasiddhyartham* in order to the accomplishment of the sacrifice (lit. in a manner having the accomplishment of the sacrifice as its object), *damayantyartham* for Damayanti's sake (with Damayanti as object).

i. Other examples are *ābhā*, *kalpa*, in the sense of *like, approaching*: thus, *hemābhā* gold-like, *mṛtakalpa* nearly dead, *pratipannakalpa* almost accomplished;—*vidhā*, in the sense of *kind, sort*: thus, *tvaḍvidhā* of thy sort, *puruṣavidhā* of human kind;—*prāya*, in the sense of *mostly, often*, and the like: thus, *duḥkhaprāya* full of pain, *ṭṭapraṇāya* abounding in grass, *nirgamanaprāya* often going out;—*antara* (in substantive neuter), in the sense of *other*: thus, *deśāntara* another region (lit. that which has a difference of region), *janmāntarāṇi* other existences, *çākāntare* in another text.

1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.

a. Thus, *ghṛtāpṛṣṭha* butter-backed, *mādhujihva* honey-tongued, *niṣkāgrīva* and *maṇigrīva* necklace-necked, *pātrahasta* vessel-handed, *vājrabāhu* lightning-armed, *āśṛṇmukha* blood-faced, *kilālodhan* mead-uddered, *vājajāthara* sacrifice-bellied, *vāṣpakaṇṭha* with tears in the throat, *graddhāmanas* with faith in the heart; with irregular accent, *dhūmakṣi* f. smoke-eyed, *aṣṛumukhi* f. tear-faced; and *khādihasta* ring-handed (*khādī*). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning *hand*: thus, *ṣastrapāṇi* having a sword in the hand, *laguḍahasta* carrying a staff.

1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. In compounds with the negative prefix *a* or *an* (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevailingly on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: *anantā* having no end, *abalā* not possessing strength, *arathā* without chariot, *aṣṛaddhā* faithless, *amapī* without ornament, *aṣatṛū* without a foe, *avarman* not cuirassed, *adānt* toothless, *apād* footless, *atejās* without brightness, *anārambhanā* not to be gotten hold of, *apratimānā* incomparable, *aducchuṇā* bringing no harm, *apakṣapucchā* without sides or tail.

b. But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already instanced) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives: 1288 a): thus, *ākṣiti* indestructible, *āgu* kineless, *āgopā* without shepherd, *ājivana* lifeless, *ānāpi* without friends, *āciqvī* f. without young, *āmṛtyu* deathless, *ābrahman* without priest, *avyacas* without extension, *āhavis* without oblation, and a few others; AV. has *āprajas*, but ÇB. *aprajās*. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, *açéṣas*, *ajāni*, and *avīra* (with retraction, from *vīrá*), *apūtra* (do., from *putrá*); and AV. has *abhrātṛ*, but RV. *abhrātṛ*.

c. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, *su* and *du*, the accent is in the great majority of cases that of the final member: thus, *sukālpa* of easy make, *subhāga* well portioned, *sunākṣatra* of propitious star, *suputrā* having excellent sons, *sugopā* well-shepherded, *sukīrti* of good fame, *sugāndhi* fragrant, *subāhū* well-armed, *suyāntu* of easy control, *sukrātu* of good capacity, *subhṛd* good-hearted, *susrāj* well-garlanded, *suvārman* well-cuirassed, *suvāsas* well-clad, *suprāpiti* well guiding, *durbhāga* ill-portioned, *durdṛṣṭika* of evil aspect, *durdhāra* hard to restrain, *durgāndhi* ill-savored, *durādhi* of evil designs, *durdhātu* hard to restrain, *duṣṭārītu* hard to excel, *duratyētu* hard to cross, *durdhūr* ill-yoked, *durpāman* ill-named, *durvāsas* ill-clad.

d. There are, however, a not inconsiderable number of instances in which the accent of these compounds is upon the final syllable: thus, *suqiprā* well-lipped, *svapatyā* of good progeny, *susaṁkāçā* of good aspect, *svaṅgurī* well-fingered, *sviṣṭū* having good arrows, *supivās* well fattened;

and compounds with derivatives in *ana*, as *suviññānā* of easy discernment, *sūpasarpaṇā* of easy approach, *duṇḍuyavanā* hard to shake; and AV. has *suphalā* and *subandhū* against RV. *suphālā* and *subāndhu*. Like *avīra*, *suṁvīra* shows retraction of accent. Only *dūrāqīr* has the tone on the prefix.

g. On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with *su* and *du* than in any other body of compounds.

f. The associative prefix *sa* or (less often) *sahā* is treated like an adjective element, and itself takes the accent in a possessive compound: thus, *sākratu* of joint will, *sānāman* of like name, *sārūpa* of similar form, *sāyoni* having a common origin, *sāvācas* of assenting words, *sātoka* having progeny along, with one's progeny, *sābrāhmaṇa* together with the Brahmins, *sāmūla* with the root, *sāntardeṇa* with the intermediate directions; *sahāgopa* with the shepherd, *sahāvataṁsa* accompanied by one's young, *sahāpatnī* having her husband with her, *sahāpūruṣa* along with our men.

g. In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two), only *saha* in such compounds gives the meaning of *having with one, accompanied by*; and, since *saha* governs the instrumental, the words beginning with it might be of the prepositional class (below, 1310). But in AV. both *sa* and *saha* have this value (as illustrated by examples given above); and in the later language, the combinations with *sa* are much the more numerous.

h. There are a few exceptions, in which the accent is that of the final member: thus, *sajōṣa*, *sajōṣas*, *sadṛṣa*, *sapráthas*, *sabēdhas*, *samanyū* and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in *sāṅgā* (QB. *sāṅga*) and the substantivized (1312) *savidyutā*.

i. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory prefixes *ka* etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent: *kābandha* is perhaps an example of such.

1305. Possessive compounds in which a verbal prefix is used as prior member with adjective value, qualifying a noun as final member, are found even in the oldest language, and are rather more common later (compare the descriptive compounds, above, 1289; and the prepositional, below, 1310). They usually have the accent of the prefix.

a. Most common are those made with *pra*, *vi*, and *sam*: thus, for example, *prāmahas* having exceeding might, *prāgravas* widely famed; *vīgrīva* of very neck, *vyāṅga* having limbs away or gone, limbless, *vījāni* wifeless, *vīparva* and *vīparus* jointless, *vyādhvan* of wide ways, *vīmanas* both of wide mind and mindless, *vīvācas* of discordant speech; *sāmpatnī* having one's husband along, *sāmmanas* of accordant mind, *sāṁsahasara* accompanied by a thousand, *sāmokas* of joint abode. Examples of others are: *ātyūrmī* surging over, *ādhivastra* having a garment on, *ādhyardha* with a half over, *ādhyaḥṣa* overseer, *āpodaka* without water, *abhīrūpa*

of adapted character, *āvatoka* that has aborted, *āmanas* of favorable mind, *ūdojas* of exalted power, *nīmanyu* of assuaged fury, *nīrmāya* free from guile, *nīrhasa* handless.

b. In a comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise, and generally on the final: thus, *avakeṣā*, *upamanyū*, *viṣaphā*, *viṣikhā* (AV. *viṣikha*), *vikarṇā*, *sammātī*, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member: thus, *saṃśīḍvari* having a common young.

1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as prior member are also found in every period of the language. They usually have the accent which belongs to the adverb as independent word.

a. Examples are; *āntyūti* bringing near help, *avōdeva* calling down the gods, *itāūti* helping on this side, *ihācitta* with mind directed hither, *dakṣiṇatāṣkaparda* wearing the braid on the right side, *nānādharmā* of various character, *purudhāpratīka* of manifold aspect, *viṣvātomukha* with faces on all sides, *sadyāūti* of immediate aid, *vīśurūpa* of various form, *smādūdhan* with udder, *adhastāllakṣman* with mark below, *ekatomukha* with face on one side, *tāthāvidha* of such sort.

b. An instance or two of irregular accent are met with: thus, *puro-rathā* whose chariot is foremost, *evamūkratū* so-minded.

1307. a. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter (1222 h) that the indifferent suffix *ka* is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective; especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.

b. Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix: thus, *yaṣobhagīn*, *suṣiprin*, *varavarṇin*, *dūrgha-sūtrin*, *punṣavāgbuddhikarmin*, *sutāsomavant*, *tādgrūpavant*, *trayodaśadvīpavant*, *nārakapālakuṇḍalavant*, *amṛtabuddhimant*.

c. The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stem occurring at the end of a compound are noticed further on (1315).

1308. The possessive compounds are not always used in the later language with the simple value of qualifying adjective; often they have a pregnant sense, and become the equivalents of dependent clauses; or the *having* which is implied in them obtains virtually the value of our *having* as sign of past time.

a. Thus, for example, *prāptayāuvana* possessing attained adolescence, i. e. *having arrived at adolescence*; *anadhigatacāstra* with unstudied books, i. e. *who has neglected study*; *kṛtaprayatna* possessing performed effort, i. e. *on whom effort is expended*; *āṅgulīyakadarṣanāvāsāna* having the sight of the ring as termination, i. e. *destined to end on sight of the ring*; *udhṛtaviśādaṇalyaḥ* having an extracted despair-arrow, i. e. *when I shall have extracted the barb of despair*; *ṣrutavistārāḥ kṛiyatām* let him be made with heard details, i. e. *let him be informed of the details*; *dr̥ṣṭavīryo me rāmaḥ* Rāma has seen my prowess, *bhagnabhāṇḍo dvijo yathā* like

the Brahman that broke the pots, uktāṅtam ṛṣim yathā like a sage that has spoken falsely.

B. Compounds with Governed Final Member.

1309. Participial Compounds. This group of compounds, in which the prior member is a present participle and the final member its object, is a small one (toward thirty examples) and exclusively Vedic — indeed, almost limited to the oldest Vedic (of the Rig-Veda). The accent is on the final syllable of the participle, whatever may have been the latter's accent as an independent word.

a. Examples are: *vidādvasu winning good things, kṣayādvīra governing (kṣāyant) heroes, tarāddivēgas overcoming (tārant) foes, ābharādvasu bringing good things, codayānmatī inciting (codāyant) devotion, mandayātsakha rejoicing friends, dhārayātkavi sustaining sages, mahāyādrayī bestowing wealth.*

b. In *sādādyoni sitting in the lap (sādat quite anomalously for sīdat or sadat)*, and *spṛhayādvārṇa emulous of color*, the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In *patayān mandayātsakham* (RV. i. 4. 7), *patayāt*, with accent changed accordingly, represents *patayātsakham*, the final member being understood from the following word. *Vidādaṣva* is to be inferred from its derivative *vidādaṣvi*. Of this formation appear to be *jamādagni*, *pratādvasu* (*prathād*?), and *trasādasyu* (for *trasāddasyu*?). It was noticed above (1299 c) that *yuyujānāsapti* is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle; *sādhadiṣṭi*, on account of its accent, is probably possessive.

1310. Prepositional Compounds. By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a participle having true prepositional value, and the final member is a noun governed by it. Such combinations, though few in number as compared with other classes of compounds, are not rare, either in the earlier language or in the later. Their accent is so various that no rule can be set up respecting it.

a. Examples are: *ātyavi passing through the wool, atirātrā over-night, atimātrā exceeding measure; ādhiratha lying on the chariot, adhigavā belonging to the cow; adhaspadā under the feet, adhoakṣā below the axle; ānupatha following the road, anupūrvā following the one preceding, one after another, anuṣatyā in accordance with truth, anukūla down stream, etc.; āntaspatha (with anomalously changed accent of antār), within the way, antardāvā within the flame(?), antarbhastā in the hand; āntigṛha near the house; apiprāṇa accompanying the breath (prāṇā), āpivrata concerned with the ceremony, apīcarvarā bordering on night, apīkarnā next the ear; abhijñū reaching to the knee, abhivīra and abhīsatvan overcoming heroes; āpāthī on the road, ādeva going to the gods, ājarasā*

reaching old age, ādvādaçā up to twelve; upakakṣā reaching to the arm-pits, upottamā next to last, penultimate; upāribudhna above the bottom, upārimartya rising above mortals; tirojanā beyond people; niṣsālā out of the house; paripād (about the feet) anars, parihastā about the hand, bracelet; parōkṣa out of sight, parōmātra beyond measure, parogavyūti beyond the fields, paraḥsahasrā (pāraḥsahasra, (R.) above a thousand; purokṣā in front of the eyes; pratidoṣā toward evening, pratilomā against the grain, pratikūla up stream, pratyākṣa before the eyes; bahiḥ-paridhī outside the enclosure; vipathī outside the road; samakṣā close to the eyes, in sight.

b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with adhi: thus, adhyātma relating to the soul or self, adhi-yajña relating to the sacrifice, etc.

c. A suffixal *a* is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in upānasa on the wagon, āvyuṣā until daybreak. In a few instances, the suffix *ya* is taken (see above, 1212 m); and in one word the suffix *in*: thus, pari-panthīn besetting the path.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbial use: see below, 1313 b.

Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs.

1311. Compound adjectives, like simple ones, are freely used substantively as abstracts and collectives, especially in the neuter, less often in the feminine; and they are also much used adverbially, especially in the accusative neuter.

a. The matter is entitled to special notice only because certain forms of combination have become of special frequency in these uses, and because the Hindu grammarians have made out of them distinct classes of compounds, with separate names. There is nothing in the older language which by its own merits would call for particular remark under this head.

1312. The substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called dvigu.

a. The name is a sample of the class, and means of two cows, said to be used in the sense of worth two cows; as also pañcagu bought for five cows, dvinau worth two ships, pañcakapāla made in five cups, and so on.

b. Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: divirājā [combat] of two kings, triyugā three ages, triyojanā space of three leagues, tridivā the triple heaven, pañcayojanā space of five leagues, ṣaḍahā six days' time, daṣāṅgulā ten fingers' breadth; and, with suffix *ya*, sahasrāhṇyā thousand days' journey. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example: anamitrā freedom from enemies, nikilbiṣā freedom from guilt, savidyutā thunderstorm, viṇḍaya heartlessness, and

sāhṛdaya *heartiness*, sūdivā *prosperity by day*, sumṛgā and suçakunā *prosperity with beasts and birds*. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as triçatī *three hundred*, (481), trilokī *the three worlds*, pañcamūlī *aggregate of five roots*.

c. As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevailingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.

1313. Those adverbially used accusatives of secondary adjective compounds which have an indeclinable or particle as prior member are reckoned by the Hindu grammarians as a separate class of compounds, and called by the name *avyayībhāva*.

a. This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of *avyaya* *uninflected* and *ybhū*, and means *conversion to an indeclinable*.

b. The prepositional compounds (1310) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, *anuṣvadhām* *by one's own will*, *abhipūrvām* and *parovarām* *in succession*, *ādvādaçām* *up to twelve*, *pratidoçām* *at evening*, *samakṣām* *in sight*. Instances given by the grammarians are: *adhihari* *upon Hari*, *uparājam* *with the king*, *upanadam* or *upanadi* *near the river*, *pratyagni* *toward the fire*, *pratinigam* *every night*, *nir-makṣikam* *with freedom from flies*.

c. A large and important class is made up of words having a relative adverb, especially *yathā*, as prior member. Thus, for example, *yathāvacām* *as one chooses (vāça will)*, *yathākṛtām* *as done [before]*, *according to usage*, *yathānāmā* *by name*, *yathabhāgām* *according to several portion*, *yathāṅgām* and *yathāparū* *limb by limb*, *yatrakāmam* *whither one will*, *yāvanmātrām* *in some measure*, *yāvajjivām* *as long as one lives*, *yāvatsābandhu* *according to the number of relations*.

d. These compounds are not common in the old language; RV. has with *yathā* only four of them, AV. only ten; and no such compound is used adjectively except *yācchreṣṭhā* RV., *yāvacchreṣṭhā* AV. *as good as possible*. ÇB. has *yathākārīn*, *yathācārīn*, *yāthakāma*, *yāthakratu* as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative *tāthā*). The adjective use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.

e. Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental, as *yathāsaṁkhyena*, *yathāçaktyā*, *yathepsayā*, *yathāpratigunāis*; and ablative, as *yathāucityāt*.

f. A class of adverbs of frequent occurrence is made with *sa*: e. g. *sakopam* *angrily*, *sādaram* *respectfully*, *sasmitam* *with a smile*, *saviççam* *especially*.

g. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, *ṛtekarmām* *without work*, *nānāratham* *on different chariots*, *ubhayadyūṣ* *two days in succession*, *otrapadakramam* *with wonderful progress*, *pradānapūrvam* *with accompaniment of a gift*; etc.

Anomalous Compounds.

1314. As in every language, compounds are now and then met with which are of anomalous character, as exhibiting combinations of elements not usually put together, or not after such a method, or for such a purpose. Some of these, especially of those occurring in the old language, may well be noticed here.

a. Compounds having a particle as final member: as, *apratī* having no equal, *tuvipratī* mightily opposing, *ātathā* refusing, *vitatha* false, *yathātathā* at it really is, *sūsaha* prosperity in companionship, *aniha* and *anamutra* having no here and no yonder, etc.

b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, *aham-pūrvā* eager to be first, *ahamuttarā* contest for preëminence, *mamasatyā* contest for possession, *itihāsā* legend (*iti hā* "as thus, indeed, it was"), *naghamārā* and *naghāriṣā* not, surely, dying or coming to harm, *kuvītea* some unknown person, *tadīdartha* having just that as aim, *kūcidarthin* having errands in every direction, *kācitkarā* doing all sorts of things, *kuhaacidvid* wherever found, *akutaṣcidbhaya* out of all danger, *yad-bhaviṣya* What-is-to-be, etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form: as, *anyonya* and *paraśpara* one another, *avaraspara* inverted.

d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted: e. g. *pitāmahā* and *tatāmahā* grandfather, *putrahata* with his sons slain, *jānvāknā* and *-jānvakta* with bended knee, *dantajāta* provided with teeth, *somāpahṛtā* deprived of soma, *pañktīrādhas* having groups of gifts, *gojara* old bull, *agrajīhvā*, *agranāsikā*, etc. tip of the tongue, of the nose, etc. Compare also 1291 c.

e. Aggregations of particles were pointed out above (1111 a); also (1122 e) cases in which *nā* and *mā* are used in composition.

f. In late Sanskrit (perhaps after the false analogy of combinations like *tad anu*, viewed as *tadanu*, with *taḍ* as stem instead of neuter accusative), a preposition is sometimes compounded as final member with the noun governed by it: e. g. *vṛkṣādhas* or *vṛkṣādhaastāt* under the tree, *dantāntaḥ* between the teeth, *bhavanopari* on top of the house, *satyavinā* without truth.

Stem-finals altered in Composition.

1315. Transfers to an a-form of declension from other less common finals, which are not rare in independent use, are especially common in the final members of compounds. Thus:

a. A stem in an often drops its final consonant (compare 429 a, 437): examples are *akṣa*, *adhva*, *arva*, *astha*, *aha*, *takṣa*, *brahma*, *mūrdha*, *rāja*, *loma*, *vṛṣa*, *ḡva*, *saktha*, *sāma*.

b. An *i* or *ī* is changed to *a*: examples are *aṅgula*, *aṅjala*, *aṅra*, *kukṣa*, *khāra*, *nada*, *nābha*, *bhūma*, *rātra*, *sakha*.

c. An *n* is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an *u*-vowel or a diphthong (compare 398): examples are *ṛca*, *tvaca*; *uda*, *pada*, *ṣarada*; *apa*; *dhura*, *pura*; *ahna*, *aṣmana*, *ūdhna*, *rājña*; *anasa*, *ayasa*, *āyusa*, *urasa*, *enasa*, *tamasa*, *manasa*, *yajusa*, *rajasa*, *rahasa*, *varasa*, *vedasa*, *ṛgryasa*, *sarasa*; *bhruva*, *diva*, *gava*, *gāva*, *nāva*.

d. More sporadic and anomalous cases are such as: *apanna-da* (-*dant*), *pañca-ṣa* (-*ṣaṣ*), *ajāika-pa* (-*pad*), *ṣata-bhiṣ* (-*bhiṣaj*), *vipaṣ-ci* (-*cit*), *yathā-pura* (-*puras*).

Loose Construction with Compounds.

1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, especially in the later language, it is by no means rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone, rather than the compound of which it forms a part.

a. Examples are: *rāyāskāmo viṣvāpsnyasya* (RV.) *desirous of all-enjoyable wealth*; *aṅhōr urucākriḥ* (RV.) *causing relief from distress*; *mahādhanō ārbhe* (RV.) *in great contest and in small*; *svānām ṣrāiṣṭhyakāmaḥ* (AṢ.) *desiring superiority over his fellows*; *brāhmaṇāṇ chrutaṣṭilavṛttasampannān ekena vā* (AṢ.) *Brahmans endowed with learning, character, and behavior, or with one [of the three]*; *cittapramāthini bālā devānām api* (MB.) *a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods*; *vasiṣṭhavacanād ṛṣyaṣṭṛgasya co 'bhayoḥ* (R.) *at the words of both Vasiṣṭha and Rishyaṣṭṛinga*; *sītādravyāpaharaṇe ṣastrāṇām āuṣadhasya ca* (M.) *in case of stealing ploughing implements or weapons or medicament*; *jyotiṣām madhyacāri* (H.) *moving in the midst of the stars*; *dārupātram ca mṛṇmayam* (M.) *a wooden and an earthen vessel*; *syandane dattadṛṣṭiḥ* (Ṛ.) *with eye fixed on the chariot*; *tasminn ullambitamṛtaḥ* (KSS.) *dead and hanging upon it*.

APPENDIX

A. The following text is given (as proposed above, 3) in order to illustrate by an example the variety of Sanskrit type in use. It is given twice over, and a transliteration into European letters follows. The text is a fable extracted from the first book of the Hitopadeṣa.

The Hunter, Deer, Boar, and Jackal.

आसीत्कल्याणकटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः । स चै-
कदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्याटवीमध्यं गतः । तत्र तेन
मृग एको व्यापादितः । मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराकृतिः
सूकरो दृष्टः । ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हतः ।
सूकरेणाप्यागत्य प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे
हतश्छिन्नदुम इव पपात । यतः ।

जलमयिं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुब्धाधी पतनं गिरेः ।

निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अचान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जघुकः परिभ्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृ-
तान्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत् । आलोक्याचिन्तयदसौ । अहो
भाग्यम् । महद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम् । अथवा ।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायानि देहिनाम् ।

सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये दैवमवातिरिच्यते ॥

भवतु । एषां मांसमांसवयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति । ततः प्रथमवृ-
षायां तावदिमानि खादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलपं स्नायुबन्धं खा-
दामीत्युक्त्वा तथाकरोत् । ततश्छिन्ने स्नायुबन्धे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा इदि
भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चत्वं गतः । अतो ६३ ब्रवीमि ।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसचयः ।

अतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

आसीत्कल्याणकठकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैकदा
मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्याव्रीमध्यं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको
व्यापादितः। मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराकृतिः सूकरो दृष्टः।
ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः श्रेण कृतः। सूकरेणाप्यागत्य
प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे कृतश्चिन्नद्रुम इव
पपात। यतः।

जलमग्निं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुब्धाधी पतनं गिरेः।

निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाय देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिभ्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृता-
न्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत्। आलोक्वाचिन्तयद्सौ। अहो भाग्यम्।
मरुद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम्। अथवा।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति देहिनाम्।

सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये देवमत्रातिरिच्यते ॥

भवतु। एषां मांसैर्मांसत्रयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रथममुमुक्षायां
तावदिमानि स्वादुनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलनं सायुधन्वं खादामीत्युक्त्वा
तथाकरोत्। ततश्चिन्ते सायुधन्वे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा हृदि भिचः स दीर्घरायः पञ्चत्वं
गतः। अतो ऽहं ब्रवीमि।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः।

अतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

āsīt kalyāṇakaṭakāvāstavyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa
cāi 'kadā māṃsalubdhaḥ san dhanur ādāya vindhyāvimadhyam
gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpāditaḥ. mṛgam ādāya gacchata
tena ghorākṛtiḥ sūkaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mṛgaṃ bhūmau ni-
dhāya sūkaraḥ ṣareṇa hataḥ. sūkareṇa 'py āgatya pralayagha-
naghoragarjanaṃ kṛtvā sa vyādho muṣkadeṣe hataḥ chinnadruma
iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam agniṃ viṣaṃ ṣastram kṣudvvyādhi patanaṃ gireḥ.

nimittaṃ kiñcid āsāya dehi prāṇair vimucyate.

atrāntare dirgharāvo nāma jambukaḥ paribhramann āhār-
ārthī tān mṛtān mṛgavyādhasūkarān apaṣyat. ālokyā 'cintayad
asāu: aho bhāgyam, mahad bhojyam samupasthitam. athavā:

acintitāni duḥkhāni yathāi 'vā 'yānti dehinām,

sukhāny api tathā manye dāivam atrā 'tiricyate.

bhavatu; eṣāṁ māṁsāir māsatrayaṁ samadhikam bhojanam
me bhaviṣyati. tataḥ prathamabubhukṣāyām tāvad imāni svā-
dūni māṁsāni vihāya kodaṇḍāṭanilagnaṁ snāyubandham khādāmi
'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataḥ chinne snāyubandhe drutam utpa-
titena dhanuṣā hṛdi bhinnāḥ sa dirgharāvah pañcatvaṁ gataḥ.
ato 'haṁ bravīmi:

kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityaṁ kartavyo nā 'tisaṁcayaḥ;

atisaṁcayadoṣeṣa dhanuṣā jambuko hataḥ.

B. The following text is given in order to illustrate by a suffi-
cient example the usual method of marking accent, as described
above (87). In the manuscripts, the accent-signs are almost invariably
added in red ink. The text is a hymn extracted from the tenth or
last book of the Rig-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered
by Vāc voice (i. e. the Word or Logos).

Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.

सृक् रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यर्कमादित्यैरुत विश्वेदेवैः ।

सृक् मित्रावरुणोभा बिभर्म्यर्कमिन्द्राग्नी सृक्मृशिनोभा ॥ १ ॥

सृक् सोममाकुनसे बिभर्म्यर्कं तष्टारमुत पूषणं भर्गम् ।

सृक् रधामि इविणं रुविष्मते सुप्राव्येऽ यज्ञमानाय मुन्वते ॥ २ ॥

सृक् राष्ट्री संगमनी वसूनां चिकितुषी प्रथमा युज्ञियानाम् ।

ता मा देवा व्यदधुः पुरुत्रा भूरिस्थात्रां भूर्यविशयसीम् ॥ ३ ॥

मया सो अन्नमन्ति यो विषम्यन्ति यः प्राणिन्ति य ईं ऋणोत्युक्तम् ।

अमृतवो मां त उप तियात्त मुधि अृत अद्विव ते वदामि ॥ ४ ॥

सृक्मेव स्वयमिदं वदामि बुष्टं देवेभिरुत मानुषेभिः ।

यं कामये तंतमुयं कृणोमि तं ब्रह्माणी तमृषिं तं सुनेधाम् ॥ ५ ॥

सृक् रुद्राय धनुरा तनोमि ब्रह्मद्विषे शर्वे कृत्वा उ ।

श्रुत्वा ब्रूयान् सुमर्दं कृणोम्युक्त्वा चावापृथिवीं सा विवेश ॥ ६ ॥

श्रुत्वा सुखे पितरामस्य मूर्धन्मम योनिरुत्स्वत्तः संमुद्रे ।

ततो वि तिष्ठे भुवनानु विद्योतामूं सां कूर्मणोर्पं स्पृशामि ॥ ७ ॥

श्रुत्मेव वातं इव प्र वाम्याग्नेमाणां भुवनानि विद्या ।

परो दिवा परं दृता पृथिव्यैतावती मर्दिता सं बभूव ॥ ८ ॥

ahām rudrēbhir vāsūbhīḥ carāmy ahām ādityāir utā viśvā-
devāiḥ, ahām mitrāvárūṇo 'bhā bibharmy ahām indrāgnī ahām
aṇvīno 'bhā. 1.

ahām sōmam āhanāsam bibharmy ahām tvāṣṭāram utā pūṣānam
bhāgam, ahām dadhāmi drāviṇam havīṣmate supravṛyē yāja-
mānāya sunvatē. 2.

ahām rāṣṭrī saṃgāmanī vāsūnām cikitūṣī prathamā yajñīyānām,
tām mā devā vy ādadhuḥ purutrā bhūristhāstrām bhūry
āveçāyantim. 3.

māyā sō ānnam atti yō vipāçyati yāḥ prāçṇiti yā im̐ çṛṇōty uktām,
amantāvo mām tā ūpa kṣiyanti çrudhī çruta çradhdhivām te
vadāmi. 4.

ahām evā svayām idām vadāmi jūṣṭam devēbhir utā mānuṣēbhiḥ,
yām kāmāye tām-tam ugrām kṛṇomi tām brahmāṇam tām ṣaīm
tām sumedhām. 5.

ahām rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadviṣe çārave hantavā u,
ahām jānāya samādam kṛṇomy ahām dyāvāpṛthivī ā viveça. 6.
ahām suve pitāram asya mūrdhān māma yōnir apsv antāḥ sa-
mudrē, tāto vī tiṣṭhe bhūvanā 'nu viçvo 'tā 'mūm dyām varṣ-
māṇo 'pa sprṇāmi. 7.

ahām evā vāta iva prā vāmy ārabhamāṇā bhūvanāni viçvā,
parō divā parā enā pṛthivyāi 'tāvati mahinā sām babhūva. 8.

C. On the next page is given, in systematic arrangement, a synopsis of all the modes and tenses recognized as normally to be made from every root in its primary conjugation, for the two common roots *bhū be* and *kṛ make* (only the precative middle and periphrastic future middle are bracketed, as never really occurring). Added, in each case, are the most important of the verbal nouns and adjectives, the only ones which it is needful to give as part of every verb-system.

<i>√</i> <i>bhu</i> <i>be.</i> Active:	Present-system.	Perfect-system.	Aorist-system.	Future-systems.
Indic.	bhāvāmi	bhūtvā		
Opt.	bhāvayām		bhūyāsam	bhaviṣyāmi
Impv.	bhāvānt			
Ple.	bhāvānt	babhūvāns		
Augm.-Pres.	ābhavam		ābhavam	bhaviṣyānt ābhaviṣyam
Middle:				
Indic.	bhāve	babhūvē		
Opt.	bhāveya		[bhaviṣyā]	bhaviṣyē
Impv.	bhāvāi			
Ple.	bhāvaṃśana	babhūvānā		
Augm.-Pres.	ābhave		ābhaviṣi	bhaviṣyāṃśana
<i>√</i> <i>kr</i> <i>make.</i> Active:				
Indic.	karāmi	oakāra		
Opt.	kurāṃ		kriyāsam	karisyāmi
Impv.	karāvānt			
Ple.	kurvānt	oakrvāns		
Augm.-Pres.	ākaravam		ākāryam	karisyānt ākarisyam
Middle:				
Indic.	kurvé	oakrvé		
Opt.	kurviyā		[kriyā]	karisyé
Impv.	karārai			
Ple.	kurvāṇā	oakrvāṇā		
Augm.-Pres.	ākurvi		ākryi	karisyāṃśana

Pass, ple. *krtā*; — *Ind.* *kārtum*; — *Gerund* *krtvā*, -*kṛtya*.
Pass, ple. krtā; — *Ind.* *kārtum*; — *Gerund* *krtvā*, -*kṛtya*.

SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs. In this one, many abbreviations are used; but it is believed that they will be found self-explaining. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination; "pres.", to present-system; "int." is intensive; "des." is desiderative; and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended, a prefix.

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ERRATA.

p. 147, 391, Plur. Loc.	— for त्रिवत्सु	read त्रिवत्सु
265, 736, last l.	— " bhāvāntai	" bhāvāntāi.
357, 992c, l. 2	— " guhya	" gūhya.
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